



Rothstein, Natalie (1930-2010)

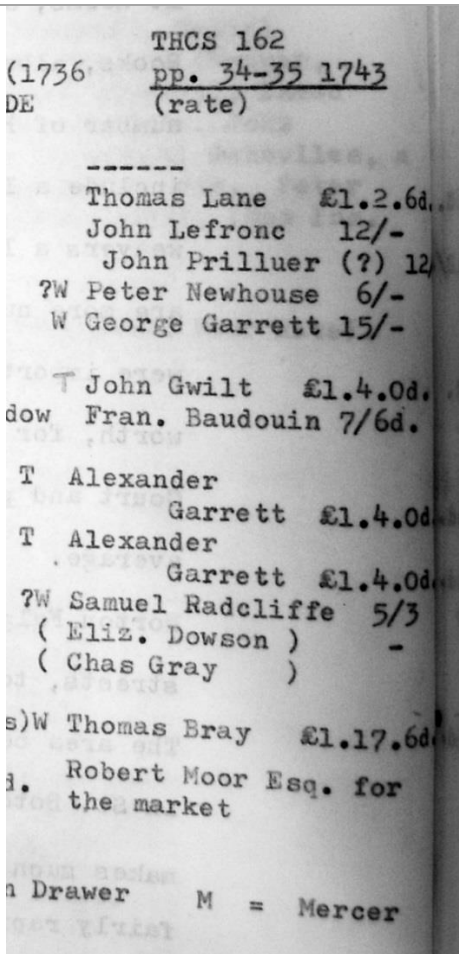
The Silk Industry in London, 1702-1766

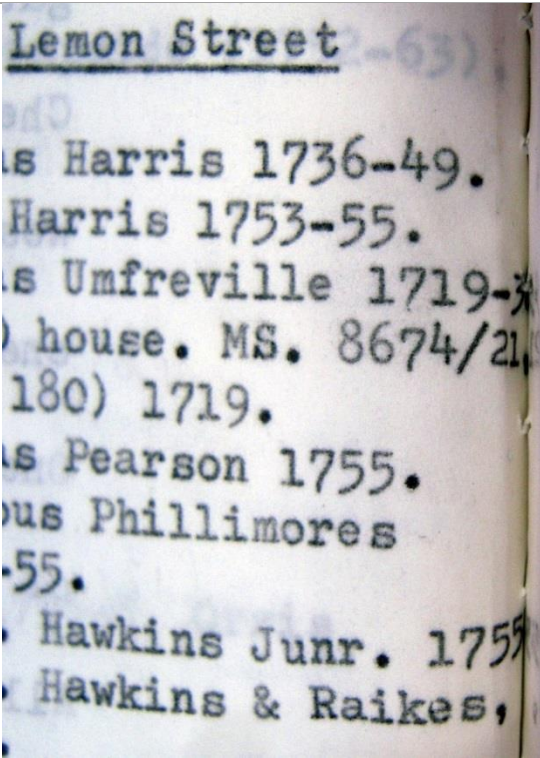
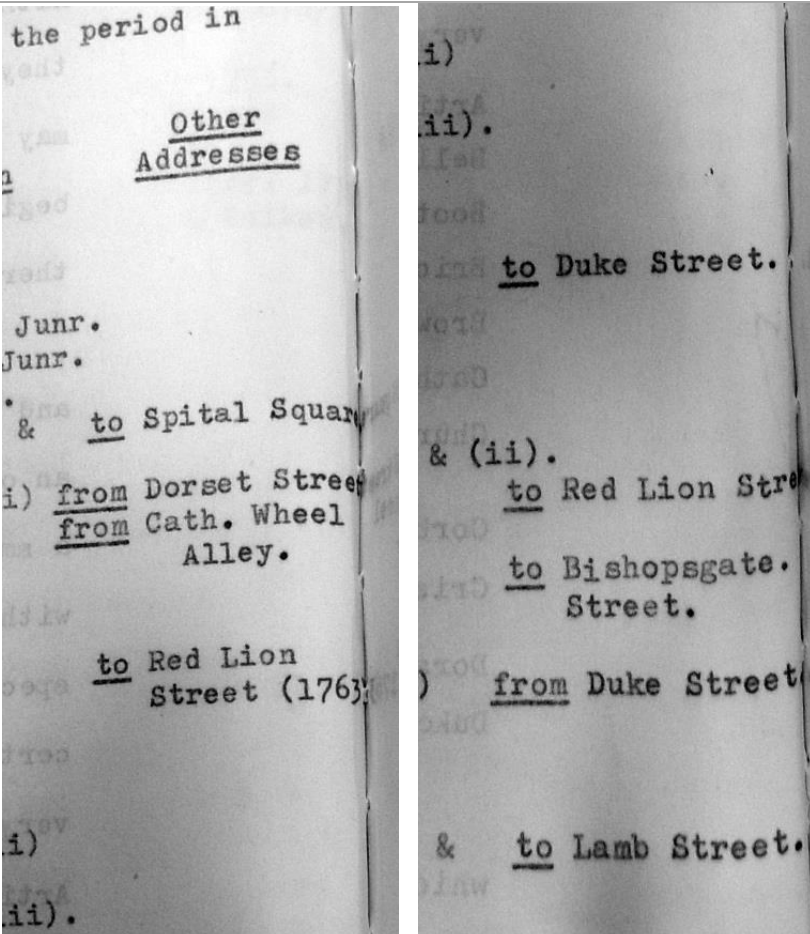
University of London MA 1961

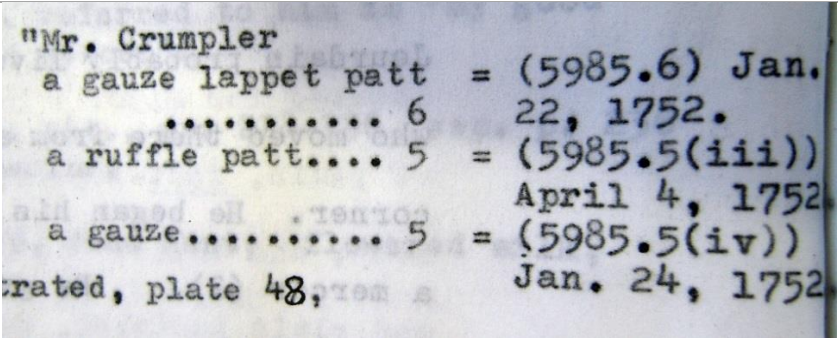
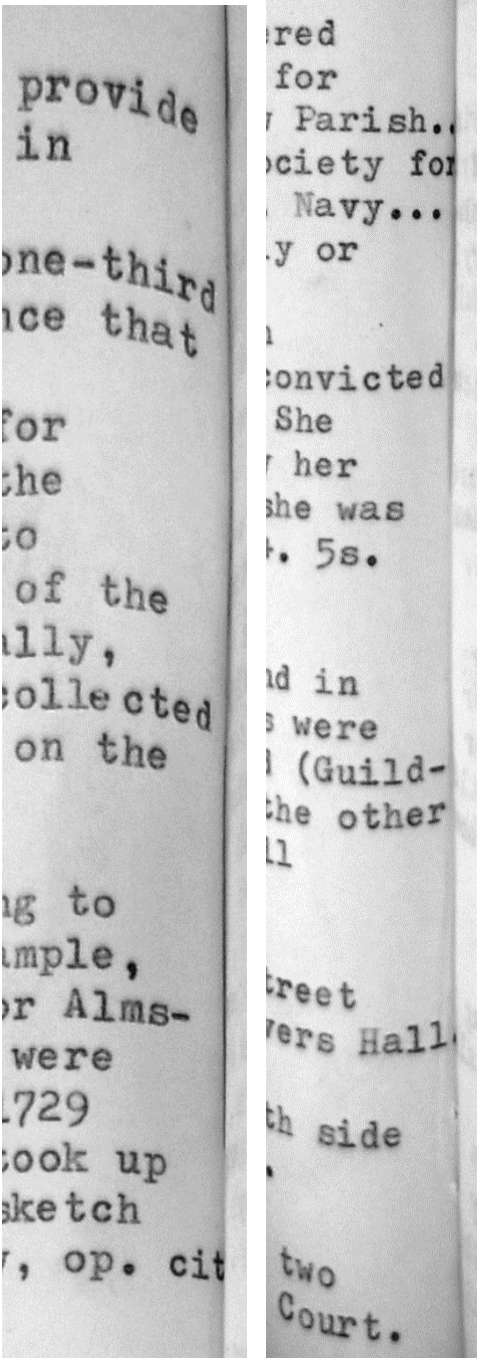
This thesis has been digitised from the copy held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London and made available for private research purposes with kind permission of Natalie Rothstein's executor. The Victoria and Albert Museum have given permission for reproduction of their copyrighted images.

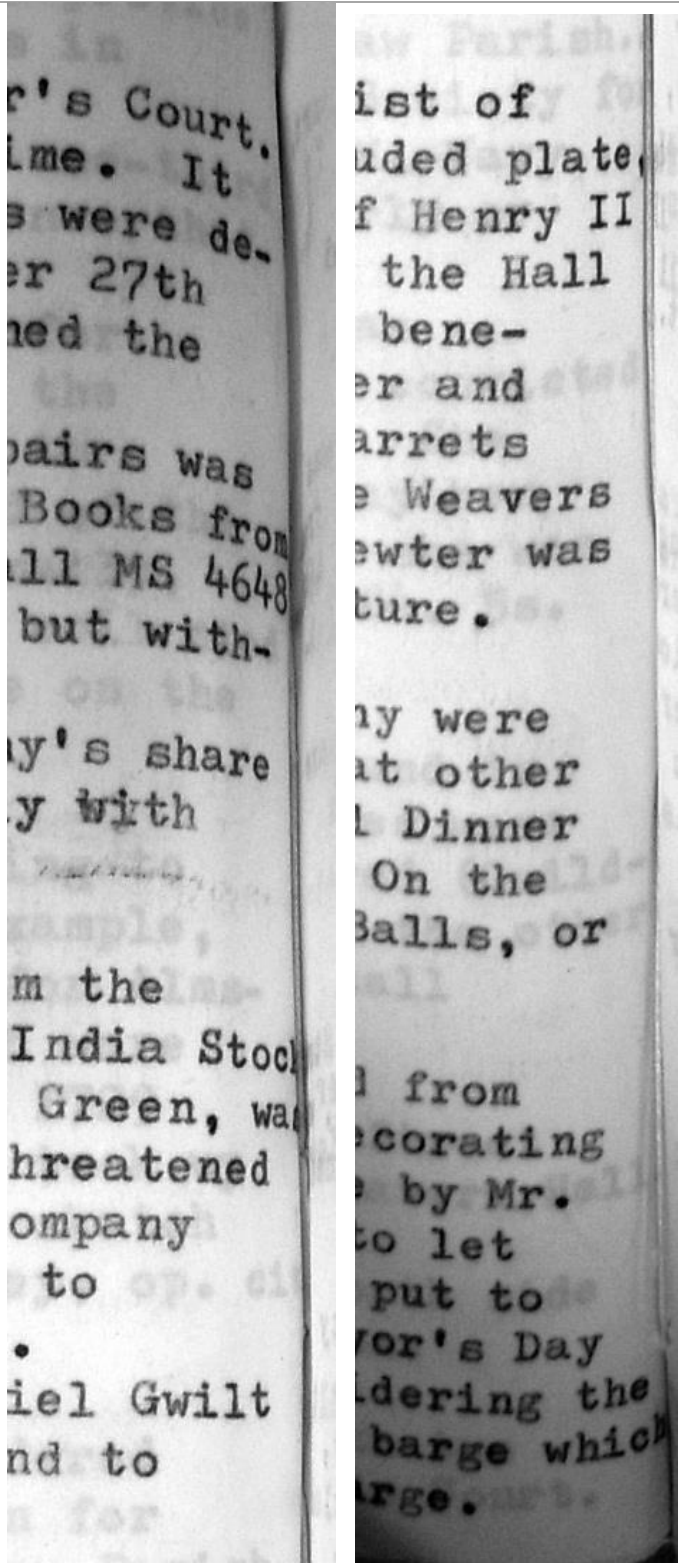
Any quotations must be fully acknowledged.

Due to the tight binding of the thesis, there are some areas where the edge of the text is obscured. The following are corrections noted:

PDF page	Thesis page	Location	Correction
47	21v	Table at margin	
57	26v	Line 10	'.. Rouen in 1713'

PDF page	Thesis page	Location	Correction
57	26v	Line 15	'.. Delorme'
79	37v	Table at margin	 <p>The figure at 1719-3[?] is illegible in the original copy.</p>
83	39v	Margin	

PDF page	Thesis page	Location	Correction
89	42v	Note 5	
109	52v	Line 12	'.. Sabatier'
123	59v	Line 4	'..p. 208'
145	70v	Spine margin	

PDF page	Thesis page	Location	Correction
147	71v	Spine margin	
796	395	Bottom	Plate 70 (84)
806	399	Bottom	Plate 74 (89)
812	402	Bottom	Plate 77 (93)
930	461	Bottom	Plate 69 (83)



Z 1069

THE SILK INDUSTRY IN LONDON, 1702 - 1766

by

N.K.A.Rothstein

Introduction	p. 4
Chapter 1. The Location of the Industry	p. 13
Chapter 2. The Organisation of the Industry:	
Part 1. The Weavers Company of London	p. 69
Part 2. The Industrial Elements.....	p. 120
Chapter 3. The Silks	p. 233
Chapter 4. Factors favourable to the Expansion of the Industry	p. 403
Chapter 5. The Difficulties which the Industry encountered	p. 443
Chapter 6. The Crisis of 1764-6	p. 489
Some Conclusions	p. 505
<u>Appendices</u>	p. 518
1. Bibliography	p. 518
2. Biographical Lists	p. 532
3. Materials sold: (a) Silks	p. 561
(b) Half Silks	p. 573
4. Customs Statistics	p. 582
5. Petitions presented by the Weavers Company	p. 599
6. Customers of Samuel Bosanquet	p. 602
7. Members of the Court of Assistants 1745 - 1766	p. 605
8. List of Plates	p.606

ABSTRACT

Introduction: Origin of study the assessment of 840 silk designs in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the inscriptions on them.

Chief sources. Scope.

Chapter 1. Settlement of industry in South-East London. Connection between geographical expansion and the silk industry. Situation before 1728. Evidence of directories. Branches settled elsewhere in London. Establishment of master weavers in certain streets only. Distinctions between Huguenots and English and between different specialists. Importance of Spital Square and Princes Street - dependence of poorer quarters upon them.

Chapter 2. (i). Weavers Company. Structure, organization, functions. Problem of non-freemen. Representation of industry in Company's hierarchy. Effect of 1740 financial crisis seen in 1745. Company's policy in defence of its members and confidence felt until 1766.

(ii). Industrial elements. Importers and retailers of raw silk; throwsters; ancillaries; weavers, specialisation, tendency towards bespoke-weaving, journeymen, relations with masters, equipment, incipient trades unionism, wages. Social character of masters: influence of Huguenots, capital, real estate investment, behaviour as citizens, local government, charities, personal ambitions; mercers, relations with weavers, retail and export trade, capital, social aspirations. Financial organization.

Chapter 3. Silks. Raw and thrown silk. Dyeing processes. Plain silks. Technique of draw-loom woven silks. Fashion changes. Uses, a) Furnishing,

b) Costume, emphasis on latter. Types of silk. Stylistic developments of draw-loom woven silks and their importance to the industry.

Contemporary criticism. Mourning silks. Half silks.

Chapter 4. Expansion. Beneficial influence of mercantile system.

Official encouragement. Acts of Parliament. Personal contacts. Royal patronage. Markets: London, Provinces, Ireland, Germany and Northern Europe, Portugal and Spain, West Indies, American Colonies.

Chapter 5. Difficulties. Limitations of government support.

Competition from imported textiles especially Lyon silks and from English printed calicoes. Increasing competition abroad. Contemporary grievances, especially public mournings. Shortage of raw silk. Search for new supplies.

Chapter 6. Origins of 1764-6 crisis. Events May 14th-18th, 1765.

Journeymens' peaceful demonstrations and magistrates' attitude.

Slump in other English textiles and in Lyon. Possible causes.

Conclusions. 1766 Act, prohibition of imported foreign silks.

Failure of this remedy. High cost of raw silk, failure to find new supply and to save in costs of production. Possible explanations, over-specialization, persistence of independent medium-sized firms, lack of capital investment. Exclusive social composition of master weavers dominated by Huguenots. Achievements of the industry.

(1) V. & A. Museum, Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, 5984/3a.

(2) Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. of Sudbury.

(3) M. D. George: "London Life in the 18th Century", 1925. Chapter 4, part 2, pp. 176-195.

G. B. Hertz. "The English Silk Industry in the Eighteenth Century". In The English Historical Review, Vol. XXIV January-October 1909, pp. 710-727.

The Silk Industry in London, 1702-66

Introduction

This study began from an investigation of a series of inscriptions on some 840 dated designs for English woven silks which are being catalogued in the Victoria and Albert Museum by Mr. Peter Thornton. The inscriptions include technical information in some cases and often several names, thus: "Mr. Carr, Mr. Lekeux, July 9th 1745.." (1). The designs include a set privately owned (2) and cover the period 1706 to 1756. Over one hundred people are mentioned on them. By identifying these people and estimating their importance in the industry it is hoped that it will be possible to estimate the relative importance of the designers and the purely historical significance of the collection. The designs could have survived accidentally but they could, on the other hand, be a good indication of the quality of English silks in the period. While Mr. Thornton has investigated their aesthetic significance, he entrusted to me the task of investigating the historical sources. Although secondary accounts of the industry exist and might have been expected to help, with certain exceptions (3) they proved to be inadequate. The reason for this quickly became apparent. During the 19th century the silk industry, especially in London, was a monument to the horrors of the industrial revolution. Sweated labour,

- (1) "A View of the Silk Trade" by Richard Mognall Esq.
quoted in J. Prout: "A Preview of the Silk Trade",
1829, Macclesfield.
Samuel Sholl: "A Short Historical Account of the Silk
Manufacture in England," London, 1811. (By a journeyman
weaver).
All these were in fact accounts of the industry in their
own period whatever their titles implied.

- (2) Anonymous article. The first part of the article, pp.
89-93, does not concern this period. Part II, pp. 168-170.
Part III "The Present Condition", pp. 195-199 (Vol. II),
V. & A. Museum Library.

- (3) This is a misunderstanding. The clause in the Act of
1766 making it a felony to break into a workshop and cut
work on the loom had nothing to do with the mercers. The
cutters attacked masters who were paying lower wages than
those agreed upon in the lists of prices and also journey-
men working for lower rates of pay.

starving children, desperate and riotous journeymen, sometimes viciously oppressed, formed a popular picture of the silk industry that was hardly exaggerated (1). Such conditions inevitably coloured any view of the past. By the middle of the 19th century it seemed incredible that there should have been any period of prosperity and if it had ever existed its memory had, for the most part, been forgotten.

A typical account of the period is contained in the Journal of Design for 1849 (2). This publication was intended to raise the aesthetic standards of British manufacturers and might have been expected to contain serious well-informed articles. "The Silk Manufacture in Great Britain, No. II, Spitalfields and the Prohibitory System" is, in fact, a polemic directed against the evils of Protection. The period of this study is described thus:

"The commercial progress of the silk trade under all this nursing was simply a series of complaints and depressions; remonstrances, memorials and petitions; occasional clamour and hopeless despondency until 1824. In spite of all prohibitory Acts smuggling was carried on to an enormous extent, and the contraband trade in silks was such as almost virtually to nullify the Acts intended for protection. Everyone who desired to wear silk made a point of getting the prohibited article....because it was supposed to be much superior to the home-made production: at last this was carried to such an extent that, after a bold attempt to stop the illicit trade in 1763, so little appears to have been done towards carrying out the purposes of the prohibitory acts that 7,000 looms are stated to have been idle. Parliament reported very strongly against the contraband system again and again: instead of recommending moderate duties" (since the English were known to produce some goods better than the French), "they returned to the old plan of positive prohibition thus aggravating the already bad state of things. To such lengths had matters run that acts were passed at least to protect the silk mercers selling foreign wares against the savage assaults of the working weavers who frequently attacked shops and warehouses where the hated goods were supposed to be deposited, and destroyed all they could lay their hands on (3). For this

(1) Hertz, op. cit., p. 711.

(2) The oppressed weavers of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Macclesfield and Manchester belong at the earliest to the late 60's. Equally, it is impossible to quote the wages of one type of worker in 1770 Manchester as if they were typical of the whole century and of other centres. The discussion of the journeyman's standard of life is also misleading (p.720). The London journeymen did not combine "their handicraft with agricultural pursuits". It would, however, be equally irrelevant to apply to the Macclesfield worker of the 1780's the conditions of the Spitalfields journeyman half a century earlier.

offence capital punishment was enacted.....Add to this constant disputes between workmen and employers; combinations of a fearful character, resulting in open defiance of the law, and occasionally bloodshed "which led to the Spitalfields Act of 1773 regulating wages."

Most of this account is grossly exaggerated and the result of telescoping a series of incidents spread over 70 years so that they appear to happen together. Some complete misunderstandings are added for good measure. Even a good account written in the present century suffers from the same fault. Early in his article G. B. Hertz wrote "From this date the history of the industry falls into four periods. The years between 1713 and 1765 were marked by heavy duties falling short of prohibition" (1). The implication of this article and that of the anonymous account in the Journal of Design would seem to be the same: that the acts created and shaped the industry, not that the industry created the acts. Enough examples can be found throughout the period of demands from every section of the silk industry - and indeed from many other industries - for protective legislation. A history of these demands is not, however, a history of the industry itself. Moreover, Hertz permitted himself an even more dangerous over-simplification. He contrasted the situation in 1700 (2) with that in 1800, listing the many provincial centres in the latter year by comparison with the one centre, London, in the former. In so doing he ignored the fact that in his first period, 1713-65, apart from Canterbury and Norwich (which he could have mentioned as active in 1700) the provincial centres he listed were throwing

(1) See Chapter 2 pp.135-7 Much of the throwing in the provinces was done in mills under factory conditions. The conditions of the London throwsters were diverse and certainly the weavers did not work in factories in the modern sense.

(2) The best of these are: César Moreau, "The Rise and Progress of the Silk Trade in England from the earliest period to the present Time", February 1826; and Porter, "Treatise on the Origin, Progressive Improvement and Present State of the Silk Manufacture", London 1831. One chapter is concerned with the history of the manufacture in England and this was widely quoted by later 19th century writers.

(3) 13 Geo III. Cap. 68 which established a legally agreed list of Prices to be paid for certain types of work. The earlier lists had no legal sanction.

(4) César Moreau, see above.

(5) Anderson on Commerce. "An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the origin of Commerce...." London 1787, Vol. III (The 18th Century).
David Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce", London 1805, Vol. III (The 18th Century).

silk and not weaving it, a distinction in technology which could also carry with it a difference in industrial organisation (1). It is hoped in this study to establish how far the industry can be identified with one area in London and the extent of its growth in these years, its structure and organisation, the goods it produced and the techniques by which it produced them. These points will be considered before giving an account of the difficulties which the industry encountered which in turn produced the pamphlets, the petitions and finally the legislation.

The accounts written in the early 19th century do not suffer from the distortion of their facts to suit any economic theory but are very limited in their scope.(2). Only certain events and certain acts of Parliament receive any attention: the effects of the treaty of 1713, the patent taken out by Sir Thomas Lombe in 1719 and its renewal in 1732, the act of 1750 reducing duties on the import of raw silk, the petition of 1764, the acts of 1765 and '66, the cutters' riots of 1769 and sometimes the "Spitalfields" act of 1773 (3). The best of these accounts described these subjects quite factually but without very much attempt to link the events together. One writer made some use of the customs figures (4) and illustrated his account very fully with the evidence given to the 1824 Parliamentary Committee on the silk industry. The basic material of these accounts seems to come from such works as David Macpherson's Annals of Commerce (5) of 1805 and Anderson on Commerce of 1787. These amount largely to a précis of the most important legislation which

(1) Documents originally compiled as records of impersonal facts in which the compiler, within his terms of reference, made no selection. The selection which may subsequently be made from such documents ceases, of course, to be impersonal or unbiased.

(2) J. S. Burn: "The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch and other Protestant Refugees settled in England, 1846.

Samuel Smiles: "The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland", 1867.

Rev. C. A. Agnew: "Protestant Exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV", 1874, and revised edition 1886.

C. Weiss: "The History of the French Protestant Refugees", 1854.

is not, in itself, misleading. It may, perhaps, seem a contradiction to state that this legislation and the petitions, pamphlets and other literary manifestations which accompanied it, yield much of the ascertainable facts about the silk industry. This is so only when such evidence is compared with the evidence of the purely "objective" (1) sources: the directories, quarterage lists of the London Weavers Company, customs statistics, certain insurance policy registers and similar material. On the one hand it is necessary to look beyond the polemics and on the other to escape from the fascination of compiling irrelevant statistics for their own sake. The two types of evidence can be compared to their mutual advantage. The Journals of the House of Commons are one of the most important sources for this study because they contain some indication of the events leading up to any piece of legislation or abortive legislation. Moreover, the reports made by their select committees are not anonymous. It is possible to assess the weight of the evidence in the light of the "objective" facts known about each witness.

The only works of the middle and later 19th century which are not overcast by ignorance and gloom are the various accounts of the settlements of the French refugees in this country and the contribution they made to its industry (2). Indeed, these are imbued with a spirit of such fierce optimism that it has been difficult to take them too seriously despite the circumstantial evidence which they offered. There is, however, one passage in J. Southerden Burn: History of the French and other Protestant refugees settled in England, published in 1846, which appears from

(1) E.I.D. series 5973: "Patterns by different Hands"
(belonging to Anna Maria Garthwaite).

5973.19. "For Mr. Monceaux, July 1 1720."

5973.18. "For Mr. Peter Lekeux, Oct. 26th 1724,

For Mr. Smith.....

Chr...Baud..... (The signature has been compared with that of Christopher Baudouin, who witnessed the naturalisation of Peter Mariscoe in 1709, and who also signed the 1714 Petition of the Principal Inhabitants of Spitalfields to the Commissioners of 50 New Churches, and found to be the same in each case). Other designs for Lekeux can be related to this one on stylistic grounds.

(2) P.C.C. Smith. fol. 188. (Marescoe, obit 1710), P.C.C. Richmond. fol. 78, (Lekeux, obit 1723.)

(3) C. A. Agnew (1886 edn.) op. cit., Vol. I, p. 202.

its very precision to be based upon some continuous tradition. It is repeated almost exactly in Weiss: History of the French Protestant Refugees, of 1854, p. 252. The passage begins with the claim "The French artisans took into England models of looms similar to those in Lyons and Tours. They taught the English improved methods of weaving and shewed them how to make brocades, satins, very strong silks known as paduasoyes, watered silks, black velvets, fancy velvets, stuffs of mingled silk, silk and cotton...." Much of this can be contradicted or at least modified, but the passage continues: "The figured silks which proceeded from the London manufacturers at the end of the 17th century were due almost exclusively to the industry of three refugees Lanson, Mariscot and Monceaux. The artist who supplied the designs was also a refugee named Baudouin....." This could be considered to be no more than an anecdote, probably distorted or even invented and, in any case, impossible to verify were it not for a series of coincidences. Mr. Monceaux and an artist, Christopher Baudouin, appear in the inscriptions on some of the V. & A. designs (1). Associated with them is the name of a weaver "Mr." or "Capn. Peter Lekeux". Furthermore, Captain Peter was related through his uncle, of the same name, to Peter Mariscoe, and indeed through his uncle inherited some of Mariscoe's extensive property (2). Agnew mentioned (3) that J. Southerden Burn had made "practical use" of his great knowledge of Huguenot families in dealing with a case involving the "considerable" Lekeux inheritance. It thus seems possible that Burn had had more than family tradition on which to base his

(1) Guildhall MS.4642. The signature of James Leman is mentioned in Frank Lewis. James Leman, Leigh on Sea, 1954, p. 8.

(2) The term "flowered" is used in the 1769 List of Prices (see Bibliography), ^{for} a patterned silk made on a drawloom. It is used earlier in less technical documents, such as Mortimer's Directory of 1763. While the design of such silks was not necessarily floral it very often was and the term is a conveniently expressive one to use for silks with a free design. "Figured", the term often used today for such textiles, has the disadvantage that, in the 18th century, it is often used for a different technique. Thus, "foot-figured", also used in the 'List of Prices', means a pattern made by shafts and therefore limited in size and scale. There were practical restrictions on the number of shafts which could be used, and thus silks which were "foot-figured" would be limited to designs with small floral motifs or geometric patterns. Thus, "flowered" has been used for the most part throughout this study.

statement, perhaps papers which have now disappeared. (Efforts to trace any surviving descendants of the Lekeuxs have so far failed). The By-Laws and Ordinances of the Weavers Company in 1737 were signed by Peter Lekeux among others (including another of the designers whose work is represented in the Victoria and Albert Museum, James Leman) (1). This in its turn suggested that the part they took in the Company's affairs should be investigated as a first step towards finding out how much truth there was in the statement made by Burn. The Court Books of the Assistants of the Weavers Company of London have proved to be the other most important source for this study.

Hertz wrote that the English industry "never wholly wrested supremacy in the silk trade from the French. The latter had several great advantages. In the first place labour was far cheaper, and in this case cheap labour was not counterbalanced by any English superiority in taste or workmanship". He does not quote any authority for the last statement. Very little direct business evidence such as account books, order books, partnership agreements, etc. survive, and thus the 840 V. & A. designs become exceptionally important. The inscriptions, however brief, do reveal something of the relationship of the different elements of the industry to one another, pattern-drawer to weaver, weaver to journeyman, and weaver to mercer. The designs themselves shew what the different types of "flowered" (2) silks look like, the changes in style or fashion, and give some evidence for comparison with the products of the French industry

- (1) The ribbon industry is better studied in connection with that of Coventry. The hosiery industry is being investigated by at least two other people.
- (2) W. R. Scott: Joint Stock Companies, Vol. III. Section III, The Royal Lustring Company 1688-1720, pp. 72-89.
- (3) W. H. Manchée: "Some Huguenot Smugglers: The Impeachment of London Silk Merchants in 1698", in Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 406-427. Also Calendar of House of Lords MSS for the period, House of Commons Journals, especially 1698 Report on the Smugglers, and other sources quoted by Scott.
- (4) "Broad" silks as opposed to "narrow" goods (i.e. ribbons, tape, etc.). This is, again, a normal 18th century term. See for instance, B.M. Tracts on Trade 816ml3, 1-72, no.15. "That all sorts of figured, flowered and striped broad silks, and all satin figured and plain ribbons are made of fine Italian thrown silks with a mixture of the coarser sorts...." 1699. It was also used by Daniel Defoe in this sense: see Chapter 1, p. 3. It continued to be used into the 19th century, for example in "The Book of Trades", 1804-11 edition, p. 15. The distinction between broad and narrow weaving is made "the narrow weavers....(are employed)...in ribbons, tapes and such other things".

which were certainly their most dangerous competitors.

These designs thus constitute the third basic source which has been used. Hertz probably repeated contemporary criticism

from some literary source but he did not, apparently, attempt to find out who made such criticisms, whether there was any ulterior motive behind them or to what extent they were justified.

One of the purposes of this study is to shew that the flowered silks occupied a quite special position in the industry, and that the bias with which this work began is justified historically.

It is not proposed to treat in any detail the manufacture of ribbons, ferret, braid or hosiery (1). Since the greatest period of the Royal Lustring Company falls outside the years of this study its final collapse will not be discussed except incidentally. Its history has been written by W. R. Scott (2), and other published material is readily accessible (3). It is almost exclusively the "broad" silk (4) industry which is investigated.

Although any dates set upon a study of this kind are to some extent arbitrary, the choice of the years 1702-1766 is an attempt to encompass a reasonably homogeneous period. The accession of Queen Anne and the Act of Settlement guaranteed the future of the Huguenots in England. This was of special relevance to the silk industry since the future of its dramatis personae, both masters and men, was ensured. In the year 1766 the second of two reports by Select Committees of the House of Commons on the general state of the silk industry in England was

(1) House of Commons Journals: Vol. 30, pp. 208-229, 4th March 1765 Report of the Select Committee on the Silk Industry, and pp. 724-729, April 14th, 1766.

(2) For example, the most interesting thesis of W. M. Jordan (M.A. 1930) on "The Silk Industry in London, 1760-1830 with special reference to the condition of the wage earners and the policy of the Spitalfields Acts."

(3) Hertz, op. cit., p. 726.

(4) Accounts of these disturbances were printed in the Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, October 4th, 6th, 12th, 13th, 1763. One journeyman was badly hurt.

printed in the Journals (1). The two reports, of 1765 and 1766, quoted opinions from a wide variety of interests on the causes of the depression which was apparent to them all. The explanations often conflicted but they referred back over a considerable period. The events of this crisis and the acts which were passed changed the character of the industry and coincided with certain more gradual changes in fashion which were also of great importance. A study of the industry in the years after 1766 would necessarily emphasise quite different factors (2). To ignore this distinction can be most misleading. Hertz wrote "The period 1763-73 was one of industrial war between employers and employed, and closed in special legislation, to which later industrial history has given some celebrity. The riots of 1763 and 1769 were particularly grave....." (3). There was in actual fact a great difference between the incidents in 1763 and 1769. The former demonstrations were almost without bloodshed, received much public sympathy, and at the worst saw a master weaver burnt in effigy and some windows smashed (4). The demonstrations of 1769 occurred after the act of 1766, which extended to the silk industry the laws already affecting the woollen weavers. From 1766 to break into a workshop and cut work on the loom was a felony and therefore punishable by death. In the shadow of such an act conditions of "war" might well be said to prevail and no quarter might be given. The period up to 1766 was of a very different character.

- (1) This section owes much to the L.C.C. Survey of London (Spitalfields) edited by Ison and Bezodis. It can, indeed, be only a slight amplification, laying stress on certain points.
- (2) 1675 Royal Commission on Historical MSS (12th report). MSS of S.H. Le Fleming, Rydal Hall (1890), p. 124.
Description of a riot on January 17th, 1675, of ribbon weavers in Spitalfields and of a similar riot in Southwark.
- (3) A History of Trade in England (anon.) 1702. (B.M.1138.b.3) p.165 et. seq. "...Is not the invention of making these fine stuffs so mightily improved that of late most of the gentry wear them, who formerly wore Rich silks...."
(The author continued that there were said to be too many workmen in London and soon the Provinces would starve) "...more especially since those slight coarse stuffs have been made in London which formerly came from Norwich and other places that wholly depend on that trade..."
- (4) See Introduction p.9.
- (5) Court Books of the Assistants of the Weavers Company. Extracts in Huguenot Society Publications Vol. XXXIII, p.52.
- (6) A. Browning. Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds 1632-1712. Vol. III, Appendices (1951), pp. 25-27.
"March 9, 1676, Regulation of Trade....No persons to wear any silk but what be manufactured in this kingdom...."
"March 11, 1675/6. The Weavers call'd in and being asked whither they could furnish all England with silk stuffs, answered, Yes, if they might bee encouraged..."
They subsequently appeared with patterns to prove their case although it was admitted on the same occasion that they did not make alamodes or lustrings.
- (7) House of Lords MSS. Calendar 1695-7. (i.e. RCHMss 1903) No. 1050, March 31st, 1696.
Report of Select Committee on Persia and East Indies Bill, p. 238 et. seq. Evidence of John Andrews.

C H A P T E R I

THE LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY (1)

Since the late 16th century there had been a number of silk and ribbon weavers in London, not by any means confined to one district (2). How numerous they were by comparison with the worsted weavers is an open question (3). The immigrations from the 1670's onwards of Huguenots from many parts of France and of an important proportion from Holland certainly had a profound influence. There is some support for Burn's statement (4) in the Court Books of the Weavers Company that the French weavers brought new manufactures (5). On August 11th, 1684, John Larguier "now produced a piece of Alamode silk made in England.....This court considered thereof, and conceiving the like hath never been made in England and that it wille be of great benefit to this Nation, Do agree...!" to admit Larguier as a Foreign Master without paying fees, provided he employed Englishmen for a year and a day to help him make Alamodes and Lustrings^{†.††} This incident subsequently led to the foundation of the Royal Lustring Company. However, the episode only proves that lustrings were new to this country not that broad silks in general were new. Earlier in the reign there were demands that only English silks should be worn in order to encourage the industry (6). In 1696 a dealer in "India and English silks" declared "I believe the English cannot nearly supply the nation." (7). A witness who disagreed

(1) Select Committee Report, op. cit. p. 239. Evidence of William Smith.

(2) For example: History of Trade 1702, op. cit. References throughout to foreigners: e.g. (p. 148), "soon.....no English blood left amongst us....." "...it may be further noted that the French in England are the very scum of their nation...." etc.

(3) N. Roadot. Les Protestants à Lyon. 1891, Chapter V. Les Tisseurs en Soie (p. 55). p. 59. Of 20,000 silk weavers in Lyon between 1598-1685 only 85 Protestant silk weavers found in records (baptisms, marriages, burials, etc.); p. 63. Importance of Protestants in the Tours silk industry.

1960, XX, No. 1, pp. 78-80.

(4) Col. Peter Lekeux. obit 1723, pp. 19, 21 etc. & Hug. Soc. Procs. who married "one of the daughters and co-heiresses of rich old Mr. Marisco..." (POL. State of GB XXV 464). Peter Marisco^{obit} 1710 (see p. 9 note P), "of St. Dunstan Stepney, weaver...." (PCC. Smith fol. 188, August 12th, 1710). Also procs. of the Hug. Soc. Vol. XV, No. 3, 1936, pp. 406-427. Some Huguenot Smugglers by W. H. Manchée. Lists prominent silk merchants and weavers in both parties.

said he had observed that "when the East India ships come in half our weavers play. For two or three years we have increased and employed French refugees and we can employ more if encouraged...." It was said that he had lived for some time in Spitalfields (1).

The foreigners tended to settle together in one quarter just outside the South Eastern boundaries of the city in the Tower Hamlets and the Parish of Stepney. So much we know from many contemporary accounts, some of them most unfriendly (2). There is not very much evidence, however, to prove that the professions of the majority in France had been silk weaving. The Grande Fabrique in Lyon (3) was not open to Protestants and there are very few recorded immigrants from that city. Some families from Tours can subsequently be traced in the English industry and others from Nîmes. The contingent from Paris may have included some silk weavers, for there was some industry there; but the monopoly held by Lyon ensured that there was little silk weaving of any consequence in other parts of France (except in the places mentioned and at Avignon). But whatever their origins, the foreigners were concentrated in one large and homogeneous community and silk-weaving was one of the many professions which they entered. They represented an enormous and skilled labour force and in the community there were a number of very rich men most intimately connected with the silk industry (4).

The subsequent importance of the foreigners, and their unusual names, enable a fairly close study to be made of the location of

- (1) In the possession of the editors of the L.C.C. Survey of London. I am much indebted to Mr. Bezodis who permitted us to consult this transcript, and indeed his own notes on the rate books, in the early stages of this study.
- (2) L.C.C. Record Room. MSS.THCS.109 (1713), THCS.115 (1716), THCS.132 (1724), THCS.151 (1736). For example, p. 65 of THCS.132 (1724) = Booth Street (Philip Manckey). p. 57 = Corbet Court (Peter Abraham Ogier, William Dormer, Daniel Gobbee, etc.).
- (3) Daniel Defoe: A Tour through London, about the year 1725. (Annotated edition published by Batsford in 1929), p. 17.

the industry in the 18th century. The main sources for this section have been the Rate Books of Christ Church Spitalfields (such as survive) and of St. Botolph's for the period 1700 - 1720, the Directories of the period and Rocque's Map of London, 1746.

No rate books for Norton Falgate, other than a transcription made in 1909 for one year have survived for the most crucial period (1). The Spitalfields Sewer Rate Books for 1713, 1716, 1724 and 1736 have no street names and thus only the outlandish names of the Huguenots permit the rate collector's route to be followed with any certainty (2).

The geographical growth of this area of London is relevant in so far as it can be connected with the silk industry. Daniel Defoe described "the even greater growth of the outparts"(of London) "in 1725" (3). Within his own memory "all the numberless ranges of building called Spitalfields reaching from Spital Yard at Norton Falgate and from Artillery Lane in Bishopsgate Street with all the new streets beginning at Hoxton and the back of Shoreditch Church north and reaching to Brick Lane and to the end of Hare Street on the way to Bethnal Green East, then sloping away quite to Whitechapel Road south east.....which are now close built and well inhabited....I say all these have been built since the year 1666." On the one hand we have such contemporary descriptions, nearly always in the most general terms, and on the other the lists of people living in particular streets. The links between the two sets of evidence have come from the Court Books of the Weavers Company and certain insurance policies taken out by the inhabitants. These two sources can be compared

(1) RCH. MSS. Stuart Papers. Windsor IV (Vol. 56), p. 302.
G. Flint to Sir James Bateman.

(2) P. Millican. "Freemen of Norwich 1548-1713" (1934). There were 2,929 worsted weavers among the freemen in this period about four times as many freemen as in any other trade. The next largest group were the 551 grocers. Also House of Commons Journals Vol. 19, p. 191 et. seq., petitions from woollen interests all over the country (Dec. 1719) against the use and wear of printed calicoes included petitions from Norwich Woolcombers, Dyers, Dressers, Throwsters etc. of woollen yarn for worsteds which spoke of the "many thousands dependent on the woollen manufactory in this city." (p. 407). Similar petitions were presented by the Worsteds Weavers of Norwich and the J.P.'s of Norwich in Jan. 1721. During the weeks preceding the "Manchester Act" of 1736 which permitted the making and printing of calicoes in this country, the Norwich manufacturers of worsteds stuffs asked to be heard against the bill (House of Commons Journals Vol. 22, p. 592. 26th February).

(3) "A New Guide to London in French and English", 2nd ed. 1726 (B.M.577d. 3/1), p. 83.

with the information contained in printed directories after 1736.

Contemporary feeling about the foreigners, the growth of the industry, - and of Spitalfields was rather confused. In May, 1717, a Jacobite wrote (1): "We have already in London itself above 200,000 foreigners and Huguenot officers plentiful in the army, and the law for naturalising foreigners is pro-rogued only to the next sessions..." While a more belligerent letter was published on November 28th, 1719 in the Weekly Journal or Saturday Post. "It seems," it said, "I have been fighting for a parcel of Outlandish pretended Huguenots half Papists, who now they are grown rich amongst us despise the name of an English man.....are we not over run with French valet de Chambres, periwig makers, tailors, cooks, weavers, perfumers, distillers, vintners, barbers and high German Doctors.....Fellows that look like the Devil Himself, with broad brimmed hats and basket hilted swords...." a rather fanciful description. The same newspaper published on December 19th: "The case of the Woollen and Silk Manufacturers in Great Britain humbly offered to the Consideration of Parliament." In the course of the argument it was stated that "the weavers in and about London and Norwich and their dependents only....(number) 300,000 upwards." This was no doubt the maximum credible figure and in Norwich there was a large worsted industry (2). In "A New Guide to London in French and English" (3) the author remarks, "We omitted to mention the fine streets ("le beau quartier") of Goodman's Fields, White Chapel and Spittlefields where the most part of the weavers live,

(1) A Foreigners Guide to London, 1st edition 1719 (B.M. 578.B.43), p. 136-8.

(2) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit.

(3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 21, 1727-32. Feb. 14th 1728/9, p. 220.

(4) Daniel Defoe: "A Plan of the English Commerce", p. 293.

and where they have lately built whole streets that are very fine....." In the French version this is rendered: "le quartier des ouvriers en soye et des Tisserands et on a depuis peu bâti des rues entières qui sont très belles". In the "Foreigners Guide to London" 1729, (1) it was said: "they reckon in Spittlefields alone above 100,000 silk, plush, cotton and wool weavers". Such an estimate was obviously exaggerated but the growth of the area is reflected in the agitation of the inhabitants to push forward the building of Christ Church (2). In their petition of February 1729 in which the principal inhabitants complained of the lack of an endowment for the church they emphasised the urgency, "the hamlet being very populous". From the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons (3) in 1729 it appeared that the Commissioners for 50 New Churches had allotted the hamlet a church many years before, that, the church was now built and ready for consecration, and it was added: "the inhabitants have for many years past chose their own officers and maintained their poor among themselves which are numerous, and that there are near 2,500 houses in the parish." Finally we have the opinion of Daniel Defoe ((4): in "A Plan of the English Commerce", first published in 1722, he wrote on various improvements in Manufactures and Trade ... "one of them is the broad silk manufacture; I cannot pass it over; it is an Encrease of this very age. It is a Surprise to the World, as well in its Quantity as in its Value, and in the admirable Perfection which our people are arriv'd to in it, and the little

- 17.
- (1) He quotes in the same work spurious figures of imports and the total consumption of woven silks. He also exaggerates the decline of silk weaving in Canterbury.

time they have had to raise it to the degree which it is arriv'd to. It is but a very few Years ago that the making of Broad silks began in England; the French and the Italians carried the world before them...in that particular Article...."

On p. 297 he remarked, "The broad silk trade indeed being chiefly carried on in the cities of London, might be said to employ some of the people formerly employed in the Woollen Manufacture in the same place (viz:) Spittlefields".

From these accounts it is clear that the number of weavers had increased, but there were a large number of foreigners in

London and that the area around Spitalfields was a rapidly growing self-supporting unit. How far this geographical expansion was the result of an expansion in the silk industry is not so

clear from these accounts. Daniel Defoe is not too reliable (1).

The campaign of 1719 directed against printed calicoes emphasised the numbers of woollen and worsted weavers thrown out of work.

The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer on January 9th, 1720 published "a list of the several sorts of woollen and silk manufactures which are lost by the Incroachment of printed linens and calicoes", which, the letter said, stood "like an account of so many officers slain in battle, so many towns burnt...."

On this list there was not one single pure silk. Even allowing for the fact that the goods listed are typical of those made in Norwich, the complete exclusion of any silks is odd unless such worsteds and half silks were also made in some quantity in London as well. Moreover the "Foreigners Guide", ten years later

(1) See p.14 fn. 4.

(2) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations
(1718-22) October 8th, 1719, p. 113.

(3) Court Books of the Assistants of the Weavers Company
of London, (henceforth referred to as 'Court Books op. cit.'
unless the source is not the original MSS. but the extracts
made by the Huguenot Society in Vol. XXXIII of their
publications which will be referred to as 'Hug. Soc.
Publms. XXXIII').
Vol. 1700-21. Guildhall MS. 4655/1, Audit Day, 14th
September, 1719.

(4) i. Rate Book in Stepney Public Library.

ii. Sun Insurance Company, Policy Book No. 1, 1710-1711,
p. 47. Thomas Eades at the Fox in Wheeler Street Spittle-
fields in the Parish of St. Dunstan Stepney, Cit. and
Weaver for his goods.

(I am much indebted to Mr. P. G. Thurlby who, when engaged
in research on the London calico printers for the late
Mr. P. C. Floud, took notes - on a reciprocal basis - of
the weavers whom he came across in the Sun Insurance Company
records for the years 1710-20).

(5) Petitions in Lambeth Palace Library - to which Mr. Bezodis
of the L.C.C. Survey of London drew our attention in the
early stages of this study.

(6) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations,
op. cit., p. 118.

(7) PRO. C.O.388. 21 Bundle 1, fol. 209.

still spoke of the "silk, plush, cotton and woollen weavers" in Spitalfields.

Col. Lekeux (1) was asked by the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations in October 1719 to produce a series of witnesses to speak on the weavers' petition against printed calicoes (2). He was asked for representatives of various interests and ".... of the weavers in Spittlefields, who are chiefly concerned in worsted and woollen goods, he mentioned Mr. Thomas Eades and Mr. Tidmarsh". Both these men can be identified. From the Court Books of the Weavers Company we know that the Committee to deal with the petition was appointed in September (3). Thomas Eades, as Upper Bailiff for the year, was automatically a member. In 1700 he was living in Petticoat Lane (4), though by 1711 he was probably living in Wheeler Street. While the precise address of Captain Josiah Tidmarsh is unknown, his name appears in the Rate Books for the New Town and he signed the various petitions to the Commissioners of the 50 New Churches, together with other "principal inhabitants" of Spitalfields in 1713/4, 1714, 1723 and 1727 (5). Mr. Eades appeared before the Commissioners on October 22nd (6). He said that "he was concerned in the export of our silk and woollen goods to Hamburg, Germany, Spain and etc. and he assured their Lordships that he had had the value of £2,000 of these goods by him for these 12 months". There seems no reason to doubt his statement. Indeed, in a paper which he presented to the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations (7) he said, "I have collected some facts relating to the woollen manufactory within my own knowledge..." He had

19.

still spoke of the "elk, pine, cotton and woolen weavers"

(1) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations,
op. cit. p. 113.

(2) Rate Book, Stepney Public Library, op. cit.

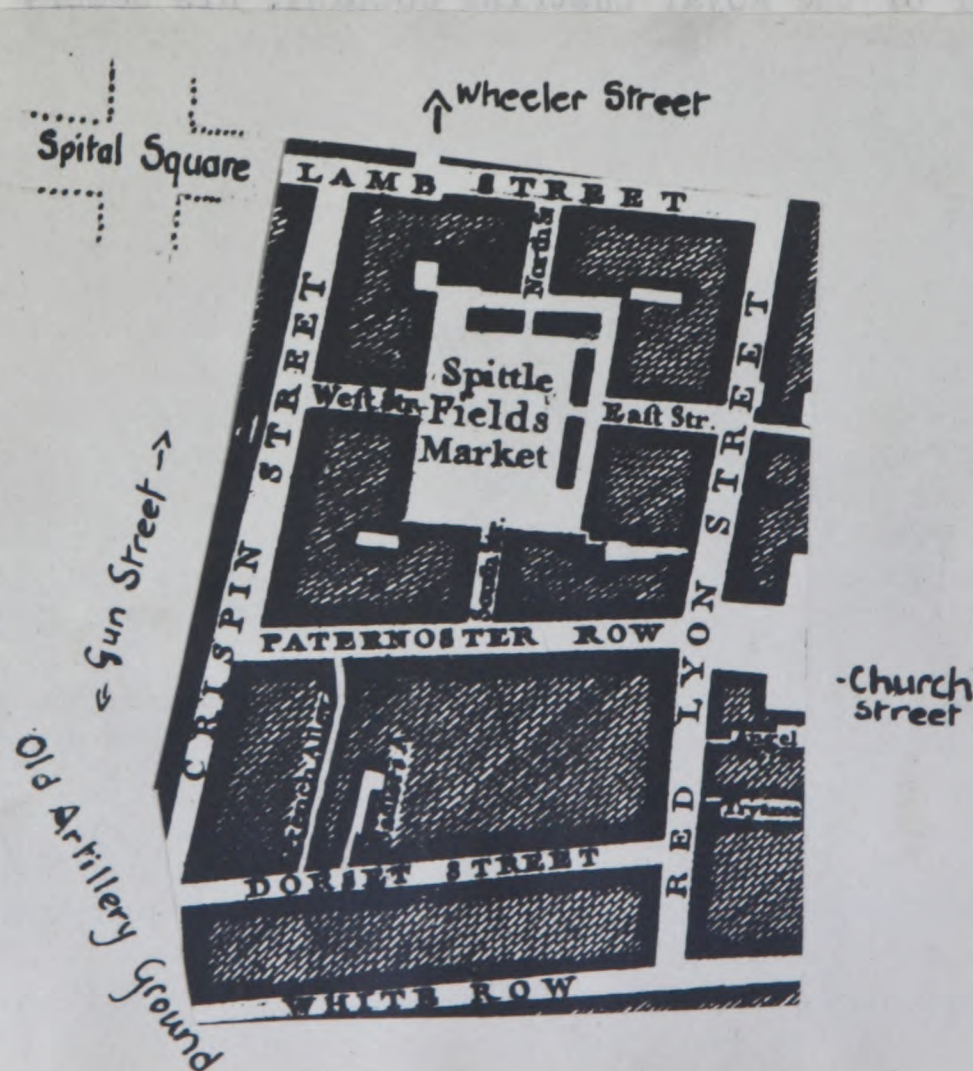
and plantations in October 1719 to produce a series of witnesses
to the fact that the weavers' petition was not a mere list of names
but a petition for redress of grievances and "....
of the weavers in Spitalfields, who are chiefly concerned in
worsted and woolen goods, he mentioned Mr. Thomas Eades and
Mr. Thomas Eades, both of whom can be identified.
Court House of the weavers' Company, we know that the Committee to
deal with the petition was appointed in September (5). Thomas
Eades an upper miller for the year was automatically a member.
in 1719 he was living in Portland Lane (7), though by 1711
he was probably living in Wheeler Street. While the precise
address of Captain Thomas Eades is unknown his name appears
in the Rate Book for the New Town and he signed the various
petitions to the Commissioners of the New Town, together
with other "Principal Inhabitants" of Spitalfields in 1717,
1718, 1723 and 1727 (2). Mr. Eades appeared before the
Commissioners on October 22nd (6). He said that "he was con-
cerned in the export of our silk and woolen goods to Hamburg,
Germany, Spain and etc. and he asserted their lordships that he
had had the value of £2,000 of these goods by him for these 12
months". There seems no reason to doubt his statement. Indeed,
in a paper which he presented to the Commissioners of Trades and
Plantations (7) he said, "I have collected some facts relating
to the woolen manufactory within my own knowledge...." He had

formerly employed 180-230 looms "in making Callimancoes and Camblitts partly for the foreign trade", but his trade had been steadily declining for two years and he had less than 100 looms employed and only two-thirds fully employed. He calculated he had 1,500 men, women and children out of work.

Col. Lekeux was asked also (1) "where the weavers are chiefly established". "The weavers of stuffs and silks," he said, "are chiefly established at London, Canterbury, Norwich and Colchester, at the two former....places their employment is most in silks, at Norwich in silk and worsted and at Colchester in worsted. That as to the numbers of weavers in Spitalfields and other parts about London, it was uncertain, but that in his remembrance he believes they have increased from one to twenty..." A founder of the Royal Lustring Company, his memory presumably went back to the 1680's.

Spitalfields Old Town in 1700 (2) included only a small part of the district. Not all the streets are named in the Rate Book but they included Paternoster Row, Dorset Street, White Row, Smock Alley, Cobb's Yard, Bramble Alley, Rose Lane, Dean and Flower Street and a part of Brick Lane. The area can still be defined: it was bordered on the south by Wentworth Street and on the north by Fashion Street and Paternoster Row. The New Town straggled north and east to Bethnal Green but none of its street names are given in the Rate Books before 1743. In the Old Town few of the inhabitants are familiar from the court books of the Weavers Company; but since both the inhabitants and the Assistants

- (1) Registers of La Patente (Hug. Soc. Publins. XI, 1898) p. 172. Marriage in 1692 of Judith Alavoine daughter of Daniel A. with Ambroze Pointier son of Thomas P. and Mary Blairion., both families from Picardy.
 ii) Hug. Soc. Publins. XXXIII op. cit. 1692, p. 56.
 iii) Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England and Ireland 1701-1800, ed. W. A. Shaw, Hug. Soc. Publins. Vol. XXVII, 1710, p. 105. In 1712 Daniel Alavoine was living in the Artillery Ground (Sun Insurance Company Policy Book 1, p. 144).
- (2) See pp. 210, 211 note 2, 212 note 1, Obit 1748. G.M. XVIII. p. 525, described as "an eminent weaver of Spitalfields and Justice of the Peace."
- (3) Career outlined in Hug. Soc. Procs. XX, No. 1, pp. 66-69.
- (4) Several Nouailles, Daniel Alavoine (Alovine), Daniel Messman, Isaac Jemmett (Jamett), Peter Campart (Compar, Nicholas Crumpler (Cromplir), John Gobbé (Gobbey), Isaac Lepine (Lepaine), Jacob Lardent, Andrew Leconte, John Vautier (Votie), Daniel Gobbé (Gobbey), several Deheulles, a Debonnaire, Renée Monceau, several Ravenells, etc. Peter Campart (the elder) was living in Quaker Street, (Sun Ins. Co. Pol. Bk. 1, p. 80, 1710-11).
- (5) Guildhall MS. 5419/1-15. (St. Botolph Without, Poor Rate).



and Livery of the Company were for the most part English, it is not easy to recognise them. One street, however, was an exception. Some 33 inhabitants were listed in Paternoster Row in 1700, of whom Daniel Alavine (probably from Picardy and taking apprentices from 1692, naturalised in 1710)(1), and Alexander Garrett (2) were both weavers, while Christopher Baudouin was a pattern drawer of some importance (3). Both Garrett and Baudouin signed the Petitions of the Principal Inhabitants; Alavine was, it seems, a member of the La Patente Church. In 1713 when Rate Books, albeit without street names, exist for both areas, the number of French names is much larger in the New Town and they include a large number of families who can be identified as master weavers a little later in the period (4). Although the French are more numerous, the English weavers who can be identified were important ones (John Bachelor, Josiah Tidmarsh, Geo. Bloodworth, for example). Col. Peter Lekeux himself lived in Corbet Court and paid a rate of 20/-, at least double if not treble the average. Neither Old nor New Town included the Liberty of Norton Falgate, which comprised Spital Square and the adjacent streets, together with Steward Street and the Old Artillery Ground. The area between Petticoat Lane and Bishopsgate Street lay mostly in St. Botolphs. In all these areas there were weavers, which makes such a study rather more complex than one would wish. A fairly rapid survey of the Rate Books 1702-20 of St. Botolphs shew a number of weavers in this parish (5). From 1711, for instance, living in Catherine Wheel Alley were Francis Mattoon

(1) Hug. Soc. Publns. Vol. XXXIII, p. 40.

(2) See Appendix 2 (i) and p. 25, 27 fn. 1 of this Chapter and Chapter 2, p. 1.

(3) See Appendix 2 (i) and p. 65 fn. 1 of this Chapter and Chapter 2, p. 1.

(4) Guildhall MS. 4661/27 Quarterage Lists of the Weavers Coy for 1728, gives the addresses of most of the Livery.

(5) See Appendix 2 (i) and p. 53 of this Chapter and Chapter 2, pp. 104-5, 159-162, 207-208, 91-2.

(6)

Paternoster Row

THCS 115

pp. 22-23 1716 (rate)

Stephen Serious 6/8
?D Peter Triquet £1.4.0d.
John Lefronc 12/-
Peter Rudd 10/8
?W Isaac Very 10/8
W Alexander Garrett 13/4

Geo. Archer 13/4
PD Christopher Baudouin 8/8
W James Leige 8/8
John Deunio 8/8

John Bourseau 5/4
Thomas Danshar 5/4
?W John Osbourne 5/4

THCS 132

pp. 92-93 1724 (rate) (1736

RB. DOES NOT INCLUDE
THE STREET)

Stephen Serious 5/-
?D Peter Triquet 15/-
John Lefronc 8/-
Wid. Rudd 7/6
Peter Gibb 7/-
W Captain Alexander Garrett 8/-
Geo. Archer 10/-
Christopher Baudouin 5/-
W Benjamin Champion 6/-
T Alexander Garrett 12/6
John Bourseau 3/6
Thomas Danshier 3/6
?W Jno. Osborne 3/6

THCS 162

pp. 34-35 1743 (rate)

Thomas Lane £1.2.6
John Lefronc 12/-
John Prilluer (?) 1/-
?W Peter Newhouse 6/-
W George Garrett 15/-

T John Gwilt £1.4.0d
Widow Fran. Baudouin 7/6d.

T Alexander Garrett £1.4.0d
T Alexander Garrett £1.4.0d
?W Samuel Radcliffe 5/3
(Eliz. Dowson) -
(Chas Gray)

Peter Lepipre £1.15.4. Merc.P. Lepipre 17/6

W(Jos. Harris)W Thomas Bray £1.17.6

Madam Bohun for
the market £2.13.4d.

Madam Bohun for
the market £2.10.0d.

Robert Moor Esq. for
the market

W = Weaver T = Throwster PD = Pattern Drawer M = Mercer
Merc. = Merchant ? = In Quarterage List.

(who was admitted to the Weavers' Company in 1674 (1), and John Bloodworth, a Liveryman (2). In Hand Alley lived James Ouvry (3).

In the course of investigating the careers of certain men known to be master silk weavers (see Appendix 2, 1-5), it became apparent that within the small area contained by these different parishes there was a high concentration of master weavers in certain streets whose names had become increasingly familiar, while in others the names of the inhabitants were quite unknown. Moreover the rates varied in accordance - the less familiar, the less they paid. The search for certain weavers specifically known to have made "flowered" silks revealed a degree of specialisation within the streets themselves which seemed to bear a relation to the family and business alliances and origins of the inhabitants. Unfortunately it is impossible to make as detailed a survey before 1728 as it is after that date (4). Only for certain streets or groups of streets was there sufficient evidence.

Paternoster Row, mentioned earlier, was one such street. Apart from those already mentioned there was only one other foreigner there in 1700, Peter Lepipre, a merchant. In 1713 the latter paid 7/6 as a rate and in addition there was another weaver John Baker (5) (also paying 7/6). Just round the corner in Crispin Street lived a mercer, Mathew Hebart, paying 12/-. From 1716-43 the inhabitants can be fixed precisely (6). The rates they paid were far higher than in the surrounding streets

- (1) Guildhall. Hand in Hand Insurance Company Policy Registers MS. 8674/21 fol. 92, No. 23981 1719/20.
- (2) Guildhall. MS. 8674/21 fol. 91, No. 781 1719/20.
- (3) p. 149.
- (4) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit. p. 227. (56) Artillery Lane belonged to him 1700-1716/20 as well as the house in Crispin Street.
- (5) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit. pp. 92-93 (PCC. Plymouth, June, fol. 121 proved 1726).
- (6) p. 43.
- (7) Chapter 2, p. 205.
- (8) Guildhall MS. 8674/21 fol. 104, No. 23988 1719/20.
- (9) Guildhall MS. 8674/47 fol. 193, No. 23988 1733.

in which the average rate was 2/6 or 2/-. In 1719 Baudouin's house was valued at £175, a fairly high value (1) though the standard may perhaps be set by his landlord's house which was valued at £500 (2). Matthew Hebart was probably the mercer referred to in A History of Trade (1702) (3). "If the Foreigners go on and keep four or five trades in one shop; and at the same time do as Mr. Heberd, who keeps one Great Shop in Fanchursh Street and Two more in Spittle Fields or elsewhere....." (the nation will be ruined!) (4). The Garretts, who included weavers and throwsters, were a family of long-standing in Spitalfields. Nicholas Garrett founded the almshouses (5). His brother, Alexander is listed with George Garrett as "Weavers and Warehousemen" in Paternoster Row in 1738. Alexander junior was a throwster listed from 1736-38. When Alexander senior died in 1748 the "Gentleman's Magazine" referred to him as "an eminent weaver and Justice of the Peace". Benjamin Champion had a distinguished career in the Weavers' Company, and offered fifty men to fight for the Crown against the Young Pretender. His career will be considered more fully later (6). John Gwilt was a throwster of a well-to-do family (7). The house on the corner of Paternoster Row and Crispin Street was first occupied by Peter Lepipre, the merchant, then by Joseph Harris and lastly by Thomas Bray. Both the latter were weavers. Lepipre was the first to insure the house for £1,000 in 1720 and he renewed the policy in 1726 (8). Joseph Harris, the next occupier, insured it for the same sum in 1733 (9). Harris became Renter Warden of the

(1) Court Books op. cit.

(2) "Gentleman's Magazine", Vol. IX, p. 554, October 29th, 1739. (Henceforth abbreviated as "GM").

(3) Address in 1728 Quarteridge List. Took out a policy on the house (at £150) in 1743 (Guildhall MS. 8674/65, fol. 17, No. 56990) renewed 1746. (MS. 8674/71, fol. 216, No. 23988) - house on corner of Paternoster Row and Crispin Street.

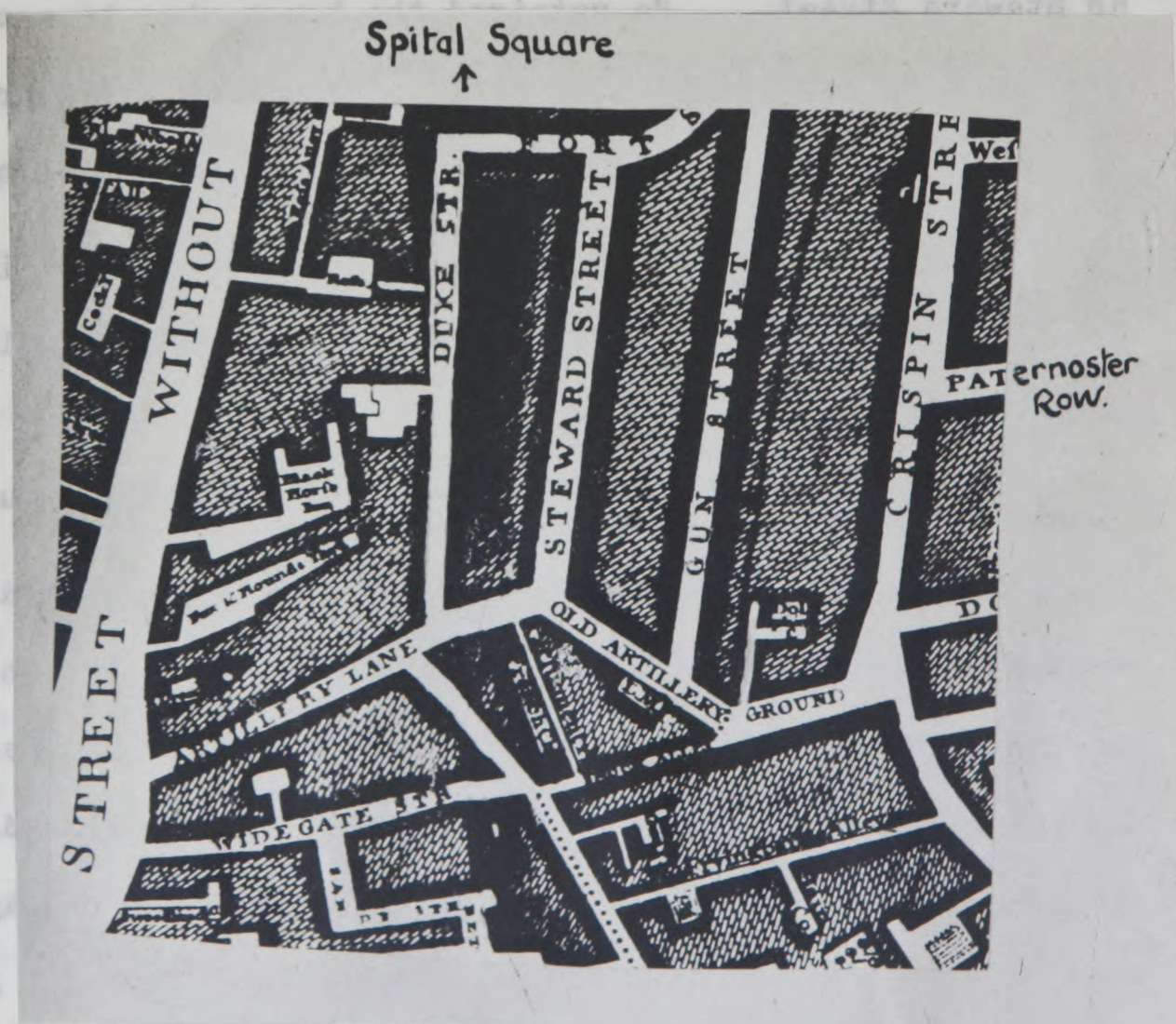
(4) GM. XXXIII, p. 146, March 1763. Deaths include: Thomas Bray Esq. at Edmonton.

Weavers Company in 1725 and an Assistant in 1726. He was Renter Bailiff in 1730 and served on special committees of the Company in 1732 and 1733 (1). His obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine described him as "an eminent weaver worth £30,000" (2). Thomas Bray not only bought this corner house from Harris but also several other properties which Harris had previously insured. Bray still valued the house at £1,000 when the policy upon it was renewed. In addition he owned a warehouse on the south side of Paternoster Row, which he insured for £100, and another which had a coach-house and stables below and a warehouse above, on the east side of Crispin Street. Thomas Bray adopted the Livery before 1728, when his address on the Livery List was given as Steward Street. He retained the house when he moved to "his dwelling" in Paternoster Row (3). He joined the Court of Assistants in 1736. Bray is probably the junior partner in the firm of Reynolds and Bray, who offered 107 men to fight against the Young Pretender in 1745, the largest offer on the list. He died in 1763 (4).

Thus, from an early date and continuing throughout the period this one street can be seen to have had a marked character set by a cross section of the most prosperous in the industry.

Two other groups of streets have a special interest in this first period before the Directories help to elucidate the character of the inhabitants. One group is formed by Artillery Lane and its continuation the Old Artillery Ground and Steward Street which lies at right angles to their junction, together

- (1) See Appendix 2 (i) and (ii), Hug. Soc. Procs. XX, No. 1 pp 80-82 and pp. 26, 25, 29, 41, 85, 92, 102, 104, 123, 170, 202, 247, 271 below.
- (2) Hug. Soc. Publins. XXVII, p. 60. Taking apprentices from 1710 (Hug. Soc. Publins. XXXIII p. 63, 81) and on Livery in 1719.
- (3) Address given in 1728 Quarterage List. Moved later to Sandys Street, see p. of this Chapter. Took apprentices from 1716 (Hug. Soc. Publins. XXXIII, p. 76) and on Livery in 1726, if not before. Appeared at General Court 7th February 1737/8, either he or his son an Assistant by 1754 (date of election overlooked). Elected Renter Bailiff July 1755, Upper Bailiff, the highest office in the Company, 25th June 1757.
- (4) 1728 Quarterage List, 1753-5 Kent's Directory, and Complete Guide.
- (5) Hug. Soc. Publins. XXXIII, op. cit, p. 41.
- (6) Appendix 2 (i)



with Smock Alley and the top of Petticoat Lane on the other side. The second group are the streets including and immediately to the north of Black Eagle Street.

The Quarterage Lists of the Weavers Company for 1728 list the addresses of the Livery. In Steward Street lived John Bloodworth, who had moved from Catherine Wheel Alley, Capt. Peter Lekeux (nephew of Col. Peter) (1), James Leman, his father Peter Leman, and brother Jacob Leman, Thomas Bray (before moving to Paternoster Row), Peter Debonnaire (from St. Quentin and naturalised in 1707 (2)); in Artillery Lane Daniel Carbonnel (3); in Smock Alley Benjamin Champion (i.e., after living in Paternoster Row and before moving to Widegate Alley where he is listed in the directories of the middle of the century (4)). The careers of most are known over a long period: Bloodworth, Lekeux and the Lemans were weavers of "flowered" silks. Peter Leman first appears in the Weavers Company Court Books in 1674 (5) the same year as Francis Mattoon, living in Eand Alley. James Leman and Peter Lekeux were contemporaries, the former apprenticed in 1702 the latter in 1703. John Bloodworth, chosen for the Livery of the Weavers Company in May 1705, was a customer of Leman's (6), and Peter Lekeux's brother-in-law and friend (he witnessed Lekeux's will). It would not seem surprising that some of the earliest immigrants should settle in the streets closest to the city boundaries; but it is worth noting that they were weavers of broad-silks and three of them of figured silks.

(1) Hug. Soc. Publns. XXI. Témoignages at French Church at Threadneedle Street. January 1673. Pierre Leman. T. Amsterdam natif de Cantorbery. In 1702 at the birth of his son Jacob he was noted in the registers as a weaver living in the Artillery Ground (not necessarily synonymous with the Old Artillery Ground, the street). p. 223. Vol. III Registers of French Church at Threadneedle Street. In 1711, just before his death, he was living in a house valued at £150 on the east side of Steward Street (Guildhall MS. 8674/8, fol. 82, No. 20373).

(2) Appendix 2 (i)

(3) House of Lords MSS (12th report of RCHMSS. Pt. 5 & 6, p. 263), 1689. No. 140. Woollen manufactures.....Petitions against bill pending included one from the Canterbury Weavers Company. The signatures to the Petition included Henry Soames, John Drigue, Thomas Coles, and Philip Manneke. The first two appear among the Assistants on the Quarterage List of the Weavers Company of London 1702/3. "Thomas Coles" also does, but this may be a coincidence.

(4) Journal of Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, op. cit. p. 119.

(5) Book of Designs by James Leman, the property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. Nos. 62 (1708), 39 (1711).

(6) E. 4460-1909. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. Engraving Illustration & Design. Pl. 21 in James Leman by Frank Lewis (Leigh on Sea), 1954.

One further common factor may be noted if not pressed too far. The Lekeux's came to England as a result of persecution in the 16th century and settled in Canterbury. Peter Leman came from Amsterdam via Canterbury (1). Moreover, it can hardly be purely a coincidence that a number of weavers with rather unusual names who worked for Leman have the same names as weavers who came from Canterbury. These are: "Mr. Mattoon", "Shoulder", "Young Phillip Manckey", "Ben Manckey" (2).

A number of other important weaving families also came from Canterbury (the Agaces, the Duthoits, Henry Soames (3) and son, John Drigue, John Phené etc.), but it is not easy to say precisely where they lived. We have, on the other hand, the evidence of Philip "Manneke" of the Company of Silk Weavers of Canterbury given to the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations in 1719 (4) "that their chief business at Canterbury was the making of brocaded and rich silks". When questioned about the number of apprentices, he said "that they had a rule formerly of taking but two apprentices, though of late the great boys were fetched to London before they were out of their time". Was this perhaps not true of his own son? In 1708 James Leman designed a chinoiserie pattern "to be wrought by young Philip Manckey" (5) and in 1711 he wrote on the back of a design "This pattern for an orrace tissue brocaded with gold and silk....to be made by young Philip Manckey". In 1719 James Leman drew a design for "a flowd. lustring brocaded with colours....to be made by Ben Manckey (his first draft work)..." (6). It seems probable that Ben was Philip's younger brother. In the Rate Books of

(1) Geo. Bloodworth's Will (PCC Anstis, fol. 249 proved November 1744) explains his relationship to John Bloodworth and to the Lekeux's. In 1711, George Bloodworth was living in a house on the west side of Steward Street, valued at £200 (Guildhall MS. 8674/8, fol. 537, No. 21379).

(2) François Baudry: "La Révocation de l'édit de Nantes et le Protestantisme en Bas Poitou au XVIIIe siècle", 1922.

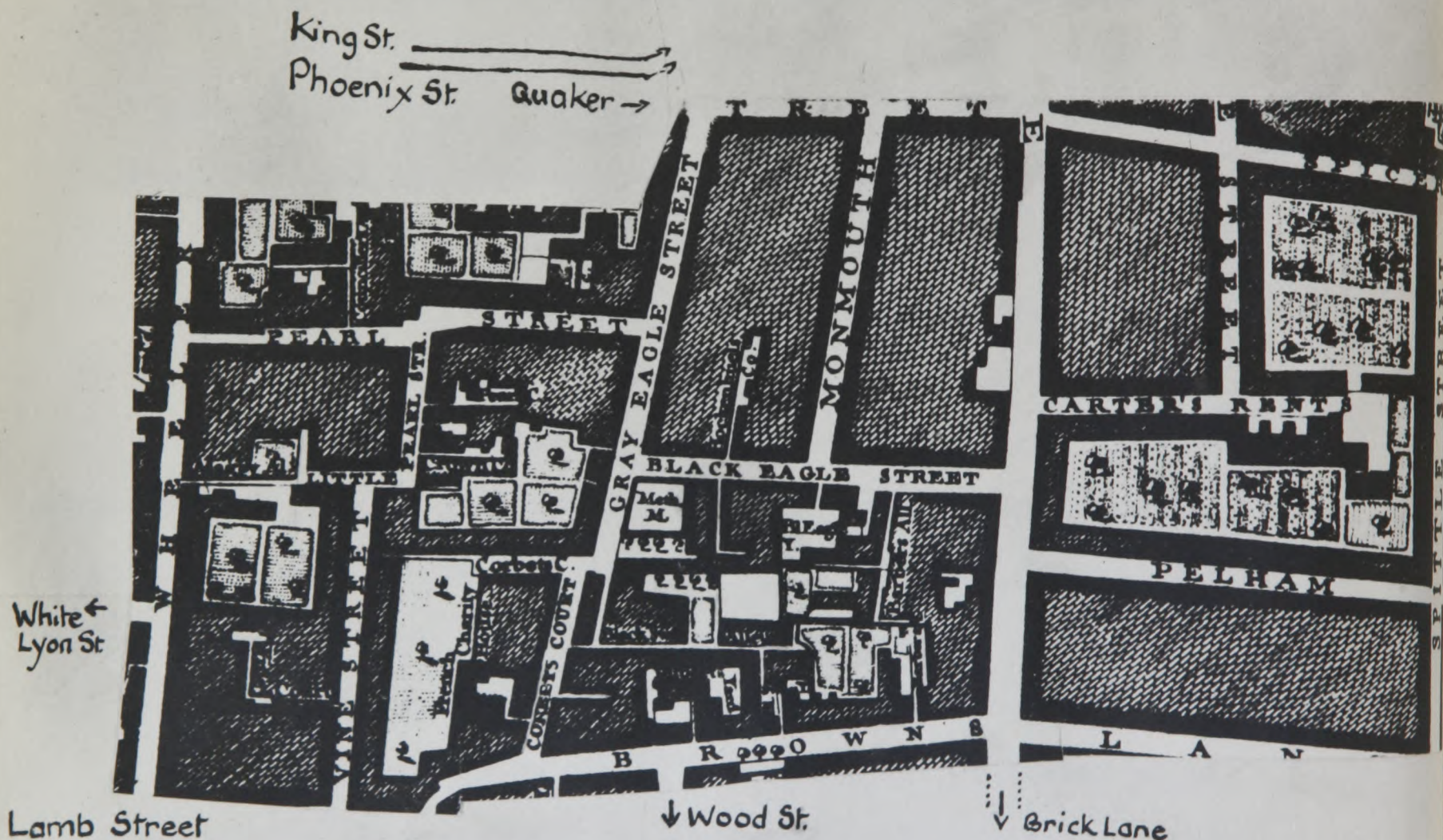
(3) Peter Lepelter (Normandy - Caen); James L'Heureux (Baptisms for three children at different dates and addresses give a different place of origin for the family, i.e., Rouen in 1710, Luneray 1710, Dieppe 1721. These perhaps indicate different members of the same family all originating in Normandy). Nich. "Lerrux" (= ? relative of John Le Reux living in Little Pearl Street who came from Maine); Jno Fountaine (Rouen 1691/2 Baptism); Fran. Delorme (= ? relative of John Delorme of Montendre, Saintonge, living in St. John Street in 1712).

1713 and 1716 Philip Manckey appears among the inhabitants Spitalfields New Town, two doors away from George Bloodworth, John Bloodworth's father (1). From 1724 he was certainly living in Booth Street, on the far side of Spitalfields. If it can be suggested that one small group of "flowered" silk weavers, all with some connections in Canterbury, were living together in one small area, could there not have been similar groups elsewhere?

One suggestion was made by François Baudry in a thesis published in 1922 after his death (2). During the last years of the 17th century he said "les tisserands de Mouilleron, Pouzanges et surtout de Moncoûtant gagnaient l'Angleterre, et l'on voit à Londres, dans la Paroisse de la Patente, quartier de Spitalfields, les 'oivres' du Bas Poitou, peupler la Black Eagle Street, le Fleet Street, etc. beaucoup d'entre eux devenaient ouvrier en soye....." To support his statement he quotes the registers of La Patente, naming some of the people. Unfortunately the first Rate Book in which we can be quite certain of Black Eagle Street is for 1743 and, although about nineteen of the inhabitants were French, they do not correspond with the names to which Baudry drew attention. In 1743 none can be traced to Bas Poitou, most were not members of the La Patente congregation, and if they can be traced they come from Normandy (3). For the period 1690-1710 the situation does appear to have been different. The Registers for La Patente record 55 Baptisms in 1695 of which 11 were babies whose parents came from Poitou, 10 from Picardy, 6 from Normandy, the rest were either from miscellaneous places

(1) 1705. Chanson. 26 September. Marie et Marieanne filles gemelles d'Anthoine Chanson (naturalised in 1709), "weure" de profession et de Marie Belly, originaires de Chasteigneray en Poitou, et dem. en Black Aigle Street, Stepnay; lad. Marieanne par Pierre Tapin et Marie Anne Gastineau et lad. Marie par Jacques Bernadeaut et Marie David. (The Gastineaus and the Davids also came from Poitou).

(2) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., p. 99.



or not recorded. In 1700 of 42 children 8 families came from Poitou, 12 from Normandy, 5 from Picardy, 4 from Paris and the rest from other parts of France. In 1705, 87 children were baptised, 10 from Poitou and 10 from Normandy, but far fewer places of origin were mentioned. 9 out of 43 children baptised in 1715 had parents from Poitou, but even fewer places of origin are given and in 1720 none at all. A typical family is quoted below (1).

These people were certainly weavers but, as Baudry said, they became silk weavers. In their country of origin they made certain coarse types of woollen cloth. Baudry quoted the report of the Inspector of Commerce, J-B. de Bonneval made in 1714, that "un grand nombre d'ouvriers sont sortis du royaume à cause de religion"..and that especially in Moncoûtant "cette manufacture (of wool) a fort diminué par les religionnaires qui ont passé dans les pays étrangers". Black Eagle Street, Grey Eagle Street, Monmouth Street and Brick Lane, the eastern parts of Westbury Street, Phoenix Street and King Street were laid out between 1661-1670 (2). The rates they paid (in 1743) were fairly low, 1/6 - 3/- compared with the 8/- to 10/- of the richer streets and an occasional inhabitant is noted as "poor" and pays no rates. None of the master weavers whose names are known to us lived there. Moreover, the weavers from Bas Poitou who did subsequently take an important place in the industry, the Ogiers, the Bigots, the Rivières and the Grelliers did not live in this part of Spitalfields. (The Grelliers and the Rivières had done so for a time at the beginning of the century,

- (1) Registers of La Patente (Hug. Soc. Publms. Vol. XI, p. 37). Gabriel Grellier, weaver, from Moncoustant, Poitou, living in Monmouth Street 1703, (p. 74). Peter Rivière, ouvrier en soie.....New George Street, 1712. (F. Baudry noted that the family came from Pouzanges, Bas Poitou).
- (2) L.C.C. Record Room. Rate Book THCS 132, 1724, p. 50. (The inhabitants of the streets compared with those in rate books in which the street names are given).
- (3) Peter Abraham Ogier (subsequently of Princes Street, see p. 52 and Appendix 2 (i) & (3); Daniel Gobby, see Appendix 2(i), (ii) & (iii)).
- (4) See Chapter 2, p. 76 note 2, p. 94 et seq.
- (5) Raphael Dubois, citizen and weaver, lived in Petticoat Lane, in the third house south from King's Head Court. (Guildhall MS. 8674/9, fol. 545-8 No. 22383). He apparently owned another 12 houses most of them in Petticoat Lane, whose total value amounted to £1,875. His "dwelling house" was valued at £300. From 1702-14 he appears on the Livery lists and in 1719/20 he was Upper Warden of the Weavers Company.
- (6) Weavers Company Quarterage Lists. Guildhall MS. 4661. 1702/3, 1714/5, 1719/20, 1724/5, 1726, 1728 consulted as a random check. A complete series exists in some cases with four duplicate volumes, presumably one for each of the "four in place". In the later years there is only one per year. Addresses are very seldom given, normally only when arrears of Quarterage are noted.

but moved later (1)). These two families were, I suggest, exceptional, and it would seem that this district in Spitalfields was probably densely populated with journeymen working for the larger firms, who never themselves accumulated enough capital to set up independently as master weavers.

The process of plotting rich and poor could be carried further were it not that so little is known about the poor. Corbett Court, for instance, was 'rich'. In 1724 its inhabitants (2) included Peter Abraham Ogier (from Poitou) and Daniel Gobby (from Poitou)(3), and, until his death in the previous year, had included the influential Colonel Peter Lekeux. Wentworth Street and Montague Street were probably poor. The evidence is rather negative since only the French and a few English either with extraordinary names, or prefixed by their ranks in the Trained Band Companies, can be identified in the Quarterage Lists and Court Books of the Weavers Company. Until the 1730's the Company was reluctant to make the "foreign masters" livery-men (4). From 1702-25 the only foreigners in the Livery were the Lekeux's, the Lemans, the Duthoits and some whose French origin may have been much earlier than the 17th century: Edward Richier, Raphael Dubois (5), for example. The Livery of 1725 included Peter Debonnaire, Peter Francillon, and Daniel Carbonnel, but in all only 14 out of 243 had French names (6).

The petitions from the "Gentlemen and principal inhabitants" of Spitalfields to the Commissioners for the 50 New Churches can be compared with the Livery lists. In the period they cover (1713/4 - 1729), the proportion of weavers remains constant.

Naturally many of the French weavers belonged to their own congregations and only began to participate in the affairs of Christ Church a little later in the century. It is the English Assistants and Livery whom one hopes to find. Some indeed were regular signatories: John Folwell, Alexander Garrett, Josiah Tidmarsh (from 1713/14), Edward Peck (the dyer and not in the Company, although intimately connected with the industry), Thomas Excelby from 1723, John Crush 1726, Thomas Jervis 1726, John Russell 1726, Reuben Foxwell 1727, Alexander Garrett junior and John Davy 1729. They were outnumbered by their neighbours of French origin. Raphael Dubois signed the 1713 Petition and most of the subsequent ones, Jacob Grootert, Peter Lekeux (Colonel), Christopher Baudouin the pattern drawer, Samuel le Morin, John Villeneuve, Isaac Lefèvre, Daniel Messman, John Gobbe, Pierre Lemaitre, Daniel Pilon, Peter Nouailles, Daniel Gobbe, James Guérin, John Mazy, Mathurin Gastineau, Simon Julins and Obadiah Agace signed at least one, and some several. Some of the other "principal inhabitants" can be identified from the Spitalfields Survey, such as Samuel Worrall the builder, while Peter Lepipre was a merchant.

Why then do the English Assistants and Livery not appear on the lists? There are several possible explanations. It could be argued that the Quarterage Lists do not represent more than a proportion of weavers, and the rest had no particular reason to live in Spitalfields. This possibility will be considered more fully when considering the relationship of the Weavers Company to the industry. If the Assistants and Livery do represent

(1) P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Accounts. Coronation of George I, L.C.2. 20(i) (and subsequently in normal accounts of the Great Wardrobe).

(2) Sun Insurance Company Policy Book 1. 1710-11, p. 20.

(3) Sun Insurance Company Policy Book 2. 1712-13, p. 92.

(4) i. PRO. (L.C.2. 20(i), 1714. L.C.9, 286, (50), (184), (3), (57), 1716-17).

ii. Guildhall MS. 8674/6 (1707), fol. 15, No. 15367.

(5) Sun Insurance Company Policy Book 3. 1713-14, p. 70.

(6) Sun Insurance Company Policy Book 3. 1713-14, p. 95.

"the trade" they could, of course, have been living either in the streets around Bishopsgate or in other parts of London especially Southwark.

The few Englishmen on the Quarterage Lists of 1714/5, 1719/20 and 1724/5 who can be traced, do for the most part live within the city. The supplier of ribbons to the Crown in 1714 (1) can probably be identified with Mr. Samuel Hooker at the Golden Ball in Lamb Alley, Red Cross Street in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate Middlesex, weaver, who insured his goods with the Sun Insurance Company (2). Mr. Philip Humphreys, a Liveryman of 1714/5 may be Mr. Philip Humphreys in Bell Lane, Spitalfields near Smock Alley in the Parish of St. Dunstan's Stepney, who insured his goods in 1712/3 (3). The Renter Bailiff of the Weavers Company in 1720/21, Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh, could be the Thomas Fitzhugh living next the Horseshoe in Pelham Street in the Hamlet of Mile End New Town, weaver, who insured his goods in 1712. John Johnson, Renter Warden in 1720/21, could either be the mercer supplying goods to the Crown (4) or a weaver of that name. Gamaliel Maud, on the Livery 1719/20 and an Assistant in 1724/5, must have been the weaver of that name living at the Blue Hall in the Town Ditch in the Parish of St. Botolph's Aldersgate, who insured his goods in 1713 and renewed the policy in 1722 at a valuation of £800 (5). Humphrey Burroughs, Assistant 1720/21, and probably dead by 1725, could be the weaver of that name of New Street in Bishopsgate Street in the Parish of St. Botolph's insuring his goods in 1714 (6). Richard

(1) Richard Badcock 1707-1719 (Guildhall MS. 8674/6 (1707) 8674/21 (1719), fol. 435 and 280 respectively. No. 14215.

(2) William Badcock 1726, dated bill at the Guildhall, at the Three Crowns and Queen's Head, Ludgate Hill, Corner of Old Bailey, and Insurance Policies 1733 (MS. 8674/47, fol. 77, and 1743 (MS. 8674/63, fol. 311)).

Badcock, on the Livery 1719/20, and William Badcock, on the Livery 1719-1725, were probably the mercers who lived in Ludgate Hill (1). Joseph Willett, an Assistant in 1724/5, could be the weaver at The Three Flower Pots in Queen Street in the Park in the Parish of St. Saviour's Southwark, who insured a house in Suffolk in 1716. Most of these can only be suggestions, as the names

are not sufficiently unusual to make any certain identification.

We do not know that any of these men were silk weavers but, if not, what were they making? We know of at least two sub-

stantial weavers of worsted within Spitalfields from the 1719 evidence. How far is it correct to regard Spitalfields as synonymous with silk?

The Directories (taken with other evidence) suggest an explanation, although to argue from the 1730's and 40's that the situation then was true twenty years before is open to criticism.

The Directories shew a number of people connected with the silk industry living outside Spitalfields, some in rather specialised areas. The Silkmen and silk brokers who handled the imported raw silk, and often also the thrown silk were scattered throughout the city; about ten firms of the total number traced lived in Cheapside, some eight firms in Bishopsgate Street Within, a few in Cannon Street, Poultry, Newgate Street, Lombard Street and Ludgate Hill. One established himself at Batson's Coffee House (James Cooke, 1736-44). Their failure to live together as a group may be accounted for in the nature of their business, the subject of a later section.

(1) Thomas Yeldall. Bankrupt 1751 and trade card BM. "from Mr. Ryder next door". GM. Vol. III, 1733, p. 47. Obituary notice of "Mr. Rider, formerly a mercer, at the Indian Queen by St. Bartholomew's Hospital".

(2) Jourdain and de Gron, Smock Alley 1755-67 and J. & J. Jourdain, Spital Square 1777. Matthew Hebart, p. 23.

(3) Daniel Defoe. "The Complete English Tradesman" Vol. II, part 2, Chapter V, pp. 162-164 (of 1732 edition. 1st edition 1727).

(4) Ebenezer Ibbetson and William Pecket in partnership 1727 Ludgate Hill, with subsequent changes in the partnership until 1767 and probably later, see Chapter 2 p. 225-6, Robert Carr.

(5) i. Caleb Trenchfield active 1697 (and probably earlier) - 1712; Isaac Wittington, his son-in-law and partner (see also Appendix 2(i)); and Thomas Hinchcliffe, his partner (see also Appendix 2(i)) who died in 1740. (Supplied the Crown L.C. 93, 1739).

ii. James Salkeld 1709-13 (Guildhall MS. 8674/7, fol. 314), Charles Salkeld 1753-5 Directories.

iii. Palmer & Halsey, mercers Ludgate Hill 1744, with changes of partnership continuing up to 1772, Directory "Palmer Ph. Jn. & Cha. Ludgate Hill".

The Dyers too were fairly scattered. Some lived in the better parts of Spitalfields, Spital Square, Princes Street or Red Lion Street, but one or two also lived in Booth Street and even in Pearl Street much further north than their colleagues.

Since the Directories seldom note a man as a silk dyer, those in Southwark and elsewhere have been ignored in the absence of further evidence to connect them with the silk industry.

The Mercers who sold the finished product, whether imported or English, and indeed sometimes commissioned all the operations, lived together in clearly defined districts. About 90 firms

have been noted in the period, some of which succeeded one another at the same or a different address. A few were

scattered in the City: there were, for example, two in Smithfield (one firm and a junior partner who set up for himself and failed (1)), three in Milk Street, three in Fenchurch Street, four in Gracechurch Street, and even two in Spitalfields itself, both important firms (2). The majority were, however, confined

to three districts, Cheapside (13 firms), Covent Garden (about 30 firms in King Street, Bedford Street, Henrietta Street and Chandos Street), and Ludgate Hill (20 firms). According to Daniel Defoe (3) the mercers had been established in Paternoster Row (in the City) in the 17th century and they had then spread to Covent Garden and that in his day the most splendid were established in Ludgate Hill. Throughout the period Ludgate

Hill continued to be the headquarters of some of the most important firms (4) and also of some of the longest surviving (5).

- (1) Carr, Ibbetson and Bigge (see note (4) previous page).
 PRO. L.C. 9.3. 1744-56; L.C.9. 267, 295, 290. i.e.: from 142
 throughout the period). Caleb Trenchfield, Joshua Feary and Robert Carr (not the Robert Carr
 of the Royal Accounts but see also Appendix 2(i).) Bill 1701-10.
 G. Scott Thomson. "The Russells in Bloomsbury", p. 245.
 Henry Shelley obit. 1736. Cavil Street, St. Clement Dane's.
- (2) e.g.: 1743 GM. XIII, pp. 658-9, December. A satirical article on
 ladies wearing "Westphalian Yellow" at a ball from "The Old English
 Journal": "....accordingly I went to those eminent mercers Messrs.
 Hinchcliffe & Huddleston....."
 and Mrs. Delaney: letter to her sister written from St. James's
 Palace in 1750, "....in the morning I had Mr. Carr and silks, and
 I bought a rich satin for a sack....."
- (3) Appendix 2(i), (ii), (iii), Chapter 2, p. ¹⁹⁸⁻²⁰¹ on the Ogier family.
- (4) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 30, p. 209.
- (5) Henry Cookes supplied silks 1732-43 (L.C.9, 288, 289, 290).
 St. Paul, Covent Garden.
 (PCC. Boycott 226, 1743).
 Thomas & William Hinchcliffe (probably before 1761).
 (see also Appendix 2(i) & (ii). Henrietta Street, Hen: &
 (L.C.2, 30. Coronation Geo.III). Chickens, Cov. Gdn. (trade
 cards, directories, etc.).
- John Bell 1725-41 supplied silks. Bedford Street, Cov. Gdn.
 (L.C.9, 287, 288, 289, 290).
 Thomas Bell 1742-53 supplied silks.
 (L.C.9, 290, 291).
 In partnership in later years with
 Edward Ingram 1753- to end of period,
 (i.e. L.C.9, 291, 292 et. seq., and
 also Coronations, etc.)
 Chief supplier with Robert Carr.
- Swan & Buck supplied silks 1751. Bedford Street 1730, King
 (L.C.9, 291). Street 1747 +, Covent Gdn.
 = Robert Swan obit. 1769.
 = Robert Duck obit. 1770.
 (Other partners Barlow and Wheatley).
 (See also Appendix 2(i) and (ii).)
- Trelsilian & Ashburner 1795 + Chandos Street, Covent Garden
 (See Appendix 2(ii)).
- (6) Anon. "A General Description of All Trades", 1747, p. 139. The
 Mercers: "Most of these are great shopkeepers in a very genteel way
 who in Town deal altogether in wove silks, damasks, velvets, etc....
 Our tip-top mercers in Town seldom take an apprentice under £30....."

(b) (cont'd): ...but then they live in a very handsome
manner; they always clean; and their business is in the
...
(c) They generally have a minimum of \$500 in their businesses
and often up to \$2,000 and more.
(d) Appendix 2(1). Active 1930's (House of Lords MSS. 1633-5, p. 151.
Letter of certain persons regarding Italian towns with overseas
links. 1931 (PCC, Buckingham, Vol. 133).
(e) ...
(f) ...
(g) ...
(h) ...
(i) ...
(j) ...
(k) ...
(l) ...
(m) ...
(n) ...
(o) ...
(p) ...
(q) ...
(r) ...
(s) ...
(t) ...
(u) ...
(v) ...
(w) ...
(x) ...
(y) ...
(z) ...
(aa) ...
(ab) ...
(ac) ...
(ad) ...
(ae) ...
(af) ...
(ag) ...
(ah) ...
(ai) ...
(aj) ...
(ak) ...
(al) ...
(am) ...
(an) ...
(ao) ...
(ap) ...
(aq) ...
(ar) ...
(as) ...
(at) ...
(au) ...
(av) ...
(aw) ...
(ax) ...
(ay) ...
(az) ...
(ba) ...
(bb) ...
(bc) ...
(bd) ...
(be) ...
(bf) ...
(bg) ...
(bh) ...
(bi) ...
(bj) ...
(bk) ...
(bl) ...
(bm) ...
(bn) ...
(bo) ...
(bp) ...
(bq) ...
(br) ...
(bs) ...
(bt) ...
(bu) ...
(bv) ...
(bw) ...
(bx) ...
(by) ...
(bz) ...
(ca) ...
(cb) ...
(cc) ...
(cd) ...
(ce) ...
(cf) ...
(cg) ...
(ch) ...
(ci) ...
(cj) ...
(ck) ...
(cl) ...
(cm) ...
(cn) ...
(co) ...
(cp) ...
(cq) ...
(cr) ...
(cs) ...
(ct) ...
(cu) ...
(cv) ...
(cw) ...
(cx) ...
(cy) ...
(cz) ...
(da) ...
(db) ...
(dc) ...
(dd) ...
(de) ...
(df) ...
(dg) ...
(dh) ...
(di) ...
(dj) ...
(dk) ...
(dl) ...
(dm) ...
(dn) ...
(do) ...
(dp) ...
(dq) ...
(dr) ...
(ds) ...
(dt) ...
(du) ...
(dv) ...
(dw) ...
(dx) ...
(dy) ...
(dz) ...
(ea) ...
(eb) ...
(ec) ...
(ed) ...
(ee) ...
(ef) ...
(eg) ...
(eh) ...
(ei) ...
(ej) ...
(ek) ...
(el) ...
(em) ...
(en) ...
(eo) ...
(ep) ...
(eq) ...
(er) ...
(es) ...
(et) ...
(eu) ...
(ev) ...
(ew) ...
(ex) ...
(ey) ...
(ez) ...
(fa) ...
(fb) ...
(fc) ...
(fd) ...
(fe) ...
(ff) ...
(fg) ...
(fh) ...
(fi) ...
(fj) ...
(fk) ...
(fl) ...
(fm) ...
(fn) ...
(fo) ...
(fp) ...
(fq) ...
(fr) ...
(fs) ...
(ft) ...
(fu) ...
(fv) ...
(fw) ...
(fx) ...
(fy) ...
(fz) ...
(ga) ...
(gb) ...
(gc) ...
(gd) ...
(ge) ...
(gf) ...
(gg) ...
(gh) ...
(gi) ...
(gj) ...
(gk) ...
(gl) ...
(gm) ...
(gn) ...
(go) ...
(gp) ...
(gq) ...
(gr) ...
(gs) ...
(gt) ...
(gu) ...
(gv) ...
(gw) ...
(gx) ...
(gy) ...
(gz) ...
(ha) ...
(hb) ...
(hc) ...
(hd) ...
(he) ...
(hf) ...
(hg) ...
(hh) ...
(hi) ...
(hj) ...
(hk) ...
(hl) ...
(hm) ...
(hn) ...
(ho) ...
(hp) ...
(hq) ...
(hr) ...
(hs) ...
(ht) ...
(hu) ...
(hv) ...
(hw) ...
(hx) ...
(hy) ...
(hz) ...
(ia) ...
(ib) ...
(ic) ...
(id) ...
(ie) ...
(if) ...
(ig) ...
(ih) ...
(ii) ...
(ij) ...
(ik) ...
(il) ...
(im) ...
(in) ...
(io) ...
(ip) ...
(iq) ...
(ir) ...
(is) ...
(it) ...
(iu) ...
(iv) ...
(iw) ...
(ix) ...
(iy) ...
(iz) ...
(ja) ...
(jb) ...
(jc) ...
(jd) ...
(je) ...
(jf) ...
(jg) ...
(jh) ...
(ji) ...
(jj) ...
(jk) ...
(jl) ...
(jm) ...
(jn) ...
(jo) ...
(jp) ...
(jq) ...
(jr) ...
(js) ...
(jt) ...
(ju) ...
(jv) ...
(jw) ...
(jx) ...
(jy) ...
(jz) ...
(ka) ...
(kb) ...
(kc) ...
(kd) ...
(ke) ...
(kf) ...
(kg) ...
(kh) ...
(ki) ...
(kj) ...
(kk) ...
(kl) ...
(km) ...
(kn) ...
(ko) ...
(kp) ...
(kq) ...
(kr) ...
(ks) ...
(kt) ...
(ku) ...
(kv) ...
(kw) ...
(kx) ...
(ky) ...
(kz) ...
(la) ...
(lb) ...
(lc) ...
(ld) ...
(le) ...
(lf) ...
(lg) ...
(lh) ...
(li) ...
(lj) ...
(lk) ...
(ll) ...
(lm) ...
(ln) ...
(lo) ...
(lp) ...
(lq) ...
(lr) ...
(ls) ...
(lt) ...
(lu) ...
(lv) ...
(lw) ...
(lx) ...
(ly) ...
(lz) ...
(ma) ...
(mb) ...
(mc) ...
(md) ...
(me) ...
(mf) ...
(mg) ...
(mh) ...
(mi) ...
(mj) ...
(mk) ...
(ml) ...
(mm) ...
(mn) ...
(mo) ...
(mp) ...
(mq) ...
(mr) ...
(ms) ...
(mt) ...
(mu) ...
(mv) ...
(mw) ...
(mx) ...
(my) ...
(mz) ...
(na) ...
(nb) ...
(nc) ...
(nd) ...
(ne) ...
(nf) ...
(ng) ...
(nh) ...
(ni) ...
(nj) ...
(nk) ...
(nl) ...
(nm) ...
(nn) ...
(no) ...
(np) ...
(nq) ...
(nr) ...
(ns) ...
(nt) ...
(nu) ...
(nv) ...
(nw) ...
(nx) ...
(ny) ...
(nz) ...
(oa) ...
(ob) ...
(oc) ...
(od) ...
(oe) ...
(of) ...
(og) ...
(oh) ...
(oi) ...
(oj) ...
(ok) ...
(ol) ...
(om) ...
(on) ...
(oo) ...
(op) ...
(oq) ...
(or) ...
(os) ...
(ot) ...
(ou) ...
(ov) ...
(ow) ...
(ox) ...
(oy) ...
(oz) ...
(pa) ...
(pb) ...
(pc) ...
(pd) ...
(pe) ...
(pf) ...
(pg) ...
(ph) ...
(pi) ...
(pj) ...
(pk) ...
(pl) ...
(pm) ...
(pn) ...
(po) ...
(pp) ...
(pq) ...
(pr) ...
(ps) ...
(pt) ...
(pu) ...
(pv) ...
(pw) ...
(px) ...
(py) ...
(pz) ...
(qa) ...
(qb) ...
(qc) ...
(qd) ...
(qe) ...
(qf) ...
(qg) ...
(qh) ...
(qi) ...
(qj) ...
(qk) ...
(ql) ...
(qm) ...
(qn) ...
(qo) ...
(qp) ...
(qq) ...
(qr) ...
(qs) ...
(qt) ...
(qu) ...
(qv) ...
(qw) ...
(qx) ...
(qy) ...
(qz) ...
(ra) ...
(rb) ...
(rc) ...
(rd) ...
(re) ...
(rf) ...
(rg) ...
(rh) ...
(ri) ...
(rj) ...
(rk) ...
(rl) ...
(rm) ...
(rn) ...
(ro) ...
(rp) ...
(rq) ...
(rr) ...
(rs) ...
(rt) ...
(ru) ...
(rv) ...
(rw) ...
(rx) ...
(ry) ...
(rz) ...
(sa) ...
(sb) ...
(sc) ...
(sd) ...
(se) ...
(sf) ...
(sg) ...
(sh) ...
(si) ...
(sj) ...
(sk) ...
(sl) ...
(sm) ...
(sn) ...
(so) ...
(sp) ...
(sq) ...
(sr) ...
(ss) ...
(st) ...
(su) ...
(sv) ...
(sw) ...
(sx) ...
(sy) ...
(sz) ...
(ta) ...
(tb) ...
(tc) ...
(td) ...
(te) ...
(tf) ...
(tg) ...
(th) ...
(ti) ...
(tj) ...
(tk) ...
(tl) ...
(tm) ...
(tn) ...
(to) ...
(tp) ...
(tq) ...
(tr) ...
(ts) ...
(tt) ...
(tu) ...
(tv) ...
(tw) ...
(tx) ...
(ty) ...
(tz) ...
(ua) ...
(ub) ...
(uc) ...
(ud) ...
(ue) ...
(uf) ...
(ug) ...
(uh) ...
(ui) ...
(uj) ...
(uk) ...
(ul) ...
(um) ...
(un) ...
(uo) ...
(up) ...
(uq) ...
(ur) ...
(us) ...
(ut) ...
(uu) ...
(uv) ...
(uw) ...
(ux) ...
(uy) ...
(uz) ...
(va) ...
(vb) ...
(vc) ...
(vd) ...
(ve) ...
(vf) ...
(vg) ...
(vh) ...
(vi) ...
(vj) ...
(vk) ...
(vl) ...
(vm) ...
(vn) ...
(vo) ...
(vp) ...
(vq) ...
(vr) ...
(vs) ...
(vt) ...
(vu) ...
(vv) ...
(vw) ...
(vx) ...
(vy) ...
(vz) ...
(wa) ...
(wb) ...
(wc) ...
(wd) ...
(we) ...
(wf) ...
(wg) ...
(wh) ...
(wi) ...
(wj) ...
(wk) ...
(wl) ...
(wm) ...
(wn) ...
(wo) ...
(wp) ...
(wq) ...
(wr) ...
(ws) ...
(wt) ...
(wu) ...
(wv) ...
(ww) ...
(wx) ...
(wy) ...
(wz) ...
(xa) ...
(xb) ...
(xc) ...
(xd) ...
(xe) ...
(xf) ...
(xg) ...
(xh) ...
(xi) ...
(xj) ...
(xk) ...
(xl) ...
(xm) ...
(xn) ...
(xo) ...
(xp) ...
(xq) ...
(xr) ...
(xs) ...
(xt) ...
(xu) ...
(xv) ...
(xw) ...
(xx) ...
(xy) ...
(xz) ...
(ya) ...
(yb) ...
(yc) ...
(yd) ...
(ye) ...
(yf) ...
(yg) ...
(yh) ...
(yi) ...
(yj) ...
(yk) ...
(yl) ...
(ym) ...
(yn) ...
(yo) ...
(yp) ...
(yq) ...
(yr) ...
(ys) ...
(yt) ...
(yu) ...
(yv) ...
(yw) ...
(yx) ...
(yy) ...
(yz) ...
(za) ...
(zb) ...
(zc) ...
(zd) ...
(ze) ...
(zf) ...
(zg) ...
(zh) ...
(zi) ...
(zj) ...
(zk) ...
(zl) ...
(zm) ...
(zn) ...
(zo) ...
(zp) ...
(zq) ...
(zr) ...
(zs) ...
(zt) ...
(zu) ...
(zv) ...
(zw) ...
(zx) ...
(zy) ...
(zz) ...

They included suppliers of goods to the Crown or to such customers as the Duke of Bedford (1), whose names crept into the literary sources of the time (2). Though the lists of bankrupts also include a number of mercers, few of these lived in Ludgate Hill. They dealt, of course, in foreign silks as well as English ones. According to Mr. Peter Ogier (3) giving evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the silk industry in 1765 (4) "apart from the 10 houses, who were importers, there were above 100 Warehousemen and Silk Mercers, not importers, who buy more English manufacture than those 10 houses". An even greater number of the suppliers of goods to the Crown, together with other important firms, lived in Covent Garden (5). As in Ludgate Hill some of the firms appear to have been established in the district early in the century and to continue well into the third quarter. With the exception of the firms in Spitalfields the mercers were predominantly English. Although it is thus more difficult to accumulate circumstantial evidence about them it is clear from many sources that their houses were appropriate to their capital (6). In 1711 Isaac Tullie (7), Henry Shelley and Jacob Davidson of St. Paul, Covent Garden, mercers, insured "a brick house on the west side of Bedford Street....known by the sign of the Black Lyon and Seven Stars, being now their dwelling house for £1,200" (8). A weaver in Spitalfields might value his at £75-£150 in the same period, and Edward Peck, a dyer and a rich man, set only £500 on his. In 1742

(1a) Guildhall Ms. 8674/63. No 6724.

(1) See Chapter 2, p. 225-6.

(2) See p. 32 fn. 1.

(3) Guildhall MS. 8674/75, fol. 306, No. 28646.

(4) Jno. Garsed & Meyrick, Wood Street Cheapside 1763;
Geo. Gwilt Wood Street, Cheapside 1753-1763. Thomas
Wilson & Co., Wood Street, Cheapside 1763; Miller &
Knight, Gould Street, Cheapside 1753-72; Nutter &
Parker, Gould Street, Cheapside 1753-5; Charles Coverly
Aldermanbury; Walter Griffin & Co., Friday Street, Cheap-
side; Stephen Wilson & Co., Aldermanbury 1755-93.
Samuel August (see Appendix 2(iii)), Long Alley near Hog
Lane, Shoreditch 1745-55.
Mitchell & Pope, Southwark, 1763.
Ambrose Marshall, London Bridge, 1753..... etc.

(5) Daniel Defoe: Journal of the Plague Year (Dent edition p. 21)
first published 1722. (Allowing for some exaggeration)
".....I remember in particular that in a representation to
my Lord Mayor of the condition of the poor it was estimated
that there were no less than an hundred thousand riband
weavers in and about the city, the chiefest number of whom
lived then in the parishes of Shoreditch, Stepney, White-
chapel, and Bishopsgate, that, namely about Spitalfields;
that is to say as Spitalfields was then, for it was not so
large as now by one fifth part....."

Ebenezer Ibbetson and Robert Carr insured their "intended dwelling house on the south side of Ludgate Hill in the Parish of St. Brides...." for £1,200, of which "the back shopps" were valued at £300.^(1a) They had the usual wainscotted rooms and marble chimney pieces, but, considering the importance of this firm (1) it was a fairly modest sum at the time. John Badcock was the third of his family to live in Ludgate Hill (2). His predecessors called themselves mercers, but he appears as a "merchant" in 1750, when he insured his house for £1,000 (3). It possessed six wainscotted rooms, four marble chimney pieces etc. and also "a necessary at the top of the house brought down with lead pipes". Perhaps this luxury indicates that he had left the trade for, in 1761, as his father's executor, he assigned to Richard Neale three warehouses valued at £200, £100, and £150. On May 20th 1765 the Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser reported that in the course of the riots on "Friday night, 134 panes of glass were broken at Mr. Carr's, mercer on Ludgate Hill". (His firm was suspected of importing foreign silks. It was, surely, a substantial proof of the size and elegance of his house.

Among the weavers the largest group living outside Spitalfields were the ribbon weavers who congregated in and around Cheapside with a few scattered elsewhere (4). This was a branch of the industry which had flourished in the 17th century (5). It is not surprising therefore to find that the weavers within the city walls were predominantly English by extraction. Some

(1) Three in Mortimer's Directory 1763.

Thomas Cooke, Pancras Lane, Queen Street, Cheapside (1752-63)
Hallet, Bow Lane, Cheapside.
Humphrey Slim, Friday Street, Cheapside.

(2) Three in Mortimer's Directory 1763.

Dunn, Moorfields.
Hook, Moorfields.
Peltraw & Co., Upper Moorfields.

(3) Thomas Sharp, Throwster, Little Moorfields 1736-8, Orris Weaver. 1747.

(4) Peter Collet, Princes Street, Upper Moorfields 1763.

(5) Roger de Coverly, King Street, Moorfields 1763.

(6) James Malo "merchant and weaver", Pavement Moorfields, 1753-72.

(12) Appendix 2 (i) & (ii).

(7) "London in Miniature" 1755, (I.H.R.).

(8) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (B.M. Burney Colln.).

(9) Patent Office List of Prices... (Agreement signed between Journeymen Weavers and certain masters for the rates of pay in the various branches of the silk industry).

(10) Address in 1772 Directory.

(11) In and around Bishopsgate were also: Philip Lovett, Binding Weaver 1772, Skinner's St. Bishopsgate Street; Thomas Hopkin Throwster, Half Moon Alley, Bishopsgate Street, 1753-55; in 1772 to 11 Foster Lane, Moorfields.

(13) Appendix 2 (i), (ii), (iii) & pp. 106, 175, 192, 202, 297 note 2.

gauze weavers can be found outside Spitalfields, again in

Cheapside (1), and other specialists in Moorfields, gauze

weavers (2), an orris weaver (3), a handkerchief weaver (4) and

one of ferret (5), and some whose specialities are unknown, (6).

One weaver of broad "flowered" silks, Daniel Booth, spent most

(12) of his working career, a distinguished one (12), in Ropemaker's

Alley, Moorfields. He moved there from Paternoster Row and later

went to Devonshire Square. He came from Canterbury and retired

to Hackney, "the largest and most wealthy village in Europe.....

remarkable for the number of opulent merchants and citizens....."(7).

John Phené, a broker, lived in Little Moorgate in 1757.

In Bishopsgate there were a few rather distinguished

weavers. James London in Primrose Street in 1760, and a hand-

kerchief weaver Edward Wollstonecraft from 1755-65. When he

died in January 1765 his obituary (8) noted, "Tuesday died near

Shoreditch Church very rich Mr. Wollstonecraft one of the greatest

handkerchief makers in England and Captain in the White Regiment

of Trained Bands". John Hoskins, one of the master weavers

who signed the 1769 list of prices (9) for the "Fancy Branch,

drugget modes, handkerchiefs, gauzes and nets" lived in Crosby

Square (10), and another English firm (speciality unknown),

Johnson and Hatwell advertised in 1755 their address in Bishops-

gate Street Without. Earlier still James Leman moved from

Steward Street to "his house in Bishopsgate Street" where he

died in October 1745. Apart from Landon and Leman these weavers

were all of English extraction (11). A complete exception

to the picture was Abraham Jeudwine⁽¹³⁾, a weaver of figured velvets,

(1) Ayliffe Street

Lemon Street

Samuel Ware 1745-55 (£800 on House.
MS. 8674/67, fol. 288,
1745).

R. Simmonds, probably there 1727,
1736-38.

Simmonds & Weld, 1753-55.

Thomas Harris 1736-49.

John Harris 1753-55.

Thomas Umfreville 1719
(£500 house. MS. 8674/
fol. 180) 1719.

Thomas Pearson 1755.

Various Phillimores
1736-55.

Saml. Hawkins Junr. 17

Saml. Hawkins & Raikes
1772.

Red Lion Street, Goodman's Fields.

Saml. & William Petty, 1736-38.

(2) Guildhall MS. 8674/7, fol. 612, No. 19860.

(3) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (B.M. Burney Colln.)
April 15th, 1765.

whose family came from Normandy and settled in this country in the 1690's, who died in 1767 at his house in Basinghall Street, not far away from the Hall of the Weavers Company.

There was a colony of throwsters immediately to the south of Whitechapel Street in Goodman's Fields. Two streets particularly, Ayliffe Street and Lemon Street (1), contained a number of firms over a considerable period. Another small group lived in Hoxton to the north of Spitalfields. One throwster (Leonard Snee) gave his address from 1749-55 as Batson's Coffee House. He had previously insured his house in Crispin Street, which had been his father's before him (2), as a weaver (perhaps because he was a member of the Company ?) and it might perhaps be that he retained the house as working premises. Batson's Coffee House, the address of a silk broker mentioned earlier, was also one of the centres at which money was collected for the relief of the unemployed journeymen in 1765 (3). Perhaps it had some special association with the industry?

It may perhaps be rather dangerous to generalise on the evidence of such a small group of weavers and others living outside Spitalfields. They were only the few who advertised and many did not do so. It can, however, at least be suggested that their neighbours were probably in the same branches of the industry as they were. Furthermore, could the tendency they shew not have been even more pronounced in the earlier period before the publication of the Directory of 1736? Thus, the English families of weavers in the established branches of the

industry had probably always lived within the city and the directories only shew that in many cases they continued to do so. Although they made ribbons as they had done in the 17th century they also wove broad silks and other silk goods. These too may have been made outside the district of Spitalfields at the beginning of the century and earlier, just as within Spitalfields there was an established community of worsted weavers.

If we turn to the Parish of Christ Church, Spitalfields, and the Liberty of Norton Folgate we find, as we should expect, an overwhelming majority of French master weavers together with a small but exceedingly important group of Englishmen. Even within this small area there was a remarkable degree of specialisation. In the first place the masters lived only in certain streets and not in any others. These were concentrated very closely together (see map): the streets were:

Artillery Lane +	Elder Street	Red Lyon Street
Bell Lane	Fore Street	Sandys Street
Booth Street	Gun Street +	Smock Alley
Brick Lane (part)	Hand Alley	Steward Street +
Brown's Lane	Lamb Street	Westbury Street
Catherine Wheel Alley	Mason's Court	Wheeler Street
Church Street +	Old Artillery Ground +	White Row
Corbet Court	Paternoster Row +	White Lion Street +
Crispin Street +	Petticoat Lane (part)	Widegate Alley +
Dorset Street	Pelham Street	Spital Square +
Duke Street	Princes Street +	Wood Street +

Moreover, even in these few streets there were some in which there seem to have been a larger community of English

- (1) A list of the Directories used is given in the Bibliography. In 1755, Kent's Directory has usually been preferred to the Complete Guide of that year as it seemed to be more accurate in the cases where the facts could be checked.

(2) Steward Street.

Inhabitants connected with the silk industry in the period in alphabetical order.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Speciality</u> (if known)	<u>Other</u> <u>Information</u>	<u>Other</u> <u>Addresses</u>
Peter Alavoine	-1763	Striped, plain, lustring, mantua & tabby		
Alldwin & Overy	1755	- -	Henry Alldwin Junr. & James Overy Junr. Bankrupt 1756.	
Giles Bigot & James Godin	1736-39	Flowered (30) (60)	Appendix 2(i) & (iii).	to Spital Square
Peter Beuzeville	1772	-	(10) Appendix 2(iii)	from Dorset Street
John Bloodworth	1728	Flowered	Appendix 2(i)	from Cath. Wheel Alley.
Daniel Bouquet	1772	-		
R. Bradshaw	1763-72	-		
Abe. Cole Senr. & Jr.	1749-55	-		to Red Lion Street (17)
Benjamin Coles	1753-63	Half Silks		
Peter Debonnaire	1728	-		
Abe. Delamare & Co. & John Delamare	1749-53	Throwsters (22)	Appendix 2(ii) & (iii).	
John Desclaux	1738-48	-	(10) Appendix 2(iii).	
Gallot & Guillebaud	1769-72	Plain <u>Foot-</u> Figd. & Flowered	L.O.P.	
Guillemard & Sons	1763	Plain mantua & tabby		to Duke Street
J.B. & G. Hebert & Co.	1769-72	Fancy		
Jordan & Mason	1769-72	Plain <u>foot</u> -figured & Flowered		
Peter Lekeux	1728-43	Flowered	Appendix 2(i) & (ii).	
Peter Lekeux (son)	1743-46	Flowered	Appendix 2(i)	to Red Lion Street
Elizabeth Lee	1736	-	Bankrupt.	
James Leman	1702- (before) 1745	Flowered	Appendix 2(i)	to Bishopsgate Street.
John Louis	1763	Half Silks	Appendix 2(ii).	
Thomas Mason	1753	-	Appendix 2(ii)	from Duke Street
Mason & Jordain	1763	Flowered		
Jas. Sorell & Sons	1769-72	Plain, <u>foot</u> -figured & Flowered		
Daniel Vautier	1737-44	Flowered (47)	Appendix 2(i) & (iii)	to Lamb Street

Figures in brackets: see Appendix 2 (iii).

rather than French masters, others in which certain specialists lived and not others, or in which there were a very much larger number of masters than in the streets immediately next to them. The streets in which seven or more masters lived have been starred. The weavers (or others connected with the industry) are those whose names appear in the Directories (1) or on the lists in Appendix 2, together with a few from other sources who seem to have been important. Some of the inhabitants moved several times in the period, and therefore turn up in the figures for several streets. Even this was not altogether haphazard, as will be seen. The specialities of the inhabitants are known from the 1769 List of Prices, from Mortimer's Directory of 1763, and the V. & A. designs. In a few cases the earlier directories mentioned a man's speciality, and in others the obituaries in the newspapers or the "Gentleman's Magazine" give some information.

From 1728-1772 there were some 50 firms in the group of streets where the "Canterbury" contingent seem to have congregated earlier in the century. (There were, of course, others whose names appear with their addresses in the Court Books of the Weavers Company, or the registers of the churches, English and French, in the area, or in the Insurance Company lists, but their standing can be assessed against those about whom more is known). There were at least 6 in Artillery Lane, 7 in Old Artillery Ground, 9 in Gun Street, 27 in Steward Street (2) but, by contrast, only 6 firms in the parallel street, Duke Street, and three in Fort Street to the north. In Steward Street

(1) Guildhall MS. 8674/53, fol. 292, No. 64091.

(2) See Chapter 2, p. ¹⁴⁵⁻⁸ for an account of the career of the Pecks.

(3) Guildhall MS. 8674/53, fol. 295, No. 7239.

(4) PCC. Caesar, fol. 322, Middx.

(5) PCC. Caesar, fol. 561, Middx.

(6) There were two weavers of this name in Spitalfields during the period, who were closely related. One of the two John Mazes served the Vestry of Christ Church in various capacities; possibly the same man was a Liveryman of the Weavers Company. See also Appendix 2 (i).

the "flowered" silk weavers included Captain Peter Lekeux and his son Peter who moved in 1746 to Red Lion Street, Jordan and Mason, making flowered silks in 1763 but signing the agreement for plain silks in 1769, Daniel Vautier living from 1737-44 (1) in a house owned by John Peck, the dyer (2). It was insured for £150. He later moved to Lamb Street. Weavers of plain, foot-figured and flowered included James Sorell and Sons, and Gallot and Guillebaud, Peter Alavoine made "striped and plain lustring, mantua and tabby", Guillemard and Sons "plain mantua and tabby". Two weavers made silks mixed with worsted, Benjamin Coles and John Louis. There was (regrettably) a bankrupt Elizabeth Lee (1736), and a family of throwsters, the Delamares. Peter Delamare, senior, a weaver, lived in Duke Street in 1736, his son of the same name lived in a house which he insured for £300 in that year "£275 brick and £25 timber, ye house valued £225 and a throwster's workshop backward adjoining, valued £75, on the west side of Steward Street..." (3). From 1736-47 the firm advertised in the directories and was succeeded by Abraham Delamare from 1749-55. Peter, junior, died in 1747; his surviving brothers renewed the policy in 1751.

In the Old Artillery Ground lived several of the manufacturers whose names appear on the '45 list (Appendix 2(iii)) James Beauzeville (5 men), who died in 1763⁽⁴⁾, Peter Maillard (21 men), possibly the weaver of that name from Upper Normandy, in Spital Yard in 1705, but more probably a son, since he died in (5) 1763. John Roy (10 men), John Maze (6) (17 men), and Peter

(1) See Chapter 2, p.200, & Appendix 2(i), (ii) & (iii).

(2) James Maze in his will made in 1749 (proved 1750 PCC GREENLY, fol. 362) refers to his "good friend Nicholas Jourdain of Smock Alley, weaver....." In the Directories for 1755 Jourdain and de Gron, mercers, appear in Smock Alley; James Godin in his will (PCC St.Eley, fol. 252, Middx.) proved in 1762, referred to him as "my good friend Nicholas Jourdain mercer".

(3) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., pp. 228-236, esp. p. 236 description of the interior.

(4) Silk mixed with worsted, John Hunt; flowered silk, William Plees.

(5) Obit. 1748. (PCC. Strahan, fol. 9). Hug. Soc. Publms. Vol. XXXIII, p. 65 (1744) August 27th. "Mr. Lewis Desormeaux, upon certificate from Holland is admitted a foreign master."

Ogier (possibly the man who offered 50 men) (1) who died there in 1776. Maze and Ogier may have made flowered silks.

In Artillery Lane one house was occupied from 1716-1773 by a Jourdain, and possibly for a longer period. William Jourdain probably lived there until 1750, and then Nicholas who moved there from a house in Smock Alley just round the corner. He began his career as a weaver but subsequently became a mercer (2). He greatly embellished the house (3). Possibly more typical of the inhabitants was a weaver, John Fontaine, who lived in Artillery Lane from 1742 - 1755 and insured his house for £200 in 1749. Daniel Carbonnel, a shag weaver, who offered 30 men in 1745, lived in Artillery Lane from 1726 (probably) and 1728 (certainly) until moving to Sandys Street. According to Mortimer's Directory there was one weaver of flowered silks, and one of half-silks in the street (4). From 1736-38 one throwster, Thomas Teeton, advertised his address there. In Gun Street there were weavers of light silks and handkerchiefs (among those whose speciality is known). There were also two substantial contributors to the '45 List, Lewis Desormeaux (5) (19 men) 1736-48, and Daniel Giles, senior (40 men).

It would thus be impossible to pick out one group of specialists in these streets. There were more French than English firms and all seem to have been well established in their own branches of the industry. Some can be proved to have lived there for a very long time and other probably did. They were predominantly weavers of broad silks.

(1) See fn. 3 p. 25

(2) Guildhall MS. 8674/83, fol. 284, No. 61286.

(3) PCC. Legard, fol. 252.

(4) See Chapter 2, p. 204 notes 6 & 7.

(5) Index to 1752 volume: "Mr. Crumpler

a gauze lappet patt	= (5985.6) Jan
..... 6	22, 1752.
a ruffle patt.... 5	= (5985.5(iii))
	April 4, 1752
a gauze..... 5	= (5985.5(iv))
	Jan. 24, 1752

(6) One of these is illustrated, plate 48, No. 57.

Two streets very close by form something of a contrast in the character of their inhabitants. In Widegate Street and Sandys Street, which was a turning off it, there lived eleven weavers whose careers have been traced. Only one man in Sandys Street was of French extraction and this was Daniel Cabaniel (Carbonnel & etc!), the shag weaver, who offered 30 men in 1745 (1). The others were English. Benjamin Champion, an Assistant in the Weavers Company who had lived previously in Smock Alley and Paternoster Row, is listed in the 1755 Directory as "near" Widegate Alley in 1753-5. This was actually a house on the east side of Sandys Street, the second house from Widegate Street (2). The house was valued at £450, the kitchen and a room over £100, and workshops £150. There were three storeys and a garret in the house, and two storeys in the workshop. Benjamin Champion offered 50 men in 1745, one of the larger offers. If he can be identified with Champion and Meyrick in Mortimer's Directory of 1763, he was making silks mixed with worsted and thread. Thomas Byas and his widow Ann Byas also lived in Sandys Street from the 1730's (if not earlier) until she died in 1767 (3). They were rich (4) but what they made is not known.

None of the firms in Widegate Alley even had as much as one French partner. Bowland, Crumpler & Co. who advertised in the 1755 Directory were gauze weavers. Anna Maria Garthwaite sold three gauze patterns to Mr. Crumpler in 1752 (5). This was probably John Crumpler, son of Nicholas Crumpler, who is

(1) Court Books.

(2) Patent Office: Abridgments Old Classes, ed. B. Woodcraft, 1859. Weaving 1620-1850 Pt. 1, Patents 814, 1013.

(3) Mortimer's Directory 1763.

(4)

(5) He was probably a weaver of some standing, since a Threadneedle Street merchant apprenticed his son to him in 1754 at a consideration of £800.
See Chapter 2, p. 73 Note 3.

(6) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., pp. 136-141.

first mentioned in the Court Books of the Weavers Company in 1694. John Crumpler was free of the Weavers Company in 1719, took apprentices throughout the 1730's and 40's up to 1752 (1). A John Crumpler went on the Livery in 1759. It may have been the man free in 1719 or a son, since a weaver of that name took out patents in 1764 for a method of making gold and silver wire and in 1772 for the making of crape and tiffany (2). In 1769 the firm of Bowland, Crumpler & Co. signed the List of Prices for drugget modes, handkerchiefs, nets and gauzes. In 1772 Bowland and Co. had moved to Old Broad Street. Other inhabitants made handkerchiefs (John Hainworth (3)), silk mixed with worsted (Hall & Hudson (4)), and pure worsted (James Leeds, living in Windsor Street off Widegate Alley (5)). The types of material made by Nathaniel Atkinson (who advertised 1753-5) and William Salter, who offered 12 men in 1745 are unknown.

It does seem remarkable that none of this admittedly small sample are known to have been making broad silks while their neighbours in Artillery Lane and the Old Artillery Ground were making very little else.

In Petticoat Lane the only people so far identified are a throwster John Allen (1746-53) and a velvet weaver and button maker, William Whitrow. Although there must have been others, they are not easy to identify since they neither advertised in the Directories nor reached the higher ranks of the Weavers Company.

In Crispin Street (6) there are eight men whose careers

(1) Court Books, op. cit., August 17th 1741.

(2) Guildhall MS. 8674/64, fol. 275, No. 10060.

(3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25. February 15th, 1749/50, pp. 996-7.

(4) GM. XXXIX December 1759, p. 605. The reasons for this animosity are discussed in Mr. Jordan's thesis. Chauvet had taken the lead in resisting the attacks of the cutters and had even armed his own workmen.

can be traced from the 30's to the 60's and these were, indeed, very rich. Lewis Chauvet, a weaver of handkerchiefs, was living there after 1741 though by 1763 he was in Gun Street. He was apprenticed to John Chevallier in 1733, free in 1741, and took an apprentice at the same Court (1). He rented his house from John Chevallier, to whom he was later an executor. It was insured for £350 in 1743 and it had "a workshop and a wash-house backward"⁽²⁾. He went on the Livery of the Weavers Company in 1745, and offered 65 men to the Crown in October of that year. His progress was rapid. When he gave evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1750 on growing raw silk in America, he mentioned that he had been a weaver for seventeen years, that he had had to sack 150 weavers because of the shortage of raw silk and that this represented a third of his labour force (3). Moreover, he produced for the Committee a piece of black taffeta "worked after the Indian manner". Thus, his 450 men were not all making handkerchiefs, as might be inferred from Mortimer's Directory, nor could they all have been working in the workshop at the back of his house. He is last known to have been living in Crispin Street in 1755. The Vestry of Christ Church, Spitalfields, held a special meeting on April 23, 1765 to discuss a "riot" in which the houses of a Mr. Somerset and Mr. Chauvet were damaged. Rewards were offered to informers. During the riots that accompanied the execution of two "cutters" in 1769 "the mob broke windows, destroyed the furniture and committed other outrages in the house of Lewis Chauvet Esq. in Spitalfields" (4), presumably in Gun Street.

(1) See p. 38 fn. 2.

(2) GM.XXXVI, February 1766, p. 103. Deaths include Leonard Snee Esq. at Hackney.

(3) Mortimer's Directory 1763.

(4) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., p. 138, and insurance policies of Leonard Snee 1723-48 which mention his neighbour Hoddy, the surgeon referred to in the Spitalfields Survey (8674/28, fol. 245, No. 19860, and 8674/67, fol. 64, No. 19860).

Two throwsters lived in Crispin Street, William Prince, from 1738-41 and the Snees; Peter Snee, a weaver, insured his house for £300 in 1709 and renewed his policy in 1716 (1). Leonard was apprenticed to a weaver in 1709, and he renewed the policy on his father's house (it is clearly the same house as the neighbours on either side are the same) as a weaver in 1723. He renewed it in 1745, and the policy was declared void in 1748. In the Directories between 1736-1744 he appears however as a yarn throwster. He subsequently gave his address as Batson's Coffee House, as has already been mentioned. He died at Hackney in 1766 (2).

Others living in Crispin Street included Joshua Green (3), a shag weaver, who moved there from White Row (his address in 1755). Daniel Messman, who offered 48 men in 1745 lived in Crispin Street from 1736-1747, before moving to Spital Square. He lived next door but one to Leonard Snee (4), with a surgeon between them. The corner house on the south side of Paternoster Row and the east side of Crispin Street was held by Lepipre-Harris-Bray in the period. Small as this sample is, it does perhaps suggest that Crispin Street was one of the prosperous streets in Spitalfields and one in which the few English lived probably as successfully as their French neighbours.

Red Lion Street and White Lion Street shew much the same degree of prosperity. The careers of some sixteen master weavers and others who lived there can be traced. In Red Lion

(1) Guildhall MS 8674/21, fol. 91, No. 281.

(2) Report in the Penny London Post or Morning Advertiser
October 8th 1745 (BM. Burney Colln.).

Street, however, six out of eight were of English extraction while White Lion Street seems to have been a "French" street. Between 1719 and 1749 one house on the east side of Red Lion Street was continuously occupied by a family of scarlet dyers the Pecks. Edward Peck insured the house in 1719/20 (1) for £500. He died in 1736. His son, John renewed the policy. In 1747 it was valued at £800, of which half was the value of the house and half the value of "a dye-house, coach-house and stables adjoining". Their careers will be considered in more detail later. They owned extensive property throughout Spitalfields but remained practising dyers. It was John Peck, Esq. who "with several other gentlemen of Spitalfields waited on H.M.....with the names of near 3,000 men who have entered into their pay for one year, to serve.....as occasion may require" (2) against the Young Pretender in 1745. His neighbours included a throwster, John Russell, who offered four men in 1745 and a weaver John Shields, who offered five men. The Street seems to have been fairly miscellaneous in the distribution of trades. Mortimer's Directory of 1763 mentions a weaver of half-silks, Abraham Coles, and a worsted weaver Richard Pless. From 1753-5 the firm of James Johnson and Comp. Weavers advertised their address in Red Lyon Street. It seems probable that this is the weaver who offered 70 men in 1745 to the Crown, since he seems to be the only man of his name who occurs in the sources. In the 1743 Rate Book he was living in the house between John Peck and John Russell & Co.

(1) Appendix 2(i), (ii) & (iii).

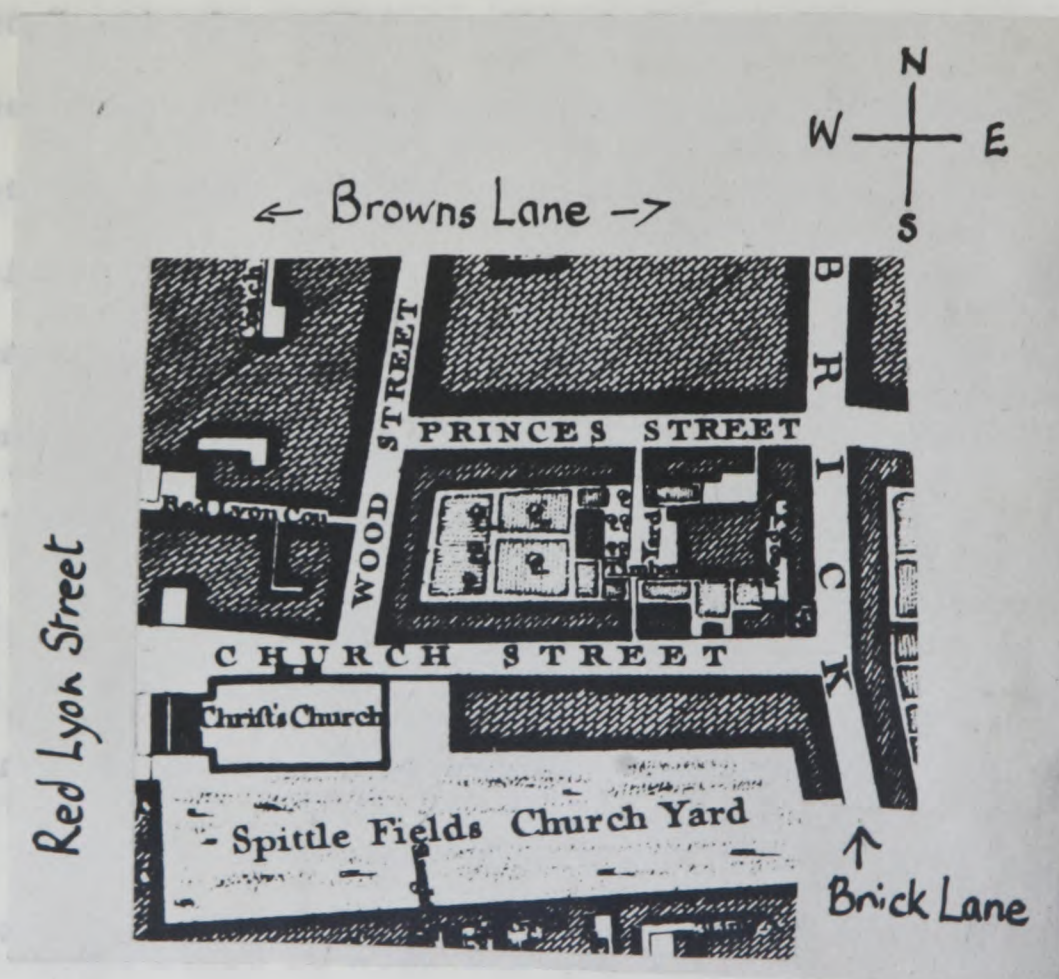
(2) Chapter 2, p.170-174. Hug. Soc. Procs. XX, No. 1.
pp. 82-3.

(3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 30, pp. 725-6,
April 14th 1766.

Peck paid 15/-, Johnson 9/9, and John Russell 14/3; these were high rates by comparison with their neighbours. A man by the name of James Johnson had a distinguished career in the Weavers Company, and he can probably be identified with the weaver of Red Lyon Street. He was already a Liveryman in the late 1730's and during the early '40's became an Assistant. He was Renter Bailiff of the Company in 1750 and Upper Bailiff, the highest office in 1753. Thereafter he served on several important committees: in 1757 on the importing of organzine silk, in 1758 on non-freemen, and in 1761 and 1764 on the seizing of smuggled silks. The only two Frenchmen whose careers are known were both weavers of "flowered" silks: John Sabatier (1) who moved from Princes Street between 1755 and 1763 (he retained premises in Church Street until 1783) and Peter Lekeux who had moved from his father's house in Steward Street. Their careers are considered elsewhere(2), but it may be noted that both were important in their branch of the industry. When Sabatier "began to trade for himself in 1750 he employed 50 looms" (3) and at the time of greatest prosperity, one hundred. At the contemporary reckoning of four men to a loom he was one of the larger masters.

White Lion Street north of Spital Square seems to have contained a majority of French inhabitants including (as in the other streets) at least one family established there over a considerable period. From 1711 Obadiah Agace was taking apprentices in the Weavers Company. Since he mentioned the Walloon Church at Canterbury in his will (he died in 1755) it

- (1) PCC. Paul, Fol. 232, Middx. £100 to Walloon Church of Canterbury for the Poor.
- (2) Mortimer's Directory 1763.
- (3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 28, p. 385, January 1759.
- (4) Family tradition quoted in a letter by Miss S. Minet (of Castlecombe, Warren Cutting, Kingston Hill, Surrey, 23.iii.59). Apart from the residue of his estate he left specific bequests amounting to £7,510 in his will (PCC. Glazier, fol. 253, Middx. proved 1756). His career and family connections are considered further in Chapter 2, p.196, 204 note 8, 209, 95 note 1, 98. Appendix 2 (i) & (iii), Appendix 7 etc.
- (5) Today Wilkes Street. See Spitalfields Survey, op. cit. p.111.



is probable that he was one of the Canterbury contingent (1).

In 1753 he became an Assistant of the Weavers Company.

All his three sons were weavers. The two younger ones, Zachary and Jacob, remained in partnership together in White Lyon Street while their elder brother moved to Church Street.

These two were weavers of black silk and gauze (2). Zachary Agace gave evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1759 on the paving of the streets of Norton Falgate as a result of a petition from the "principal inhabitants" (3).

Three firms making "flowered" silks lived in the street, John Luke Landon (4) "the richest man in Norton Falgate" by reputation, Jamet and Landon, and Daniel Vautier Junior. One or two other foreign firms have been noted in the street, whose specialities are not known, and one English firm. John Bampton, who advertised in the Directories between 1753 and 1755.

Both these streets thus contained some of the most prosperous in the industry but they also illustrate the tendency, not as obvious in some of the other streets, for the English to live together and to be associated with half-silks and even worsteds, while the French were very much involved with "flowered" silks.

Church Street, Wood Street (5) and Princes Street all contained a very large number of weavers, 19 in Wood Street, 25 in Church Street and 25 in Princes Street. Of these 69 people only 10 were of English extraction and, on the other hand, at least 10 were makers of flowered silks. On the

- (1) V. & A. Museum Dept. of Engraving, Illustration and Design. Series 5970-5990.
- (2) Today Fournier Street. Spitalfields Survey op. cit. pp. 192-3, and 199-225.
- (3) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit. plate 68.
- (4) At that time the elder Peter Bourdon was living in Monmouth Street, in the parish of St. Dunstan's Stepney (Sun Insurance Company Policy Book 1. 1710-11, p. 80). He also took out a policy with the Hand in Hand Insurance Coy. (Guildhall MS. 8674/9, fol. 545, No. 22375) valued at £150.
- (5) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., p. 218.
- (6) MS. 8674/47, fol. 179, No. 1088. He apparently retained the house in Monmouth Street since he also insured in 1733 "a brick house ...on the east side of Monmouth Street, 5th house north from Black Eagle Street..." for £150, with the Hand in Hand Insurance Company, not the Sun.
- (7) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., pp. 182-3.

corner of Wood Street and Princes Street lived a pattern drawer, Anna Maria Garthwaite, whose collection of designs (from 1728-1756) is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1). She died in 1763.

Church Street (2) contained some of the best houses on the Tillard Estate built in the late 1720's. Some of the houses survive today and still preserve a little of their original appearance. The house of Peter Bourdon is illustrated in the Spitalfields Survey (3). His father was a Headborough in the Vestry in 1712 (4) and was naturalised in 1709. Peter Bourdon the younger was apprenticed to his father in 1723. Presumably it is the elder Peter Bourdon who moved into the house when it was newly built in 1725 (5). His initials are on the front of the building on a rainwater head. He died in 1732. The house was valued for insurance purposes in 1733 for £600, a substantial sum, and, since we know what the house looked like, it is a useful one for comparison with those of other weavers (6). An important builder, Samuel Worrall (7) lived next door. The policy was renewed in 1740/1747 and 1754. The firm of Peter Bourdon advertised in the Directories from 1753-5. Peter Bourdon offered 26 in 1745 to fight the Young Pretender. Obadiah Agace (i.e., the son of the man mentioned earlier) renewed the policy in 1762 - for £800. Peter Bourdon (junior) was on the Livery of the Weavers Company and is noted as "dead" in the Quarterage List for 1755-6. He lived next door to James Ouvry, probably his

(1) MS. 8674/69, fol. 73. No. 51083.

p.61

(2) Appendix 2(1) and Chapter 2, p.211 note 1.

father-in-law who died in 1748. The latter's house was only insured for £300 (1). The next house was occupied by John Ouvry, the son and tenant of James (the house also valued at £300). John Ouvry, whose career can be traced from 1743-1772 is among the weavers of striped and plain lustrings and mantuas in Mortimer's Directory of 1763. James Ouvry probably offered 19 men to the Crown in 1745 and John 35 (As there were other James and John Oury's in Spitalfields this is only a guess).

About 18 of the 1745 list lived in these three streets, a high proportion of the total. All were weavers of broad silks, though of several kinds, and neither in Church Street nor in Wood Street were there any throwsters or dyers. While there were (according to Mortimer) five weavers of striped, and plain lustrings and mantuas in Church Street, there were none in Wood Street. In Wood Street there were three weavers of black silks - and none in Church Street. There were satin weavers in both streets. In Wood Street lived three men who probably made "flowered" silks: John Mazy, Stephen Paris and John Rondeau (2). In the few cases where a previous or subsequent address is known, it seems evident that the successful man moved from the less highly rated parts of the district to Church Street or Wood Street (Isaac Roberdeau came from Coxe's Square and John Rondeau from the borders of Bethnal Green). If a man moved subsequently it seems to have been to Princes Street (John Lemaitre is an example) or to Spital Square.

father-in-law who died in 1785, James' house was

(1) At least 18 weavers are known from their wills either to have retired to the country altogether or to have bought property for weekend use. See Chapter 2, p. 205.

(2) These dates are those when it is certain that the man lived in Princes Street. In most cases the period was probably much longer.

James and James' house in 1785.

Govy probably stayed in the Crown in 1745 and John

25 (As there were other James and John Govy's in Scotland)

this is only a guess).

About 15 of the 1745 list lived in these three streets.

a high proportion of the total. All were weavers of broad alk

though of several kinds, and neither in Church Street nor in

Wood Street were there any throwers or dyers. While

there were (according to Morley) five weavers of striped,

and plain linings and mantles in Church Street, there were

none in Wood Street. In Wood Street there were three weavers

of black alk - and none in Church Street. There were also

weavers in both streets. In Wood Street lived three men who

probably made "flowered" alk: John Mary, Stephen Parris and

John Henderson (2). In the few cases where a previous or sub-

sequent address is known, it seems evident that the successful

man moved from the less highly rated parts of the district to

Church Street or Wood Street (James Henderson came from Gox's

square and John Henderson from the borders of Bethnal Green).

If a man moved subsequently it seems to have been to Princes

Street (John Henderson is an example) or to Bethnal Square.

A certain proportion naturally retired to the country at the end of their careers, to Hackney, Tottenham, Edmonton and Cheshunt especially (1).

Princes Street contained an even higher proportion of prosperous inhabitants. It was a shorter street than Wood Street or Church Street, but twenty-five of its inhabitants were connected in some way with the silk industry in the period. Thirteen of them offered men to serve the Crown in 1745, offers which ranged from 3 to 75 men, i.e.:

<u>Any speciality</u>			<u>House Value (2) and Date of Occupation</u>	
*	John Baker	75 men Flowered silks	£400	1743-1783
*	Abraham Dupree	3 men -	£300	From 1743
"	James Duthoit	7 men -	-	1736-1755
*	Daniel Gobbee	70 men Flowered silks	£325	From 1749, before in Corbet Court.
	John Lamy	12 men -	-	1745-1754 (BKT)
	John Lemaitre	4 men "Fancy"	-	1772
	Daniel Pilon	49 men Probably silk mixed with worsted	-	1724-1759
*	Peter Abraham Ogier	28 men Flowered silks	-	1749-1755
	Abraham Ravenell	14 men -	£275	1743-1749
	John Roy	10 men Satin	-	1755-1763
*	John Sabatier	34 men Flowered silks	-	1736-1750, i.e. father and son.
	Thomas Triquet	7 men Dyer	£1000	1745-1755
	René Turquand	4 men	£ 325	1743 +
* (Career considered in detail later).				

The two throwsters in the street, John Crush and Peter Sauberque did not contribute to the list. John Crush lived

(1) Guildhall MS. 8674/62, fol. No. 43872.

(2) Guildhall MS. 8674/62, fol. No. 9890.
/63, fol. 349-50, Nos. 12214, 12215.

(3) ...
... (1) ...

(4) Francis Paul Audeer, Nicholas Peter Pilon (half-silks
Mortimer 1763), Isaac Roberdeau 1772 (i.e., from Wood
Street), Col. Thomas Excelby 1724 - died 1738 (GM.VIII
May, 1738).

(5) For example: John Baker, Upper Bailiff 1742, Daniel
Gobbee, Assistant 1750, died 1757, Col. Thomas Excelby,
Assistant.

Liverymen: Abraham Dupree, James Duthoit, Major Lewis
Gilbert, Peter Abraham Ogier, Isaac Roberdeau, John Sabat

(6) Guildhall MS 8674/64, fol. 5, No. 5025.

(3) PCC Cornwallis, fol. 284.

(or his family) continuously from 1736-1784, their house was insured for £300 in 1742, of which the workshop backward was valued at £100 (1). Saubergue is listed in the Directories from 1753-5, he is not mentioned in the 1743 Rate Book.

Dupree and Turquand were both the tenants of John Baker (2) and so was Captain Lewis Gilbert, another non-contributor to the '45 list in Princes Street. John Allen & Co. are listed in Mortimer's Directory of 1763 as makers of "brocade and flowered silk" and Peter Hebert as making "striped, plain lustring mantua and tabby". Most of the inhabitants, including the ones not so far mentioned, (4) were at least members of the Weavers Company and some in the chief offices or in the Court of Assistants (5). Triquet, the dyer, lived in a corner house, of which the house itself was worth £600, the dyehouse and warehouse belonging, £300, and "wash-house compting house with one store over....£100" (6).

The policy was renewed in 1750 and 1757. In the 1750 policy it was noted that the house had three storeys and a garret, four rooms wainscotted, four half-way and two marble chimney pieces. Although his own house was not so luxurious, when John Baker died in 1783 he left his wife his "coach and all other carriages with the harnesses, etc." apart from sharing out his extensive house properties (3). The splendours of successful trade which perhaps can be inferred from such details have entirely vanished and Princelet Street today is even dirtier than the rest of Spitalfields, nor are there

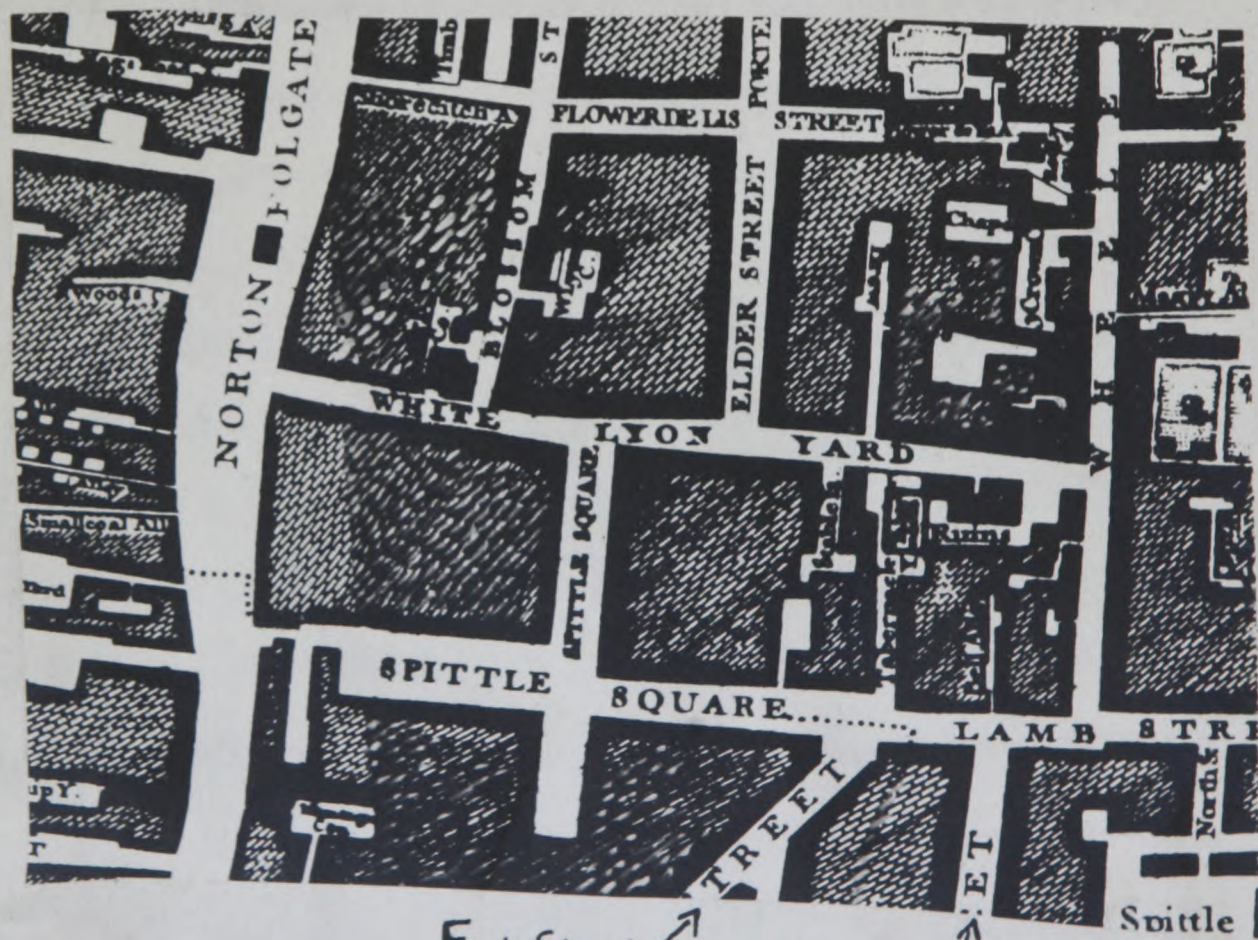
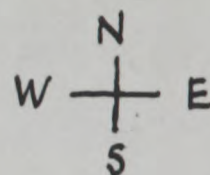
(1) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., Plates 56-9, 83, 87,

88b, 89b, 94d, 95c and d, 96a, 97, 100, 101, 102c, 103b, 104-5, 106b and d, 107.

(2) See Appendix 2(ii).

(3) Mortimer's Directory

(4) Témoignage French Church Threadneedle Street, October 9th 1687, described as a "bonnetier" of Spitalfields, 1699, living in Wheeler Street (address recorded at the birth of one of his children).



Fort Street

Red Lion Street

any plates in the Spitalfields Survey which might indicate its 18th century prosperity.

The former elegance of Spital Square does, however, survive at least in photographs (1). Thirty-three firms lived in the Square, including eleven on the '45 list. Several gave evidence to Parliamentary Committees (2). The inhabitants included merchants, a silk broker (Stevens Totton), a few throwsters, especially in the earlier period, and weavers in almost every branch of the industry. These included weavers of worsted, Joseph Foskett, later Reynolds, Foskett, Lock and Hind, Stuffmen, gauze and mode (Dickenson and Warner (3)), Half-silks (Peter Auber & Sons, Thomas Abraham Ogier), Black silks (Daniel Messman) Satin and Tabby (Sebastian Loy), Silk and Velvet (James Dalbiac) and a group of flowered silk weavers, Giles Bigot (from 1739) and his son Peter Bigot, Peter Ogier who died in 1740, his son of the same name, and a younger son Lewis Ogier in partnership with a Duthoit in 1763 (when he made flowered silks), and earlier with his elder brother Thomas Abraham Ogier (who did not), the firm Ogier, Triquet and Vansommer (which included a pattern drawer John Vansommer), John Luke Landon and his son James Landon. The only products known to have been made by firms of purely English extraction were worsteds and half-silks. By contrast the flowered silks were not only made by Huguenots but by one fairly small group. The Landons came to England from Rotterdam, the grandfather Samuel, a "bonnetier", lived in Wheeler Street in 1699 (4). The others were the rich from

(1) See Chapter 2, p.195-8 for a further discussion of this point.

(2) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., p. 68.

(3) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., plates 87a, 87b, 100, 101.

(4) Guildhall MS 8674/58, fol. 83, No. 66033.

(5) PCC. Trenley, fol. 242.

Bas Poitou, whose careers contrast most vividly with those of their fellow countrymen in the Black Eagle Street district. All the Ogiers in the Square and Peter Abraham of Princes Street were brothers or close relatives (Peter Abraham came at the beginning of the century, his brother Peter, who died in 1740, in 1730) and also from Poitou were the Bigots, Francis Audeer of Princes Street, together with John Riviere and Daniel Gobbee, also of Princes Street. They were intimately connected by family ties, business partnerships and professions (1). The Bigots moved from Steward Street, where Giles Bigot advertised when he was in partnership with James Godin the elder. He was assigned the lease of a house on the south side of Spital Square (2). Although the house has now been demolished there are illustrations of it in the Spitalfields Survey (3). Bigot insured it (4) for the very large sum of £1,600, when he moved in during the year 1739. In the policy register it was noted that the house was one of four storeys, with a colonnade and rooms over and attached was a warehouse (valued at £350) of three storeys, "the whole finished in a grand manner". When Giles Bigot died in 1742 he left his son Peter not only the business but various house properties round about Spitalfields (5). Peter Bigot, who went on to the Livery of the Weavers Company in 1741, did not apparently renew his father's partnership with James Godin, but from 1744-49 appears in the Directories with David Delavau. (Godin went into partnership with one of the Ogiers). The firm of Bigot and Delavau offered 30 men

(1) E.I.D. 5984.12 "Mr. Begot & Co.....1745" (index) "a damask". Also in the index "a bro(caded) tis(sue)" now missing.

(2) Guildhall MS 8674/58, fol. 232, No. 66276.

(3) Guildhall Ms 8674/71, fol. 109, No. 60937, and see Chapter 2, p.

(4) MS. 8674/83, fol. 202.

(5) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, May 15th 1765 (B.M. Burney Colln). "At Southgate Daniel Messman Esq., formerly a black silk manufacturer in Spitalfields".

(6) Patent Office.

(7) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., p. 66.

in 1745. "Mr. Bigot & Co." bought designs for a damask and a brocaded tissue from Anna Maria Garthwaite (1).

James Godin also moved with Giles Bigot to Spital Square, in fact, to the house next door, since he lived in the "second house east from a new intended street or passage at the east end of Esq^{re} Tillard's Garden" and Bigot had the third house (2). He insured his for £1,000, of which a "back apartment" was valued at £70. His house too was "finished in a grand manner". His warehouses presumably were elsewhere, which partly accounts for the difference in the valuation.

The policy was renewed in 1746 and 1754. Peter Ogier (3) insured a brick house on the east side of Spittle Square and the north side of the way leading to Lamb Street for

£600 in 1747 (renewed in 1754). This was probably a more average sum. Daniel Messman insured his house (4) (the second north on the way leading to Lamb Street) for £500 in 1747 and the policy was renewed in 1754 and 1761. In

Mortimer's Directory he is listed among the manufacturers of black silk and velvet. He retired to Southgate where he died in 1765 (5). His sons Daniel and Charles carried on the business, signing the 1769 List of Prices in the Black Branch (6). The elder Daniel Messman became an Assistant of the Weavers Company in 1753. The house remained in the family until the 19th century (7). A merchant on the Livery of the Weavers Company, Peter James Douxsaint, who advertised in the Directories between 1740 and 1755 moved into Spital

(1) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., p. 66.

(2) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., pp. 66-8.

(3) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit., p. 58.

(4) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., p. 61.

(5) At the French Church Soho Square.

(6) Court Books, op. cit., and see Chapter 4, p. 408.439.

(7) GM XVI, July 24th 1746, p. 383. "Mr. James Dalbiac, junior, of Spittle Square to a daughter of Mr. Peter Devisme, a Hamburg merchant worth £5,000."

GM XXIX, March 1759, p. 145. "Charles Dalbiac of Spittle Square, Esq., to Miss Devisme of Clapham."

Spital Square in 1736 (1). He insured his house for £700 in 1747 and the policy was subsequently renewed. His house which was not "finished in a grand manner" had four storeys, 8 rooms wainscotted, 5 marble chimney pieces, 3 portland do., a counting house wainscotted with a marble chimney piece and a separate wash-house valued at £50. The house is described and illustrated in the Spitalfields Survey (2) and forms a useful standard for comparison. The Dalbiacs were another family resident in Spital Square over a long period. James lived in No. 7 (3) from 1727-31 and later in No. 20. His house is illustrated in the Survey. He was one of the respected inhabitants we know from several sources (4). He signed in 1743 the Declaration of Trust for the French Church of the Artillery Ground with Nicholas Jourdain, weaver, (subsequently he became a mercer) and John Vansommer, pattern drawer. (5). He was a Liveryman of the Weavers Company, apparently of a fiery disposition, who appeared before the Court of Assistants in January 1747 (6) with a bitter complaint about the drawbacks given on "foreign European wrought silks and velvets" exported to the West Indies and other colonies. He was unable to produce any evidence to support his allegations. He offered 80 men in 1745, one of the largest offers. Both his sons (James and Charles) married well, marrying the daughters of "Mr. Peter Devisme, a Hamburg merchant" (7). It is the sons, James and Charles, who are listed as manufacturers of silk and velvet in Mortimer's Directory of 1763. In 1769

(1) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (B.M. Burney Colln.).

(2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (B.M. Burney Colln.).

February 13th 1765.

they signed the List of Prices in the Black Branch. It would be interesting to know if their father also made black silks. Also living in Spital Square were Simon Dalbiac and his son of the same name (advertising in the Directories from 1749-53). Simon Junior offered 25 men in 1745.

During the depression of 1765 the wealth of the weavers living in Spital Square was one of the red herrings flourished during the controversy about its causes. On February 8th "Simplex", replying to a "master weaver" on the best methods of making English silks as cheap as the French, said (rashly) that it could be done "by the master weavers putting down their coaches, their country seats and their livery servants or any other method but starving the poor journeymen.."

(1). Another "Master Weaver" replied on 11th February: "I cannot see any reason why a master weaver who has a plentiful fortune should not enjoy it as well as any other trade....." "Veritas", who took an active part in this discussion, describing himself as a weaver for nine years forced to retire to the country for health reasons, wrote a few days later (2) "If a gentleman with £20 - £60,000 or more can keep a carriage and a country house.....when not in trade why not a weaver? There were about a dozen carriages in all Spitalfields, "and in that small spot Spital Square.... there is kept 12 carriages and only 2 by weavers, the others being silk merchants and brokers, who I believe live more like princes than the weavers themselves....."

(1) House of Commons Journals Vol. 24, pp.448,
3rd March 1742/3.

(2) Guildhall MS 8674/70, fol. 52, No. 66138.

(3) Guildhall MS 8674/71, fol. 296, No. 42522.

If this was the character of Spital Square and its inhabitants, the streets north-east towards and including Bethnal Green were a complete contrast. The further away from Spital Square the rate collector walked the fewer number of recognisable master weavers. According to a petition from the Freeholders, Leaseholders and owners of land in Bethnal Green (1) it would be disastrous to make the district a parish distinct from St. Dunstan's Stepney because "the weighty taxes" which would follow.... would fall very heavily on "the population which consists chiefly of journeymen weavers and artificers belonging to the weaving trade, who by hard labour and industry can scarcely in the most frugal way of life maintain themselves and their families...." Most houses were let at £10 per annum or less and then let out again by the owners in two or three tenements. This was the kind of property owned by several of the master weavers. George Garrett insured for £300 a brick building divided into 3 tenements on the north side of Weavers Street near Fleet Street in the Parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green (2). Peter Bigot insured for £300 "a brick building with 5 tenements £58 each, and 2 back rooms at £5 each, on the west side of Swan Street, south side of Bacon Street" in Bethnal Green (3). When the Weavers Company introduced half fees to encourage poor weavers to take up their freedom, in 1761, the first to appear on October 19th was "Edmond Butler living in New Nicholl Street, Bethnal Green, weaver, who was bred to the

(1) Joseph Harris 21st December 1761 "bound apprentice to William Jaudwine, weaver of Canterbury and served him as an apprentice for 7 years, free half fees...."

(2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 30, 4th March 1765, p. 20

weaving business by his mother in Monmouth Street, Spittle-
fields, weaver, who was an Undertaker and had divers looms

standing in her house where the journeymen worked, by whom he
was instructed in the silk weaving and has since Exercised the
trade for 20 years and upwards is desirous to be made free but
being in low circumstances and having a large family prays
to be admitted on payment of half fees...." (The Company
admitted him). While another admitted in 1761 lived
in New Nicholl Street. He had served a regular apprentice-
ship to a Canterbury weaver (1). In 1765 Thomas Price,
a journeyman weaver gave the Select Committee of the House of
Commons on the silk industry (2) some idea of the unemployment
in the district. He told them "that in the parish workhouses
of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Spitalfields there are 572
persons who are weavers or their dependents and that the
Number of such poor in Bethnal Green Workhouse only is in-
creased 140 within these 6 months".

Against this rather gloomy implication of slum and squalor
may be set the evidence of the Rate Books. Several people
in Hare Street paid 7/- and in St. John Street, Peter Triquet
paid 9/-. In the 1743 rate for Spitalfields sewer, a few
master weavers can be distinguished, particularly in Fleet
Street (James Sufflee, Abraham Jemmet), in New Cock Lane
Jonathan Pulley, in Turvey Street William Grinsell, together
with the less prosperous branches of families known in Spital-
fields, paying quite respectable rates between 3/9 and 4/6
(Moses Sabatier, several Lepines, Vautiers and Godins). They

- (1) Guildhall MS 8674/28, fol. 6, No. 47402 (1723)
Guildhall MS 8674/66, fol. 250, No. 47402 (1744),
insured by Jane Martha Rondeau, his widow).
- (2) E.I.D. 5987.19.1749 Index: "Mr. Grincil....a Damask
19" "On the design" "Mr. Carr, Mr. Grinsell Nov. 8th,
1749, 19".
- (3) "Beauties of England", Vol. X, Pt. IV Bethnal Green, p.
p.279.

may, of course, have been landlords insuring working premises, but their names do not for the most part occur in the other parts of the district (even allowing for the missing Rate Books). Two masters on the '45 list came from Bethnal Green, Jonathan Hauchecorne (son-in-law of James Auber) who gallantly offered 2 men, and Isaac Dupree. The latter hardly counts since he had moved to Elder Street in 1725. The elder John Rondeau, who began his career in Bethnal Green (1694-1706) before moving to Wood Street in 1723, insured both his house in Brick Lane and the one in Wood Street (the third house south from Princes Street) for the same sum £350 (1). Thus, although the majority of those living in Bethnal Green, were probably dependent on the masters in the better part of Spitalfields, the slum was not quite as complete as it subsequently became. There must indeed have been overcrowding, but some were independent masters sufficiently independent to go bankrupt, as did William Grinsell in 1750. He was probably a weaver of flowered silks, since he bought a design for a damask in 1749 from Anna Maria Garthwaite, commissioned by Mr. Carr (2). The situation probably grew worse in the second half of the 18th century. In 1816 J. N. Brewer (3) said of Bethnal Green, "a part of this parish....is very populous being inhabited chiefly by Journeymen silk weavers who exist in a state of crowded misery, and work at home for the master weavers in Spitalfields".

(1) Other streets in which only a few weavers lived include:

Dorset Street: 1743, Peter Beuzeville (See Appendix 2 (iii))

James Beuzeville (See Appendix 2 (iii)).

Hand Alley: 1745, Ralph Grottert (Grotart, etc.) Bankrupt. Probably a weaver of flowered wilks (See Appendix 2(i))

Pelham Street: 1728-33, Isaac Ware, throwster, insured House for £175. Bankrupt 1758.

(2) Spitalfields Survey, op. cit. p. 279.

(3) The others were Bentley & Ramsey (1755) George Burdett (1755), Adam Denne (1738-55).

(4) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 30. Appendix XI, p. 219. 4th March 1765.

There is an undated trade card at Bethnal Green Museum: for -

Saml. Spragg, Thos. Hopkins & Co. Silk Throwers and Silk Men, At the shop opposite the Bull Inn, Within Bishops-gate, London.

Or at their House (Late Mr. Adam Dennes)

In Mason's Court, Spital-fields.

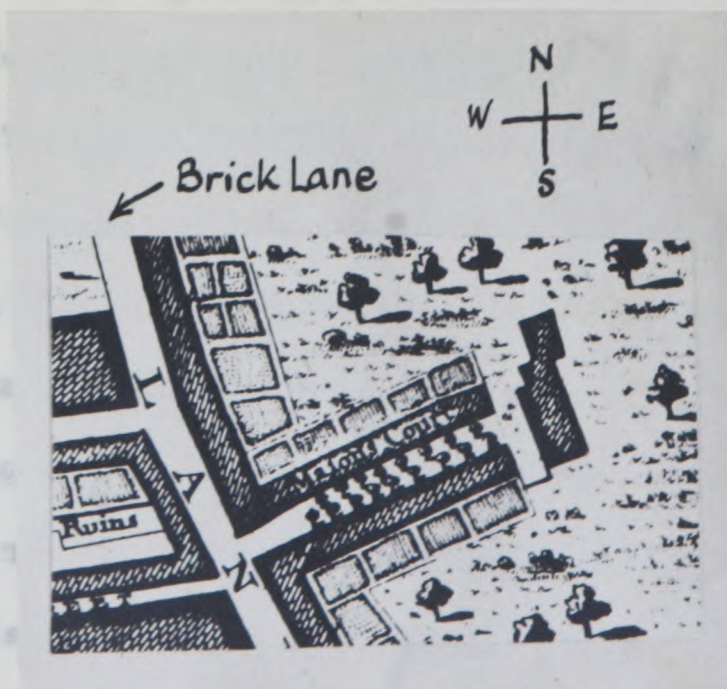
Sell all sorts of Raw and Dyed Belladine Silks,

China 3 cord, Blond & lace Silks, Silver Silks,

Stay Watch & Purse Twists, Naples Floss, Legree,

Bologna, Spun, Knittings and Sheath.

N.B. Orders taken in at Bishops-gate Street".



The streets in Spitalfields containing less than seven master weavers were for the most part outside the perimeter of the streets so far described.⁽¹⁾ In some cases they contained small groups of specialists, in others (apparently) a few individualists who stand out for no particular reason. Typical of such men was John Barton of Bell Lane who went on the Livery of the Weavers Company in 1721 and his career can thereafter be followed continuously until 1750 at that address. He is happily distinguished as "weaver" from John Barton "baker" in the Company's records. He became Renter Warden of the Company in 1750. His only neighbour known to be involved in the industry was another Englishman, a throwster, Daniel Rosbottham, mentioned in the Directories from 1753-5.

Mason's Court was remarkable on the other hand for the number of throwsters living there. There were only about 11 houses in the street built in the 1720's (2), and at least five firms of throwsters lived there all of them English (3). From 1736-49 Thomas Harris lived in Lemon Street, Goodman's Fields before he moved to Mason's Court where he appears in the 1753-5 Directories. Samuel Spragg, who advertised in 1753-5, may perhaps be identified (though without much proof) with Spragg, Hopkins and White, Silk Throwsters in London, who are mentioned in an Appendix to the 1765 report (4) with an account of the numbers of hands they employed from 1762-4. If the firm is the same, it was a large one, for their workmen were said to have numbered 800 in 1762 and to have declined to 700 and 300 in the next two years. One or two other

(1) Address given in the Court Books March 9th 1738/9 when admitted. Rate Books 1743, 1750, 1759 (junior), 1766, 1773.

(2) Admitted on Certificate from France 1716 (Hug. Soc. Publ. XXXIII, p. 75).

(3) Stepney Public Library, Local Collection. Vestry Minute Books 1743-

throwsters lived in Catherine Wheel Alley, Whitechapel (as opposed to the street of that name off Bishopsgate). John Ashton is listed there 1753-5, and Jonathan Fuller from 1736-55. James Leman married Sarah Fuller in 1718 and at the birth of their second child a Jonathan Fuller senior was a witness. If the two are at least from the same family it perhaps suggests that the Fullers were throwsters over a long period possibly at the same address, just as some of the weavers are known for half a century or more.

White Row, a street parallel to the northern side of the Tenter Ground formed the southern border of the master weavers' territory with only a few who can be traced in continuous occupation. Benjamin Manckey, possibly the man who had worked for James Leman, lived there from 1739-50, his son (?) "junior" living there from 1759-73 (1). Joshua Green, a shag weaver, lived there before moving to Crispin Street, Thomas Jervis a throwster (who offered 4 men in 1745) is listed there from 1753-72, and Anthony Roquet (2), a Liveryman of the Weavers Company active in the Christ Church Vestry (3), who went bankrupt in 1752. Booth Street, again on the perimeter of Spitalfields included among its inhabitants a worsted and stuff firm, in 1763, Charles Hartley and Co., and from 1736-55 John and Robert Turner, Stuffmen, who offered 102 men in 1745, one of the largest offers, second only to Reynolds and Bray.

Elder Street, was the furthest north in which any of the masters seemed to live. Among the inhabitants connected

(1) Auber & Hopton 1772. One of the few firms with French and English partners. Other firms in the street were James Bowland, listed as a velvet weaverⁱⁿ 1755 in Elder Street, and subsequently Francis Bowland listed in the 1763 Directory. Presumably there was no connection (except possibly a family one) between these Bowlands and Bowland & Crumpler, the Gauze weavers, since Bowland & Co. Gauze weavers, also appear in the 1763 Directory (discussed on page). Francis Bowland and John Walker bought designs from P.A. de Brissac, a designer, between 1760-1762 so that they presumably made figured velvets. James Martell (see Appendix 2(iii)) is listed in Elder Street from 1763-1772. His speciality was omitted from Mortimer's Directory.

(2) Guildhall MS 8674/63, fol. 219, No. 63014.

(3) PCC. Anstis, fol. 127.

(4) His brothers lived in Steward Street. In the Insurance Policies in 1747 and 1748 (Guildhall MSS8674/70, fol. 319 and /72, fol. 204) he is described as a throwster and "his dwelling house" valued at £750 of which £300 was "a workshop and etc. backward". It had two storeys. In the Directories he is listed as a "merchant".

(5) See Chapter 2, p. 198-9.

(6) Appendix 2 (i).

(7) Guildhall MS 8674/68, fol. 114, No. 23597.

with the industry are very few of French extraction (1).

The branches represented were mixed: a worsted weaver (Miles Burkitt), a shag weaver (James Payton, who offered 47 men to the Crown in 1745), a firm signing the 1769 List of Prices in the Fancy Branch (Thompson & Meadows) and a poor Frenchman, Stephen L'Heureux 1742-44. In 1742 he insured his house for £75 (including a £3 shed) (2). When he died in 1744 he left legacies of £100 and made provision for the diminution of each one if there was not enough money to pay them when his goods were sold. His "stock in trade" was, however, to be sold and from this we may infer that he was an independent master weaver (3).

A miscellaneous selection of the different branches of the industry lived in the other streets in which fewer than seven masters have so far been traced. In the continuation of Spital Square, Lamb Street, lived certain fairly prosperous masters, Isaac Delamare, for instance (1749-55 (4), John Ogier, mentioned in the 1743 Rate Book and probably the brother of Peter Abraham and Peter who died in 1740 (5). He probably offered 16 men to the Crown in 1745. James Sufflee, who insured a house in Bethnal Green, also lived in Lamb Street, and Daniel Vautier, senior. The last two probably made flowered silks (6). In Vine Court, off Lamb Street, lived a dyer Isaac Lefèvre (1745-52). His house was insured for £500 in 1745 and is described as "a brick house with a dyehouse, a warehouse and a compting house belonging..... standing clear of other buildings his dwelling house" (7).

(1) See p.22 James Ouvry living in Church Street. James Ouvry of Brown's Lane is not the same man (see Spitalfields Survey p. 191). The Church Street (Fournier Street) address was not "the commercial premises" of James Ouvry of Brown's Lane. Their wills, the insurance policies and the entries in the Court Books of the Weavers Company, make it clear that there were at least two James Ouvry's at the same period in the industry. The man living in Church Street and related to Peter Bourdon, died in 1748 and appears to have had no connection with the man in Brown's Lane. It is even more confusing, since there was a third James Ouvry "gentleman" who died in 1759 (PCC. Arran 212) to whom there are memorial tablets in Christ Church, Spitalfields (Spitalfields Survey op. cit. p. 176). James, who died in 1759, had a son and a grandson of the same name mentioned in the will. It would seem probable that Brown's Lane James and his son are the son and grandson of this man. The grandson who received £100 by the will could thus be the manufacturer of black silks. However, as James who died in 1759 also had a nephew James, not even this is too certain.

(2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (B.M. Burney Colln.) March 28th 1765 "A few days since died at his house in Brown's Lane, Spitalfields, Mr. James Ouvry Sanior, late a very eminent weaver, but had retired from business some years".

(3) Spitalfields Survey op. cit., p. 192.

(4) Rate Book.

(5) Guildhall MS 8674/53, fol. 223, No. 57367.

(6) Guildhall MS 8674/64, fol. 221, No. 31679.

(7) Guildhall MS 8674/83, fol. 242, No. 40858.

(8) Bequest of £50 for Schools, noted in MS list of Bequests at French Church, Soho Square.

(9) Court Books, op. cit. 31st March 1756. Freedom of Peter Alavoine who had served his mother Mary Magdalen Alavoine. He adopted the Livery at the same court. She insured her house for £275 in 1750 (MS 8674/75, fol. 271, No. 15740) and renewed it at £400 in 1755.

In Brown's Lane lived the other James Ouvry (1) who, according to Mortimer's Directory, was a weaver of black silks. He died in 1765. (2). His son continued to live there at least until 1773. (3). Also in Brown's Lane was a warehouse belonging to Peter Abraham Ogier (who lived, himself, in Princes Street (4)). Duke Street, parallel with Steward Street, was chiefly inhabited by English weavers. Thomas Chantry & Co., who offered 35 men to the Crown in 1745, lived there 1736-7 in a house valued at £150 (5). He presumably prospered and had moved by 1743 to Fore Street, to a house valued at £400 "with a workshop adjoining" (6). Another weaver who offered men (16) in 1745, James Auber, lived in Duke Street from 1754 (7) for a few years. He no longer lived there in 1761. He is perhaps the weaver of silk mixed with thread, listed in Mortimer's Directory at "No. 3 Spitalfields"; if so, he is probably the man who died in 1767 (8). Another weaver of half silks, James Walker, is listed in the Directories in Duke Street from 1763-72. The mother of Peter Alavoine, Mary Magdalen Alavoine, lived there from 1743-55 (9). Her son lived in Steward Street. She is listed both in the Directories and the Weavers Company Quarterage Lists as a weaver in her own right.

Thus, an examination of the inhabitants of individual streets cannot lead to any final conclusions since the numbers identified are probably too few at any one period, but at least some suggestions can be made. At the beginning of the period, between 1702-25, approximately, the heart of

different organisation, as will be discussed later). the broad silk industry was probably still in St. Botolph's Bishopsgate or in the streets immediately to the north, and these streets continued to contain a very large number of masters throughout the period. It cannot, however, be proved how far there were other silk weavers in other parts of the city. On the other hand there were worsted and half-silk weavers within the district of Spitalfields also throughout the period. The first French emigrants of substance, especially the Canterbury contingent, settled next to the English weavers. As Spitalfields expanded it was the French (as contemporary accounts implied) who moved north together with a few English. They did not, however, move in a haphazard fashion. The immigrants with money - such as the Ogiers - went to certain streets and not to others. As a result, by the middle of the century, i.e., 1745-60, there was a very high concentration of master weavers of broad silks within a very small area. Some indeed lived by the side of their neighbours from the same districts in France. These, however, attracted some very important English masters. The relations between the two groups will be examined in the next section. In the richest streets lived the weavers of flowered silks. Moreover, the insurance company policies indicate that the throwsters lived with an adjoining workshop, the dyers with their dyehouses, but the majority of the rich weavers had their workshops elsewhere. (Benjamin Champion and Lewis Chauvet were exceptional and Peter Bigot had a warehouse attached to his house, which implies a rather

different organisation, as will be discussed later).

Outside this very small area lived the ancillaries of the industry, the mercers, silkmen, and the like within the city and close to their customers. The bulk of the throwsters lived to the south and east. Certain special classes of weavers also lived outside the area, where, I suggest, they had probably always lived and where (if we could only identify them), lived probably the majority of the weavers whose names occur in the higher ranks of the Weavers Company earlier in the century. Such included the ribbon weavers in Cheapside especially, the gauze and handkerchief weavers of St. Botolph's and the weavers of half-silks on the fringes of the Spitalfields district. The journeymen lived north of a frontier which can be drawn along White Lion Street, Corbet Court and Browns Lane.

If any change can be seen in the period it was towards an ever-increasing specialisation in certain streets and a greater subdivision of the trades. The significance of this, too, will be considered in the next section. It is noticeable that only the ribbon weavers and a few gauze weavers etc. are distinguished between 1736 and 1755, while Mortimer in 1763 divides the weavers into very distinct categories of specialists, "satin" or "striped", "plain lustring, mantua or tabby", etc. Moreover, the contrast between Spital Square in the 50's and 60's and the poorer parts of Spitalfields was possibly much greater than between any of the rich and poor parts of Spitalfields in the earlier period.

different organization, as will be discussed later).

- (1) Smith. Laboratory or School of Arts, 1756 edition. Vol. 2, p. 43 footnote. (There is one copy of the edition containing this reference in the Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. A photostat copy exists in the Department of Textile, V. & A. Museum. None of the other editions appear to contain the article on silk designing from which this is a quotation.

Certain individual weavers were probably quite as rich as any individuals in the later period, Mr. Moriscot, Col. Lekeux, or the smugglers who intrigued against the Royal Lustring Company at the end of the 17th century for instance, but there was no such separate quarter with an exclusive reputation. Even Paternoster Row was prosperous in a modest way, no one complained about its coaches, the insurance values of the houses were not high, although we know that among its inhabitants "Mr. Budwine" (Christopher Baudouin) "was the first that brought the flower'd silk manufacture in any credit and reputation here in England" (1). Again, while certain types of weaver congregated together in the earlier as in the later period (though to a lesser extent as far as one can judge) it would be impossible to say that the industry in general was organised from any particular quarter. In the later period, however, Princes Street and Spital Square seem to stand in a special relationship to the rest of Spitalfields. Geographical proximity seems to have been associated with other factors.

The distinctions drawn between the inhabitants of the different streets are, however, largely based upon their membership of the Weavers Company and the part they played in its activities. It is the purpose of the next chapter to establish whether there is indeed sufficient evidence to equate the Weavers Company of London with the silk industry or indeed with any kind of weaving. Since much of the information so far quoted rests on the assumption that we can do so, this needs to be proved.

(Vol. 1. 12th - end 16th century).

Page 10 of 10

CHAPTER 2

THE ORGANISATION OF THE INDUSTRY

Part I

The Weavers Company of London

The Weavers Company, founded in 1155, was the Livery Company whose authority was traditionally accepted over the textile manufacturers of London. Its early history has been traced by Consitt (1). It survived into the 18th century and still survives, while the Royal Lustring Company, a joint stock company, quickly collapsed. It was not a rich company, and it attracted no special social prestige. It is hoped in this chapter, however, to shew how and why it affected the silk industry.

The structure of the Company was very similar to that of other Livery Companies. It had an Upper Bailiff (the Master of the Company), a Renter Bailiff in charge of its finances, and an Upper and Renter Warden (drawn by custom from the Livery), who helped the Bailiffs. These officers are referred to in the Court Books of the Weavers Company as the "4 in place". A Court of 6 - 24 Assistants constituted the practical government of the company. This was a self-perpetuating body chosen from the Livery when vacancies occurred. The Livery were of a variable number and chosen from the Commonalty - the Freemen of the Company. The latter were the rank and file masters who had served their apprenticeships.

- (1) By contrast, for instance, with that of the London Framework Knitters, some of whose Bylaws were printed in the House of Commons Journals in 1753, Vol. 26, pp. 779-80, together with certain correspondence, as proof of its restrictive practices. It excluded all foreigners, claimed a jurisdiction over the whole country and had a variety of fees and penalties. According to the evidence submitted (pp. 781-94) it was especially attempting to exact fees from the Framework Knitters of the Midlands. The London Weavers never shewed any hostility towards those of Canterbury or Coventry or ^{tried} to read any additional powers into their Charter.
- (2) On May 10th, 1714, for example.

become free of the Company, and were paying their quarterage. No one could be made to serve as Upper Bailiff and only the Assistants were eligible for the post. They were also required to serve or fine for the office of Renter Bailiff and for the two Wardens' offices. The Livery had only to serve or fine for the two offices of Warden. The Company elected its officers once a year in July, together with the Auditors chosen from the Court and the Livery. Vacancies in the Court of Assistants were filled as and when they occurred. The organisation was simple and flexible (1). The chief offices were filled more or less by rotation, the people next in seniority were always given due warning when their turn was likely to occur. The Company had power to co-opt on to its special committees any member of the Company "from the trade" if it was thought that his services would be useful. The Court of Assistants was required to meet at least once a month, and in fact met more frequently in the earlier years of the century. The Assistants were expected to attend regularly, and occasionally one of them was dismissed for non-attendance (2). Towards the end of the period their meetings had become rather perfunctory and in October 1759 it was decided to order dinners in future to encourage the absentees to appear. The Court Books shew, however, that the Court of Assistants met regularly throughout the period. Twice a year until 1732 the Company dined together at Election Day in July (St. James' Day), and on Lord

- (1) 8th October, 1743. A Liveryman agreed to be a Steward and to provide one-third of the Dinner on Lord Mayor's Day, but the Officers in fact provided it.
- 6th July, 1775. Henry Naptōn, elected and agrees to pay for one-third of the entertainment (Appendix 2(iii)), but there is no evidence that he ever served as Steward.
- 1st July, 1767. John Crumpler (see Chapter I p.43) summoned for Steward, begged to be excused on account of his business and the great services he had done for the trade. The Court refused to excuse him and so on 6th July he offered to pay for one-third of the Dinner. On July 20th he capitulated and paid his fine. Normally, a series of Liverymen were fined in turn until the Court had collected the money it required. Their fines were noted for reference on the Quarterage Lists.
- (2) At the beginning of the century there were almshouses belonging to the Company in Shoreditch (a poor widow was sent there, for example, in June 1702). In 1726 Nicholas Garrett bequeathed money for Almshouses (after the death of the first legatee, his wife) which were built in Spitalfields. Between the date of the bequest and 1729 when they were built, insured against fire, and opened, they took up much of the Court's time. They have been demolished, but a sketch shewing the building is illustrated in the Spitalfields Survey, op. plate 48b and discussed on pp. 91-93.
- (3) Despite its lack of funds on October 6th, 1736 the Court "ordered "that....the Renter Bailiff pay 2 gns. towards a subscription for the purchase of two (fire ?) engines for the use of Basingshaw Parish. On April 27th 1757 a contribution was ordered to the Marine Society for clothing and fitting out Poor Men and Boys for the use of H.M. Navy, of £50, a quarter of the total assets of £200 net "particularly or especially allocated."
- Their general attitude is rather pleasantly demonstrated by an incident in June 1745. A poor woman, Mary Andrews, had been convicted of wearing a printed calico and fined £5 at the Guildhall. She pleaded her poverty at the next Court when she appeared to pay her fine and "it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that she was very poor and an object of charity" she was called back and £4. 5s. returned to her. 15/- was kept by the Clerk for costs.
- (4) The Company insured some of their London premises with the Hand in Hand Insurance Company on September 19th, 1715. The policies were renewed in 1729 and 1744. In 1729, for example, they insured (Guildhall MS 8674/40,) 27584, £900 on a brick house situate behind the other houses belonging to the Company, on the east side of Basinghall Street, their Common Hall.
- 27583 £250 on a brick house on the north side of Holborn.
- 27585 £300 on a brick house on the east side of Basinghall Street partly over the passage on to the Weavers Hall.
- 27586 £200 on a brick house situated as above.
- 30296 £ 75 on a timber house north end of Baker's Court, north side of Holborn, at the back of Gray's Inn.
- 30297 £ 75 on a timber house situated as above.
- 30298 £100 on a building half brick half timber divided into two tenements on the west side of Baker's Court.

(4) cont'd:

30399 £ 50 on a brick house in Baker's Court.
30300 £150 on a building, half brick half timber in Baker's Court.
They had houses with their names property from time to time.
was reported, for example, on 31st April 1952, that tenants were
leaving and not carrying out repairs properly. On October 25th
1952 the building tenant was sent to prison and collapsed on
Court for mercy.
There was a firm at Blandford. A report on necessary repairs
made on June 27th, 1952 and it was mentioned in the Court house
time to time. The tenant Halliwell's Account Books (1911-1912)
Vol. 1-4 give information on details of rents collected and
out standing the property.
October 25th, 1952. The Company received £150, the Company's
of £2,000 on the sale of some land in Ireland owned jointly with
the Viner's Company and sold to William Connolly and

(5) February 1952, 1953. The Company received a report from the
Committee which was arranged the transfer of £1,000 East India
from an executor of Nicholas Barrett. The executor, a Mr. Green
very close in partnership with the interest due and had to be treated
with legal proceedings. On May 22, 1953 the Clerk of the Company
was told to sell £250 East India stock at "the best price" to
raise the money to pay the workmen building the Alms House.
October 25th, 1952. A letter of Attorney empowering Mr. Halliwell
to sell the stock in the name of the Company and to
receive the dividends was read.

(6) 25th March, 1953. The Court Book reported in detail a list of
objects held by the Clerk (who had just died). These included
lines, paper, the contents of the Company from the time of Henry
owner and other documents, the contents of the garden and the
including 8 censures, pictures of sovereigns and various bone-
facture, the contents of the Court Room, chairs with leather and
velvet seats, a looking glass, etc. The contents of the garden
included some "banners" (probably equivalent to that of the Navy
of Hatterline now in the Royal Naval Museum). Some paper
found to be missing and provisions were to be taken in future.

(7) A letter was made on December 19th, 1953: The Dyer's Company was
given permission to use the Weaver's Hall once a month and at other
times for their Court of Assistants and to hold their Annual Dinner
there. The rent was £15 per annum to be paid quarterly. On 28th
other hand, the Clerk was ordered not to let the Hall "for balls,
burials, without permission of the masters."

(8) The practice of the Company's being declined in this period from
(June 30th) 1953 when the Court ordered repairs to and replacement
of the Company's large with two new silk banners to be made by
Knapley Surmange. On January 24th, 1954 it was agreed to let
the large to some private persons for visiting, and it was put
the same was in August 1957. It was sent out for Lord Mayor's
during these years. On May 22nd, 1952 the Committee considered
proposals which the Company could make decided to sell the large
was unwise anyway, and to save up the interest for a new large.

(4) cont'd:

30299 £ 50 on a brick house in Baker's Court.

30300 £150 on a building, half brick half timber in Baker's Court. They had trouble with their house property from time to time. It was reported, for example, on 9th April 1755, that tenants were defaulting and not carrying out promised repairs. On October 27th 1756 the defaulting tenant was sent to prison and petitioned the Court for mercy.

There was a farm at Shenfield. A report on necessary repairs was made on June 27th, 1716 and it was mentioned in the Court Books from time to time. The Renter Bailiff's Account Books (Guildhall MS 46 Vols. 3-7) give information on details of rents collected but without distinguishing the property.

October 9th, 1729. The Company received £150, the Company's share of £5,000 on the sale of some land in Ireland owned jointly with the Vintners' Company and sold to William Connelly Esq.

(5) February 19th, 1727/8. The Company received a report from the Committee which was arranging the transfer of £1,000 East India Stock from an executor of Nicholas Garrett. The executor, a Mr. Green, was very slow in parting with the interest due and had to be threatened with legal proceedings. On May 22, 1729 the Clerk of the Company was told to sell £250 East India Stock at "the best price" to raise the money to pay the workmen building the Almshouses.

October 3rd, 1733 "A letter of Attorney empowering Mr. Daniel Gwillt Senr. to accept....Bank Stock in the name of the Company and to receive the dividends was read...."

(6) 29th March, 1738. The Court Books recorded in detail a list of objects held by the Clerk (who had just died). These included plate, linen, pewter, the charters of the Company from the time of Henry II onwards and other documents, the contents of the garden and the Hall including 8 tapestries, pictures of sovereigns and various benefactors, the contents of the Court Room, chairs with leather and velvet seats, a looking glass, etc. The contents of the garrets included some "banners" (probably equivalent to that of the Weavers of Dumfermline now in the Royal Scottish Museum). Some pewter was found to be missing and precautions were to be taken in future.

(7) A ruling was made on December 17th, 1716: The Dyers Company were given permission to use the Weavers' Hall once a month and at other times for their Court of Assistants and to hold their Annual Dinner there. The rent was £12 per annum to be paid quarterly. On the other hand, the Clerk was ordered not to let the Hall "for Balls, or Burials, without permission of the masters...."

(8) The prestige of the Company's barge declined in this period from (June 30th) 1708 when the Court ordered repairs to and redecorating of the Company's barge with two new silk banners to be made by Mr. Humphrey Burroughs. On January 24th, 1714 it was agreed to let the barge to some 'private persons' for voting, and it was put to the same use in August 1727. It was sent out for Lord Mayor's Day during these years. On May 22nd, 1732 the Committee considering the economies which the Company could make decided to sell the barge which was unsafe anyway, and to save up the interest for a new barge.

Mayor's Day, and, during this period, it sent its barge out on Lord Mayor's Day. Stewards to provide the dinner were elected from the Livery - which in fact amounted to a heavy fine of £15. When occasionally (1) a man offered in fact to be Steward instead of paying his fine his offer was never accepted and the officers, the "four in place", always provided the dinner. The Company had almshouses (2) and supported other good works on occasions (3). It had property in London, Ireland and possibly elsewhere (4). It invested in Bank and East India stock (5). The Company's Hall was in Basinghall Street very near the Guildhall and from an inventory made of its contents in 1738 we know that it was well furnished (6). The Hall was often let to the Dyers Company and other organisations (7), and the barge to candidates during the City elections (8). It was thus a normal city Livery Company in every way and, as the century progressed, would perhaps have gone into a gracious and quiet decline but for two factors; the phenomenal growth of the silk industry and its own acute shortage of funds in the 1730's. It was the second of these two factors which extended its active life quite remarkably.

In this chapter it is proposed to examine its official duties and how far it was able to carry them out; to investigate some of its personnel and to see how far they were people who can be identified as active in the

(1) Guildhall MSS. 4641, 4642.

(2) On September 14th, 1724 a man was informed that he could not have four apprentices unless he was on the Livery. The master concerned offered to go on the Livery but the Court refused to allow him.

(3) "Considerations" varied from nothing at all to several hundred pounds. The sons of poor weavers apprenticed to their fathers did not pay but also neither did some others who were not the sons of weavers.

On May 7th, 1744 George Warner, the son of Edward Warner of Spitalfields, pumpmaker, ^{was} bound for 7 years to Thomas Philpott Cit. & W. with no consideration.

Nicholas Hebert son of Nicholas Hebert W. of London was bound 4th November 1754 to Charles Coswell C. & W. at a consideration of £20. Charles Triquet, whose father Peter Triquet (of Paternoster Row) (?) was a dyer, was apprenticed to Peter Abraham Ogier for £126 on February 20th, 1744.

A series of cases in 1753 illustrate the variety of practice. Most of the apprentices were bound with charity money or no consideration, but a merchant's daughter was apprenticed with a consideration of 20 guineas (5th March, 1753) (by this date it was becoming very difficult to exclude girls). The son of a Norfolk parson was apprenticed for £150 (17th May 1753). Coles Child, son of William Child, Gent. apprenticed to Coles Child, Cit. & W. for £105 on May 21st, 1753. (His master was a Liveryman, Renter Warden in 1764, Upper Warden in 1766).

Robert Le Grand, son of Peter Le Grand, of Canterbury Gent., was apprenticed to Benjamin Champion (an Assistant) for £400. On October 21st, 1754 Joseph Thomas, son of Peter Thomas, of Threadneedle Street, merchant, was bound to James Leeds, weaver, of London (a worsted weaver, according to Mortimer's Directory) at a consideration of £500. There were no doubt considerable advantages in being an apprentice of Benjamin Champion. When Lewis Ogier, son of Peter Ogier, (who died in 1740) was bound to his brother Thomas Abraham Ogier in 1741 there was naturally no consideration. It was an exclusive community.

industry; and, on the other hand, to gauge the extent to which the 'non-freemen' were able to practise outside it.

Thirdly, its participation in general affairs concerning the London textile manufacturers will be considered. It is, however, the means by which it sought to influence the course of events which is discussed here rather than their success or failure. More general conclusions are reserved until Chapter 7.

The functions of the Weavers Company were regulated by its Charter, By-Laws and Ordinances. During this period they were confirmed in 1708 and 1737 (1). First its territorial authority was limited to within a radius of 20 miles of London, Westminster and Southwark. The rules for the election of the officers and for choosing the Assistants and Livery were given, and the amount of the fines for refusal to serve, etc. Moreover, "that there may never be wanting a number of able, skilful and experienced persons....the Assistants were empowered to summon on to the Livery any number of Freemen how and when they liked. It is, however, clear from the 1708 regulations that the usual strongly exclusive policy was envisaged.

Apprentices were limited in number to four for the Bailiffs, Wardens Assistants and Livery, and three for anyone else (2), they must serve their seven years, and although a certain stated sum was to be given to the Clerk for their indentures "considerations", naturally according to the wealth and standard of both master and apprentice, (3) No girls except such as

(1)

Women other than widows were discouraged from entering the trade in the early part of the century.

August 10th, 1713. A weaver was reprimanded by the Court for taking a girl apprentice, teaching her to weave and taking money from her father.

January 18th, 1714. The Court dealt with the case of a weaver's daughter who married a tin-man who had subsequently left her. She was working as a weaver to support herself. She was ordered to desist but allowed three months' grace.

July 4th, 1715. Various people, including Mr. Delahaye, at the Indian Queen by Spittlefields Warehouse, were reported for employing boys and girls not apprentices.

February 10th 1717. "Geo. Chrise in Fann Alley appeared and complaint being made that he employed girls named....(he) was very refractory and quarrelsome being ordered to withdraw he went away and damned the Court and John Chapman and Jno. Daniel heard him..."

January 10th, 1719. "Abram. Tooly at Low Mary Pond in the Park Southwark" was reported "he hath one Eliz. Beckingfields and other girls he gives 3/- a week", and another weaver at "Nag's Head in the Mint employs one Mary Bow, a Cane Chair Maker's wife. It was possibly more difficult to keep track of the weavers in Southwark and scattered throughout the City, but the number of such cases decreases after the early 1720's. At least one of the successful women weavers traced was a spinster and thus may have begun her career illegally (Mary Chauvet, perhaps a weaver of flowered silks, in partnership with two men. She died in 1763: see Appendix 2(i)).

(2)

January 10th, 1719 "John Tooley (brother of Abram ?) in Ewer Street in the Park hath three boys he gives half-a-crown a week. 30th July, 1716. Saml. Cook an apprentice who had served for nine years "his master will not employ him unless he be admitted" and he was therefore turned over to his father-in-law (an early case of the perpetual apprentice).

4th July 1750. "Ordered that the Clerk give notice to Augustin Cannell a Freeman of this Company, of his being guilty of a breach of a By-Law of this Company by taking an apprentice not bound at this Hall and that he has hereby incurred a penalty of 40/- "and he was ordered to appear at the next Court" to answer the same.

17th June, 1754. "Joshua Cricket living in Princes Street Moorfields, Weaver, having entertained Jacob Dehorne, a poor lad upwards of 12 years of age who is willing to be bound apprentice but not being of age sufficient is permitted to keep him till he attain the age of 14 and then to bring him to be bound."

These cases shew that the Company continued to enforce its By-Laws on apprentices whenever it could, but a certain number of boys escaped this supervision. Among a notable group of silk weavers whom the Company pursued in 1766 several had been apprenticed "but not bound at the Hall", including Peter Abraham Auber of Elder Street and John Peregal of Spital Square who had "served John Ham at the same place but was not bound at the Hall. This is the firm of Batchelor, Ham & Peregal (see Appendix 2(i), (ii), (iii), and p. 85 of this Chapter, Note 1.

(3) 20th April, 1915. The fact of 1915, 22 June 1915. It was quoted by a weaver who said he had been in the army and whose arrest had been ordered. The action to transfer officers and soldiers to exercise trades. The Court decided that it was not to prove his army service proceedings against him would be dropped. 22 September, 1915. Joseph Banks, ex-sailor, treated by a weaver and "now works for Mr. Henry Chapman in Green Street and Isaac Gervais (see note 1) claimed to be admitted according to the statute permitting entry of those who had served the Crown without a regular apprenticeship. 22 Dec 11 Dec 11 was quoted as a reference.

(4) Official policy was somewhat at variance with public opinion. November 21st 1904 "Thomas Ayle and Mr. Woodworth and some others of the livery appeared and reported that several livery men were complaining to the Court because it had admitted foreigners too freely. This fact was not the subject of complaint on December 21st, 1904.

(5) September 1st, 1915: "Mr. Matthew Haller upon the report of James Brockton of his service at Norwich is admitted a foreign master." Taking a case at random from the following year (20th Sept) "Mr. Daniel Wertheim upon the report of Daniel Gault of his service in Touraine is admitted a 'weaver'."

(6) J. Gossart, L'Ouvrier en Soie, Lyon 1933, p. 103. "L'Arrêt de 1902 défend le prestige à l'étranger aucun étranger ne peut être admis à l'industrie. The Reglement of 1902 and 1904 opened the field to boys from a limited number of French provinces only. It goes without saying that all non-Catholics were excluded in this period. 1902-1903, 1903-1904. He traced the position of the compagnons. Foreigners (born in France and foreigners were treated rather differently. In 1902 the foreigners were to be allowed to work in the country some new secret to the industry. Even this was forbidden in the same year and total exclusion for 10 years was decreed and subsequent renewed. "Compagnons étrangers à partir de 1902 leur exclusion est la règle". Between 1902 and 1904 foreigners were allowed to work in Lyon for three months and then if they could prove they had introduced some new skill they were, theoretically, allowed to remain. In 1904 even this system almost was repealed. p. 103, Gossart stated the position of the compagnons. In the 17th century very high fees were imposed on both foreign and foreigners. These were reduced slightly for the foreigners in 1704, but the foreigners from 1707 were only allowed in by some special favour, in which case they were allowed in without fees. He states that very few, if any, master weavers from other countries were allowed to practice in Lyon.

- (3) 20th April, 1718. The Act of 1713, 12 Anne Cap. 13 was quoted by a weaver who said he had been in the army and whose arrest had been ordered. The act was to "enable officers and soldiers to exercise trades". The Court decided that if he could prove his army service proceedings against him would be dropped, 3rd September, 1750. Joseph Banks, ex-sailor, trained by a weaver and "now works for Mrs. Mary Chauvet in Gunn Street and Isaac Gervaise (see note 1) "claimed to be admitted according to the Statute permitting entry of those who had served the Crown without a regular apprenticeship. 22 Geo. II Cap. 44 was quoted as a reference.
- (4) Official policy was sometimes at variance with public opinion. November 6th 1704 "Thomas Smyth and Mr. Bloodworth and some others of the Livery appeared and reported that several Liverymen were combining to unseat the Court because it had admitted foreigners too freely". This faction sent in their complaints on December 4th, 1704.
- (5) September 1st, 1712: "Mr. Matthew Baist upon the report of James Brockden of his service at Norwich is admitted a Foreign Master". Taking a case at random from the following year (May 20th) "Mr. Daniel Bertheran upon the report of Daniel Jamet of his service in Touraine is admitted a F. Weaver".
- (6) J. Godart. L'Ouvrier en Soie, Lyon 1899, p. 102. "L'Arrêt de 1702 défend de prendre à l'avenir aucun apprenti étranger ou né hors la ville et les faubourgs". The Reglements of 1737 and 1744 opened the field to boys from a limited number of French provinces only. It goes without saying that all non-Catholics were excluded in this period. pp. 149-, 152-3. He traced the position of the compagnon. Forains (born in France) and étrangers were treated rather differently. In 1702 the foreigners were to be allowed to work if they brought some new secret to the industry. Even this was forbidden in the same year and total exclusion for 10 years was decreed and subsequently renewed. "Quant aux étrangers à partir de 1737 leur exclusion est la règle". Between 1737 and 1744 foreigners were allowed to work in Lyon for three months and then if they could prove they had introduced some new skill they were, theoretically, allowed to remain. In 1744 even this saving clause was repealed, p. 162, Godart treated the position of the masters. In the 17th century very high fees were imposed on both forains and étrangers. These were reduced (slightly) for the forains in 1744, but the foreigners from 1737 were only allowed in by some special favour, in which case they were allowed in without fees. He implies that very few, if any, master weavers from other countries were allowed to practise in Lyon.

were supporting their parents could enter the industry or women other than the widows of masters (1). There were strict fines for employing boys more than three months without binding them at the Hall (2) and for keeping more than the legitimate number as well as for employing journeymen who had not served a regular apprenticeship. (It needed an act of Parliament to allow ex-soldiers and sailors to enter industry without serving a seven-year apprenticeship (3)). It was lawful for the Bailiffs, Wardens, Assistants and Beadles to enter shops, etc. by day in order to search for non-freemen. Sundry fines and deposits were provided to ensure that the regulations were carried out. Such regulations had their equivalent in many other trades with a more or less elaborate organisation to support them. Against them may be set a most important clause. This said that in order to improve the manufacture and "for giving all due encouragement to all such ingenious persons as well Foreigners as others....." it was lawful to accept weavers who had served apprenticeships "according to the custom of the country from whence they came" (4). "Foreigners" of course were those who came from beyond the 20-mile limit and thus "foreign weavers" from Norwich were admitted as well as those from France (5). What the Weavers Company sought to do was to ensure that anyone who could weave became subject to its authority. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that whatever may have been the practice in other English trades there was no similar provision made in the Reglements of Lyon, Tours or Avignon in the period (6).

(1) November 30th, 1713. "Mr. Maria this day made complaint against Powell, his journeyman, for leaving him without giving him a fortnight's warning pursuant to the ordinances". The journeyman complained he had been given a loom of handkerchiefs which had been 'bad' and it had taken him a month to do a fortnight's work. He refused to do any more and was then given a cane of poplin, which he did not begin and the master was then driven to put someone else on to it, who fell ill. Consequently he complained that the work was still not done although it was bespoke work and "in haste".

(2) 30th March, 1726. Elections to the Livery. One man was rejected as too poor. "Elected in his stead Ebenezer Wicks, but it appeared he was only admitted a Foreign Master and therefore the election void".

(3) See, for instance, Lyon City Library. Inventaire Chappe, Vol. VII. 18th c. inventory of archives relating to the silk industry, pp. 125 et seq. e.g., HH.131. Dispute on the copying of Designs 1725, HH. 139. A similar case 1715, HH. 156. Several cases on technical questions concerning selvages, widths and types of silk which could be woven.

The regulations between masters and men were few and to the point: journeymen were to be admitted when qualified (either by serving an apprenticeship for seven years in London or upon an accredited report that they had served their time elsewhere) and fourteen days notice was to be given on either side before terminating employment, with a 14-day proviso about finishing work already in hand (1). In the 1708 regulations the fees to be paid by a journeyman when he wished to become a master were specified and the fine to be paid if he set up for himself without being admitted. During the first thirty years of this period the distinction is clearly made in the Court Books between a "Foreign Weaver" and a "Foreign Master" (2).

There were no regulations about the cloths to be made, their widths or their quality or about the copyright of patterns, or other similar subject which gave rise to numerous regulations and many disputed in France during the period (3). Such technical matters were presumably left to the individual credit of the master and the laws of supply and demand (though not of course expressed in this way). Although referring to a much later period it is perhaps not altogether irrelevant to quote the opinion of a foreigner on this point: Peter Ancker, a Dane, writing in 1776, said that if some fraud had been committed during the weaving of a piece "the Master Weaver brings the weaver before the nearest Justice of the Peace and the Weaver is punished according to the nature of his crime. This happens only rarely, because such frauds ruin a weaver's reputation and no master weaver is thereafter willing to give him work. Should a purchaser find a flaw in a piece of

(1) Peter Ancker, 1744-1832. Danish Consul in Hull 1773-7, London 1777-86. Report on the London Silk Manufactory written from London to Kommerce Kollegie 11th April 1776. Original MS in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen. I am much indebted to Mr. P. K. Thornton for translating this MS and am indebted both to him and to Dr. Ada Polak for permission to use it.

(2) 9th November, 1719. It was ordered that a Common Hall be summoned to discuss ways of raising money for the campaign against calicoes "...to defray the charges of the Compa's petition...and to present the same in Parliament". On 13th November the campaign was outlined and the Common Hall asked for £100 since the Court had offered £100. On May 19th 1729 "the Master represented to the Livery assembled in the Common Hall that a (scheme) for improving the Trade of the Manufacturers, Members of this Company, had been at different times laid before the Court of Assistants to this Company and had almost as often been disapproved of by the members of the Court of Assistants and by their Committees; and that lately the substance of the same scheme appeared to be part of a bill brought into Parliament that in the meantime it had been frequently affirmed that the said scheme was desired by the manufacturers in general notwithstanding.....(the opposition of the Assistants)....and that the Bailiffs had been induced to call a Common Hall consisting of the Liverymen of this Company to the intent that a more certain Judgement might be formed of the general sentiments of the members of this company.....It was resolved that it is the opinion of this Common Hall that the contents of a Bill brought into Parliament in the last session relating to the Weaving Manufacture of which a printed copy has been delivered to the Members of this Company is not for the Interest of the Company or for the service of the Manufacturers." A vote of thanks was then passed to the Bailiffs, Wardens and Assistants "for their care of the interest of the Company". The Bill concerned the stamping of silks, and the Court had passed a resolution on May 7th saying that they did not consider this to be in the best interests of the manufacturers.

silk after the master weaver has passed it, the Master Weaver pays compensation for it. Should the Master Weaver refuse to do so, he can be brought before the Justice of the Peace within the Spittlefields jurisdiction, where the case is investigated by the Master Weavers' equals, after which the Judge (magistrate) either finds him innocent or sentences him according to Act of Parliament. For many years no case of a Master Weaver being brought before the Justices has been heard of, as a Master Weaver would willingly pay twice the reasonable amount of compensation than expose his character (in this way)¹ (1).

"For the doing and managing of all necessary affairs of the said Company, binding apprentices, making free and admitting....." the Court had to meet at least once a month. A "Common Hall" was held regularly once a year at which the Livery attended for the elections. "Common Halls" could however be held for special occasions when the Court wanted to hear the views of the entire Livery for some specific reason (2), and individual members of the Livery could always attend the normal courts and ask permission to be heard on some specific issue. There is not a single occasion in the Court Books when the Clerk has noted that the Livery had attended in the Hall and that the Court had refused to admit them to the Court Room. Members of the Livery occasionally represented the journeymen and sometimes these appeared themselves. After reading the Court Books of the Company it is almost surprising to read in the ordinances that in fact

77.

(1) The Court had also ultimate authority in the Company, and it was they who ordered a Seal to be affixed to the Company's Charter, Petitions, etc. by the Clerk. This would only occur exceptionally. They were required to meet regularly for the duties mentioned above.

(2) 7th February 1738: the By-Laws were confirmed after alteration on March 20th, 1738.

binding, making free and admitting were all that the Assistants were officially supposed to be doing (1).

The 1737 regulations largely confirmed those of 1708 but their renewal met with some difficulties. The Court was informed that the Lord Chief Justice Willes had made several objections to the By-Laws in the form submitted, since they gave the Company a jurisdiction not warranted by their charter (2) and he apparently suggested several alterations which were incorporated. The differences between the 1708 and 1737 regulations are in clauses concerning the detection and prosecution of non-freemen. These were nearly all strengthened. The power of entry to a weaver's house, shop and cellar was extended to his warehouse. It was said that certain frauds were increasing: thus some people were giving boys a rudimentary knowledge of the trade and then turning them over (ostensibly to other masters) but after this they in fact were practising as journeymen "which is an ill example and great prejudice to young men lawfully serving their apprenticeship". To remedy this the turning-over procedure was regulated, and fees and deposits increased. As well as prosecuting the non-freemen, any journeymen working for them were in future to be penalised, whether or not they had themselves served a regular term of apprenticeship. This was no doubt intended to act as a deterrent to the non-freemen who would have difficulty in finding labour if the regulation was enforced. The fines for arrears of quarterage (for

(1.) Richard Davis and Ralph Leman tried on June 15th 1713

to adopt the Livery irregularly. As a result of the row which developed the Wardens were prosecuted in the Lord Mayor's Court for admitting them. On July 12th 1714 a vote of thanks was passed to those who had sought to prevent their admission for "preserving the charter". Ralph Leman was subsequently translated to the Vintners Company (March 18th 1719). He may well have been a vintner by profession since, in 1729, he insured a brick house on the S.E. side of the Church Yard in the Parish of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, being the Magpye Tavern.....(Guildhall MS 8674/40, fol. No. 275) and in his will which he had made in 1719 he also described himself as a vintner (which need, of course, only imply membership of their Company).

every rank) were stepped up to treble the sum in arrears, after a certain time had elapsed. A £10 fine for teaching the trade to boys who were not apprentices was imposed. This would all seem to indicate that between 1708 and 1737 the Weavers Company had begun to find increasing difficulty in exercising its control. This would hardly seem to be surprising in the period, particularly since it was in these years that there was a great expansion in some of the textile industries in those parts of England where there was no such control by a Livery Company.

It may indeed be questioned how far these regulations affected the industries they sought to control and how far the personnel of the Company were engaged in the industry. To be a Liveryman of one of the city companies carried political and civil rights which, it could be argued, were quite sufficient to induce a prosperous tradesman to wish to adopt the Livery without being particularly "able, skilful and experienced" in weaving (1). Admission by patrimony would permit the entry of people practising other trades, though many of these people would translate to the more important Livery companies.

Certainly, throughout the period, a number of men can be identified as belonging to other trades despite their membership of the Weavers Company. On April 12th 1708, for example, "Mr. George Gregory, one of the Livery of this Company and a bricklayer by trade...." was appointed "Bricklayer

to the Company", the 1728 Quarterage List included a gun-stock maker, a tidewaiter at the Custom House, a Schoolmaster at Islington and John Barton, Baker. New Liverymen in 1732 included a shoemaker, a gilder, a swordcutler and an oilman and in 1733 an undertaker and a draper. Two gilders and chasers and a butcher were made free of the Company in 1754, and John Phené on the Livery in 1763 was probably a Broker rather than a weaver. There were several men who may have been mercers in office at different times in the period. Richard Cham^berlain is one such man and William Badcock, Renter Warden in 1737, previously an Auditor (in 1730). The Assistant John Johnson may have been a mercer, known from other sources. John Badcock served on an important committee in 1719 and was certainly the mercer from Ludgate Hill (1). Edward Ingram, (possibly the royal mercer) was on the Livery of the Weavers Company in 1745. Other examples could be found in each of the yearly Quarterage Lists but they are examples only. The 1728 List with its addresses and trades thus included four out of some 250 Liverymen who were not weavers. While some doubt may be felt about the men living outside the Spitalfields district whose profession is not stated, the only suggestion which can be made with any certainty for the majority is that they were probably not making broad silks. It is indeed not until 1787 that there is a Livery List containing a really large number of non-weavers: 2 tallow chandlers, a brandy merchant, a jeweller, a musician, a hosier, an oilman, a paper-stainer, two lightermen, a druggist, a weaver and wiredrawer, a stockbroker,

a cheesemonger, a watchmaker, etc. but even on this list, late in the century, the majority are designated as weavers and all the foreigners certainly are, together with all but one of the inhabitants of Spital Square mentioned. In 1788 the lists of professions are even fuller and the younger Liverymen are nearly all weavers but not living in Spital-fields. Taking a sheet with fifteen weavers on it at random, one lived in Bethnal Green, one in Steward Street, two in Hishopsgate Without, and the rest within the City, including the one Huguenot, Thomas Turquand, at 10 Old Jewry.

There were some open attempts to defy the Company's right to enrol every weaver within its jurisdiction. Thus, on September 5th, 1748 "Ephraim Flamar summoned to take up his admittance attended and refused to be admitted insisting that he was duly brought up in the weaving trade which he had exercised many years and that he did not know it would be.... of any use to him to be admitted to the Freedom of the Company and therefore would not be at any expense to be admitted." The Clerk of the Company was instructed to write to him to tell him that he would be prosecuted if he refused to take up his freedom and on November 7th he capitulated. He said that he had been bound on November 1st, 1731 to Peter Fondimare For. Weaver. Having been admitted he took an apprentice at the same court. He was among the loyal manufacturers who offered men in 1745 (see Appendix 2(iii)). Most of the non-freemen behaved more discreetly and only appeared with reluctance when the company sought them out and then pleaded every excuse to delay their admission for the

a chessman, a watchmaker, etc. but even on this list, late in the century, the majority are designated as weavers and all the foreigners certainly are, together with all but one of the inhabitants of Spital Square mentioned. In 1788 the lists of professions are even fuller and the younger liveries are nearly all weavers but not living in Spital-Fields. Taking a sheet with fifteen weavers on it at random, one lived in Bethnal Green, one in Steward Street, two in Bishopsgate Without, and the rest within the City, including the one Huguenot, Thomas Turpin, at 10 Old Jewry. There were some open attempts to deny the Company's right to enrol every weaver within its jurisdiction. Thus, on September 25, 1788 "Ephraim Tinsley announced to take up his abstinence attended and refused to be admitted insisting that he was duly brought up in the weaving trade which he had exercised many years and that he did not know it would be... of any use to him to be admitted to the freedom of the Company and therefore would not be at any expense to be admitted." The Clerk of the Company was instructed to write to him to tell him that he would be prosecuted if he refused to take up his freedom and on November 7th he capitulated. He said that he had been bound on November 1st, 1751 to Peter Lombard for weaver. Having been admitted he took an apprentice at the same court. He was among the loyal manufacturers who offered him in 1785 (see Appendix B(11)). Most of the non-freemen behaved more discreetly and only appeared with reluctance when the company sought them out and

(1) June 27th, 1716.

maximum amount of time. The Company often prosecuted non-freemen, and frequently threatened to do so. There were several classes of offenders. Possibly the most numerous were those who had been apprenticed regularly enough (like Flammar) but had begun to work as journeymen without being admitted as weavers. These account for the apprenticeships of exceptional length: the weaver of 1716 apprenticed in 1692, or the man who became free on June 12th 1716 who had been apprenticed in 1663. Similar cases occurred in later years. An apprentice was made free in 1742 who had been bound in 1725 and in 1750 one who had been bound in 1705. Quite a number of these cases occur in the early 1750's. Henry Robelon living in Brick Lane, Bethnal Green, had been bound in 1704 to Daniel Oufre and became free of the Company in January 1753. On Monday, February 5th, 1753 "John Fry....weaver, who served his time to William Pollard Weaver of London, and has since exercised his trade as a journeyman upwards of forty years.... free by servitude". Rather less startling cases are much more frequent. At that same court a number of other weavers summoned to take up their freedom appeared and did so. A list was also made by the Clerk of those who had not appeared, but none of the other weavers had escaped for so long. Occasionally weavers appeared before the court "who have never served their time" and these "were ordered to desist" (1). Presumably they were much more difficult to trace. There cannot have been large numbers of silk weavers who had thus avoided any apprenticeship, simply because silk weaving was

a highly skilled trade which it would have been difficult to practise successfully without some basic training.

The Company claimed an exclusive right to bind apprentices and in January 1717 the Clerk presented to the Court of Assistants "a paper....entitled Considerations shewing the Reasonableness for the Company of Weavers to have the sole power of binding apprentices to the Weaving trade within London, Westminster, Southwark and ten miles around exclusive of all other Companies...." which the Court decided to make the basis of an application to Parliament. This activity did not lapse later in the period. On January 26th, 1744 the Beadles were to "search throughout the whole trade and present to this Court a list of such apprentices as they shall find employed who were not bound at the Hall, and distinguish whether their masters are Freemen of this Company or not...." There are no complaints recorded in the Court Books of other Companies poaching on their rights. It is difficult at any one period to assess how many weavers were successfully avoiding the Company. In one year, however, 1745, it is at least possible to find out how many of the more important masters were outside the Company by comparing the Quarterage List for that year with the List (Appendix 2(iii)) of Loyal Manufacturers who offered men to serve the Crown in the autumn of that year. This shews that only a few of the manufacturers known from some other source to be weavers are missing from the Quarterage List. Allowing for much latitude in the

(1) His father had served in the Court of Assistants. He was the senior partner in the firm of Batchelor, Ham & Perrigal (see note 2, p. 75). The youngest partner, John Perrigal, was summoned to take up his freedom in 1766.

(2) See Appendix 2(i).

(3) Hug. Soc. Publns. XXXIII, p. 49. October 22nd 1683. "Sam. Wild complained that Cha. Lansoon, a for. member imployes more French journeymen than English, Ordered that Mr. Lansoon be summoned against the next court..." (He did not appear). Another complaint was made in March 1685 (p. 54 op. cit.). "This day several persons free of this company complained that many foreigⁿmembers now imploy more French than English, the which being contrary to the ordinances; ordered that they deliver the names of such for. members to the Beadles to be summoned..." This must have been done, for on March 30th Matthew St. Amant was fined 5/- for having two alien journeymen (although one was sick). Another man fined the next day 10/- said he had offended because he could not understand English. Several others were also fined including a man who was only a journeyman but "follows the trade as a master" (a subtlety never raised in the 18th century although it was preserved in France).

(4) 30th November 1730. The prosecution of two men alleged to be unlawful workers was ordered at the Company's expense.

(5) The case of Mr. Delahaye in 1715 has been quoted, see note p. 75. 18th July 1748 James Voisin, living in Coleman Alley, Bunhill Row, Gold and Silver Orris Weaver was summoned "to shew by what right he exercised the Weaving Art.... He declared that he was never bound apprentice to the said business but that he was educated by his father who was a weaver and an admitted member of this Company. When the said James Voisin being acquainted that he ought to have applied to have been admitted and that he could not legally exercise the said Art within the Guild without being admitted, the said James Voisin said that he had not the money to pay the charges nor ever should have and peremptorily refused to be admitted". On August 22nd it was noted that he was to be served with a writ at the Company's suit and on November 7th he was admitted. On October 5th, 1763 "divers Persons, Masters and Journeymen concerned in the Worsted Lace Weaving attended complaining of the Great Injury done to their trade by Edward Thornhill and Henry Soley in Long Acre carrying on the said trade in a very irregular and illegal manner and not being admitted to the freedom of the Company...." (asked for them to be prosecuted)

(6) 25th May, 1719 "Complaint being made that... several persons.... follow the Weaving Trade who are neither free or admitted and are refractory. It is therefore ordered that the 4 in place are hereby empowered to cause writs to be issued against 12 such persons as they shall see fitt...."

15th November 1758. A Committee appointed "to consider of persons exercising the

Company's Trade as Masters not being free of the Company's Guild" was given various powers including that of summoning them from time to time "as they shall think fitt not more than three at any one time".

spelling of names, the following are missing:

Ann Barbutt (who should be among the widows), John Batchelor (1), Peter and Stephen Beuzeville, Ephraim Flammaire (see p. 81), Reuben Foxwell, George Garrett, John Harley, John Hauchecorne, the two James Maze's, John May senior and junior, the two John Ogiers, Gabriel Pommier, Peter Pontier, John Rondeau, John Sabatier and Samuel Savage. Of these John Batchelor (the younger), the Maze's, John Rondeau and John Sabatier were probably important weavers of flowered silks(2). The proportion they constituted of the total was, however, very small and most of them subsequently did take up their freedom.

The "Foreigners" were suspected from an early period of employing one another without serving regular apprenticeships (3). A letter of 1709 in the possession of the French Church shews the Weavers Company trying to trace the weavers practising in London. In 1715 Captain Lekeux was asked by the Court to "treat with the elders of the French Church". It is probable from the context that it was for the same purpose since the request was made as a result of a petition to the Court of "diverse Freemen and other members of this company...."

Prosecutions of non-freemen were undertaken from time to time, sometimes as test cases (4), sometimes on the report made by a group of freemen complaining of particular people (5), sometimes as a result of systematic activity by the Committees appointed throughout the period by the Court of Assistants to deal with the problem (6). On 30th September, 1724 ".... the Committee appointed for taking into consideration the unlawful

- (1) Twenty-five men were summoned of which fourteen were of foreign extraction, i.e.,
English: John Laurence, Michael Browne, William Woodham, John Fox, John Lockey, Daniel Clarke, William Farrington, James Wiatt, John Christmas, John Garrett and John Hinde.
Foreign: Abraham Jemmett, John De Lamier, Charles De La fforce, James Potteau, Daniel Rollatt, John River (Rivière), John Mockett, Daniel Hanchard, Adrian Hellet, John Lobree, Abraham Hellet, John Mormoy (Marmoy), James Mockett, Isaac Monoree.
John Garrett may have been a relative of the other Garretts in the industry, Alexander and son and George. John Hinde may be the partner of Walter Locke (of Locke and Hinde) who may also have become an Assistant in 1760; if so, he was a worsted weaver. The coincidence of the spelling suggests that Abraham Jemmett was a relative of Isaac who had been a most active member of the Company (p.91n4). John Rivière was most probably one of the Poitou contingent. It seems probable that the Company had decided to summon a representative selection of the industries involved.

working and teaching to work of certain Frenchmen also take into consideration...." other cases (unfortunately the pages of the Court Books are badly torn at this date and some are missing so that it is not too clear what came of this particular burst of prosecutions). From the 1740's onwards it is noticeable that it was very often the Freemen of the Company who took the initiative in the first place. On June 4th 1740 a group of journeymen complained of the "great numbers of persons" weaving without any right to do so and the Company agreed to look into their complaint". "There was a search made of the streets of Spittlefields and the places adjacent". On March 28th, 1744 (1) a large number of people "who exercise the Trade Art or Mystery of Weaving within this Company's Guild" were "summoned to attend at the next court to shew their right to exercise the said Trade and that they may be admitted to the Freedom of this Company". The evidence of the Court Books in the next few months shews that they nearly all submitted and took up their freedom. On August 20th, 1750 a petition of "several free journeymen weavers of this Company" was read. It said "that several natives as well as Foreigners presume to follow and occupy the Trade of Weaving, who have not served a lawful apprenticeship thereto, contrary to several statutes from time to time passed.....That with sorrowful hearts we have longtime observed the approaching and impending ruin and destruction of our Trade for want of proper regulations and a conformity to the laws of this realm and the By-Laws of this Worshipful Company", while they were

(1) "Several freemen attended, complaining of Unlawful Workers and Foreigners employed among the French masters, who encouraged such unlawful workers....And complaining that many foreigners were privately instructed in the Art of Weaving by many of these unlawful workers..." asked for those who were entitled to it to be compelled to take up their freedom and the others to be prosecuted. This was the same complaint which had been made so frequently in the 1680's.

(2) See p. 85 note 6 .

(3) It was just these abuses that the ordinances of 1737/8 had tried to overcome.

(4) 30th September 1761. A group of "journeymen Freemen of the Company" came to the Court to complain about unlawful workers.

prepared to take every legal action they could to prevent the circumvention of the law they wanted the Court to help "....to suppress all unlawful workers in this Trade, however distinguished....." Some 51 journeymen signed this petition. The Court agreed to help "whenever complaints supported by proper proofs shall be laid before this Court" in writing. A similar petition was presented on May 7th 1753 (1) though this one significantly was aimed at the French master weavers. A policy of systematic prosecution was decided upon in 1758 (2), the particular abuses were summarised at the same court by John Frederick Gossett, "a Freeman of this Company", who "attended and made complaint of Divers infractions of the Company's By-Laws and Orders by Freemen binding apprentices before Justices and elsewhere and not at this Company's Hall: And also of Divers Freemen instructing others in the Weaving Art, Trade and Mystery for trifling or Small Considerations without being bound anywhere;...Also of Divers persons setting up and exercising the trade...never having been bred to the trade and intitled to be made free of this Company yet refuse or neglect to apply to be made free and praying this Court to cause enquiry to be made after these abuses and to put the Laws into force..." (3) Complaints were still being made in 1761 (4) after which a policy of half fees for poor weavers was introduced for one year as an experiment. The measures taken were only partially successful, since there were further complaints in 1762, in March and in October.

(1) They were complaining of the worsted lace weavers.
See p. 85 note 5 of this Chapter.

(2) See page 75 note 1 of this Chapter.

The measures taken were only partially successful, since there for poor weavers was introduced for one year as an experiment. will be in 1761 (4) after which a policy of half fees was put the law into force... (5) Complaints were and paying this Court to cause enquiry to be made after these of this Company yet refuse or neglect to apply to be made free having been tried to the trade and limited to be made free Diverse persons cutting up and exercising the trade... never Emilii Genealogical without being found anywhere;... Also of others in the weaving art, trade and industry for building of this Company's Hall: And also of Diverse freemen instructing binding apprentices before justices and elsewhere and not as instructions of the Company's by-laws and orders by freemen of this Company", who "attended and made complaint of Diverse enumerated at the same Court by John Frederick Bennett, "a Freeman was decided upon in 1755 (2), the particular causes were to nearest French master weavers. - a policy of regulated provision 1755 (1) though this was... (3) in writing. A similar petition was presented on May 7th supported by proper proofs shall be laid before this Court" 1755 (2) 1755 (3) 1755 (4) 1755 (5) 1755 (6) 1755 (7) 1755 (8) 1755 (9) 1755 (10) 1755 (11) 1755 (12) 1755 (13) 1755 (14) 1755 (15) 1755 (16) 1755 (17) 1755 (18) 1755 (19) 1755 (20) 1755 (21) 1755 (22) 1755 (23) 1755 (24) 1755 (25) 1755 (26) 1755 (27) 1755 (28) 1755 (29) 1755 (30) 1755 (31) 1755 (32) 1755 (33) 1755 (34) 1755 (35) 1755 (36) 1755 (37) 1755 (38) 1755 (39) 1755 (40) 1755 (41) 1755 (42) 1755 (43) 1755 (44) 1755 (45) 1755 (46) 1755 (47) 1755 (48) 1755 (49) 1755 (50) 1755 (51) 1755 (52) 1755 (53) 1755 (54) 1755 (55) 1755 (56) 1755 (57) 1755 (58) 1755 (59) 1755 (60) 1755 (61) 1755 (62) 1755 (63) 1755 (64) 1755 (65) 1755 (66) 1755 (67) 1755 (68) 1755 (69) 1755 (70) 1755 (71) 1755 (72) 1755 (73) 1755 (74) 1755 (75) 1755 (76) 1755 (77) 1755 (78) 1755 (79) 1755 (80) 1755 (81) 1755 (82) 1755 (83) 1755 (84) 1755 (85) 1755 (86) 1755 (87) 1755 (88) 1755 (89) 1755 (90) 1755 (91) 1755 (92) 1755 (93) 1755 (94) 1755 (95) 1755 (96) 1755 (97) 1755 (98) 1755 (99) 1755 (100)

When proof was submitted the Court agreed to sue. One case is particularly interesting.. "James Buxton, Broad Weaver in Catherine Wheel Alley attending at this Court to complain of Unlawful Workers" on March 31st, 1762, "And it appearing that he was not himself Admitted tho' he had an untroubled right to the trade: and refusing peremptorily to be admitted until the Company would exert themselves to put the laws into force against Interlopers; and being acquainted he was himself a transgressor by refusing to take up his freedom which he persisted to refuse and not comply till the Law was put into force...." it was resolved to sue him. In October 1763 more "unlawful workers" complaining about certain non-freemen (1) "were sent away by the Court to take up their freedom if they were entitled to it before the Court would hear their Complaint".

The actual numbers of weavers working outside the aegis of the Company thus seems to have increased as the silk industry expanded. Both numerically and proportionately it was probably the anonymous journeymen who constitute the majority of the non-freemen. They were a perennial problem to the Company but what is perhaps significant is that on the several occasions mentioned above it was the "unlawful workers" themselves who were appealing to the authority of the Company for protection. Apart from Ephraim Flammaire (and a solitary case in 1717 (2)) it is necessary to go back to 1685 to find anyone who is thoroughly rude to the Court. This respect for the Court and the trust implied by the petitions of the journey-

- (1) House of Commons Journals Vol. 30, pp. 209 and 724.
- (2) House of Commons Journals Vol. 30, p. 208.

in Catherine Wheel Alley attending at this Court to complain of Unlawful Workers" on March 31st, 1785, "and it appearing that he was not himself admitted that he had an undoubted right to the trade: and refusing peremptorily to be admitted until the Company would exert themselves to put the laws into force against Interlopers; and being acquainted he was himself a Transgressor by refusing to take up his freedom which he persisted to refuse and not comply till the law was put into force..." It was resolved to sue him. In October 1785 more "unlawful workers" complaining about certain non-freemen (1) "were sent away by the Court to take up their freedom if they were entitled to it before the Court would hear their Complaint".

The actual numbers of weavers working outside the walls of the Company then seems to have increased as the silk industry expanded. Both numerically and proportionately it was probably the anonymous journeymen who constituted the majority of the non-freemen. They were a perennial problem to the Company but what is perhaps significant is that on the several occasions mentioned above it was the "unlawful workers" themselves who were appealing to the authority of the Company for protection. Apart from Ephraim Flannery (and a solitary case in 1717 (2)) it is necessary to go back to 1685 to find anyone who is thoroughly rude to the Court. This respect for the Court and the trust implied by the petitions of the journeymen-

men in its power to help them, would seem to imply that the Court of Assistants did represent the industries involved. They assume that the Court had both the power to act on the petitions and an interest in doing so. If it had been simply an oligarchy surviving for charitable purposes it would hardly have attracted the petitions from indignant journeymen and freemen. Moreover, as will be seen, these petitions were not only on domestic issues. Even if there were a large number of people outside the Company it is difficult to substantiate the complaint of the journeymen in 1753 that many of these were "distinguished" men. A very few were and their names stand out. John Perregal "a weaver of silks from the slightest to the roughest" who gave evidence in 1765 and 1766 to Select Committees of the House of Commons on the industry (1) was summoned to take up his freedom in July 1766 and with him John Louis, another Parliamentary witness (2). Nevertheless, it remains a cardinal hypothesis in this study that the chief officers, Assistants and Livery of Weavers Company were also some of the most important people in the industry and that through their participation in its affairs the Weavers Company throughout this period had an influence on the course of events.

Who were the officers, Assistants and Livery at any one period? Who were the men they co-opted on to the different committees? What was their competence to deal with the Company's affairs? The difficulty of identifying the English weavers in the period 1702 to 1728 has already been enlarged upon, but it is possible to make an analysis of the officers

(1) See Chapter 1, p. 23-4.

(2) The father of the non-freeman, John Batchelor.
See note 1, p. 85.

(3) See Chapter 1, p. 37.

(4) The signature on the By-Laws and Ordinances and on the early designs belonging to Messrs. Vanners and Fennell are illustrated in the Transactions of the Huguenot Society of London for 1960 in the paper by P. K. Thornton and myself. An inscription with James Leman's signature on a design of 1719 (E.4460-1909) is illustrated on plate 1.

(5) G. Smith: Laboratory or School of Arts. Vol. II, of 5th edition 1756, p. 37. A suggestion about the identity of "Smith" has been made by Mr. P. K. Thornton in the Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club, Vol. 42, Nos. 1 & 2, 1958.

and Assistants every five years and to find an increasing number of known weavers and of proved silk weavers in the Livery. This would not, however, take into account the gradual process by which vacancies were filled in the Court of Assistants. In 1730, for example, Joseph Harris (1) was Renter Bailiff, John Batchelor (2) Upper Warden, the Auditors, Daniel Booth (3) and William Badcock, (the one a weaver of flowered silks and the other a mercer. There was a vacancy in the court of Assistants during the year, but Captain Peter Lekeux who was nominated was not elected. (He succeeded in 1734). In 1731 James Leman departed from every precedent in the Company's history by being elected Renter Bailiff in July before in fact joining the Court of Assistants in November (on the same day as John Batchelor). Both were certainly weavers of flowered silks. There were several James Lemans in the Livery Lists of the Company during the 1720's but the signatures of the Assistant on the 1737 Charter and of the designer on the drawings, both in the Victoria and Albert Museum and belonging to Messrs. Vanners (4) & Fennell, are identical, and thus we are certain that this man was "the late ingenious Mr. Leman" who, like "the manufacturers at Lyons in the flowered way, tho' he employs several hands in the drawing of patterns is a pattern drawer himself" a combination so rare that "Smith" who wrote this (5) said that "here in England, taking London and Centerbury together" he "knew of no more than one manufacturer thus qualified". As an Assistant of the Weavers Company he served on the

- (1) PCC. Abbott. 205, 1729.
- (2) See Chapter 1, p.24 .
- (3) John Willett is known from one insurance policy (Guildhall MS 8674/65, fol. 317 No. 57588) taken out in June 1744 when he was described as "citizen and weaver". The policy was for some property in Christ Church Surrey assigned in 1749. John Willett mercer of St. Clement Dane's with a house in the Strand is not this man, since the Assistant had died by July 1751 and the mercer went bankrupt in 1753.
- (4) Isaac Jemmet became free of the Company on July 14th, 1712 and adopted the Livery on March 12th 1722. He was on a deputation for yeomanry in April 1726 and fined for Steward in October 1727. He was chosen Renter Bailiff in 1739. In the following year he served on one of the Company's domestic Committees formed to examine the state of the Company's property at Shenfield. In 1741 he sponsored a Liveryman and he died early in 1742. His address is given in the Complete Guide for 1740 as Castle Lane, Southwark, which perhaps suggests that he was not a silk weaver.

standing Committee of January 1732 appointed to watch over bills proceeding through the Irish Parliament. It is clear he was an active member for his name appears first on the list and in June 1732 he was to "be refunded £29. 2. -. his expenses in opposing the Irish Bill for laying a Pole Duty on the Wearers of Lace before the Counsell of Great Britain". He was on the committee which was important to the domestic life of the Company rather than to the industries it served, which inspected the Charter in July 1737. He was a member of another most vital committee in 1740 (which will be discussed later) and he helped "to consider the state of the poor" in the same year and also helped to prosecute non-freemen. He was frequently an Auditor, sat on another committee dealing with lace in 1743, and served again on a committee dealing with non-freemen in 1744. In the summer of 1745 he was a member of the committee organising the campaign against printed calicoes. He died in October of that year. He was possibly never a rich man, and indeed he apparently owed his sister £1,366 (1) at the time of her death, but he was an influential one. John Baker, Renter Warden in 1743 was a rich and successful weaver of flowered silks (see pages 207-8). In fact there are very few meetings of the "Full Court" in the '30's in which the majority of names of the Assistants who attended cannot be identified as practising weavers. In February 1736 John Baker went on to the Court of Assistants together with Thomas Bray (2), John Willett (3) and Isaac Jemmett (4). As a result the Committee

- (1) See E. Pariset. Histoire de la Fabrique Lyonnaise. Lyon, 1901, Book 3, pp. 127-259, especially Section V, pp. 173-200, on the effect of the Reglements of 1731, 1737 and 1744.

It is clear he was an active member for his name appears first on the list and in June 1735 he was to be re-elected. His expenses in opposing the law of 1735 are given as 100 livres. He was on the committee which was important to the domestic life of the Company rather than to the industry itself. He was a member of another committee in 1740 (which will be discussed later) and he helped to establish the state of the poor in the year and also helped the poor. He was frequently an Auditor, and another committee dealing with law in 1743, and served again on a committee dealing with non-free men in 1744. In the summer of 1745 he was a member of the committee organizing the campaign against printed calicoes. He died in October of that year. He was possibly never a rich man, and indeed he apparently owed his sister 21,300 (1) at the time of her death, but he was an influential one. John Baker, Renter Wardens 1745 was a rich and successful weaver of flowered silks (see page 202). In fact there are very few meetings of the "Full Court" in the '50's in which the majority of names of the Assistants who attended cannot be identified as practicing weavers. In February 1750 John Baker went on to the Court of Assistants together with Thomas Gray (2), John Willett (3) and Isaac Jomart (4). As a result the Committee

to deal with the Company's petition against the "Manchester Bill" (on printed calicoes) consisted almost entirely of identifiable weavers, any five of them a quorum (i.e., Mr. Lekeux, Mr. Champion, Mr. Jarvis, Mr. Jemmet, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Harris, Mr. Leman, Mr. Baker). All but Jarvis, Jemmet and Baker signed the 1737 By-Laws and Ordinances. In that year Benjamin Champion was Upper Bailiff, and the Renter Warden was the mercer, William Badcock. In the Livery List for 1739-40, a note was made by the Clerk at some later date by the side of each name of the date on which each man came on the Livery and fined for Steward, and this confirms the impression of an increasing number of silk weavers (and others who were at least weavers) coming on to the Livery in the 20's and 30's.

While the number of known silk weavers in the higher ranks of the Company was increasing during the 1730's two other tendencies equally significant can be observed. One was the gradual disuse of the term "Foreign" and the other the distinction between weaver or master, although defined by their fees and meticulously noted in the 17th and early 18th century court Minutes. Moreover, once "free" it becomes evident any weaver could become a master. The rigid legal distinction preserved in Lyon, for example, between the master weaver and the "compagnion" (1) is altogether lacking in the London industry. The factors which determined whether in fact a journeyman did become a master weaver were economic.

- (1) It is a pity that the editor of the Extracts from the Court Books for the Huguenot Society chose to stop at 1730.
- (2) There were precedents for Livery making as a method of raising money for the Company:
July 12th 1714. Mr. Bloodworth having demanded £200 due on bond....it was decided to take on 5 Liverymen. (This was apparently only partly successful as there were still difficulties over the payment of Mr. Bloodworth's bond in December.
February 15th 1715. Twenty persons were named to be summoned on the Livery.
February 1726. It was decided to choose a number of freemen for the Livery at fines of £20 each in order to raise a certain sum of money. Until the 1730's these were isolated instances arising from some infrequent emergency. Throughout 1736, however, there was a steady flow of new Liverymen. Much later in the company's life it became a regular financial expedient. On December 23rd, 1761, for example, enough freemen were to be elected to the Livery as would "pay off and discharge the workmen's bills for the repairs lately done at this Company's Hall and Court Room". Some 33 names were put forward.

Very little general business was transacted during the 1730's by comparison with the other decades. A large number of foreigners however became free of the Company (1). Indeed, between 1735-1737 the number of freedoms appears to exceed bindings. The election of Liverymen, however, occurs more and more frequently and not necessarily because the men chosen were "able and skilful" in their trade (2). For some years the state of the Company's finances had been deteriorating. On February 3rd, 1729 "Mr. Renter Bailiff informed the Court the Company was very much in arrears to their creditors and beyond the expectation of any rents that were likely to be received within the year and that several persons, members of this Court to the number of twenty, had agreed on or were likely to advance the sum of ten pounds a piece to the Court..." This could only be a temporary expedient. On October 16th, 1738 the question of attending the "Solemnity" on Lord Mayor's Day was brought up and "Seriously considering the law circumstances of this Company... and the heavy debt with which it is at present encumbered and being sensible that it will not be in the powers of this Company to attend...with that decent appearance which their inclination as well as duty requires without plunging the Company into further and almost inextricable difficulties..." it was resolved that they could not appear. It was "to consider the present state of the Company's affairs....and to report to the Court the amount of the debt and annuities

owing and payable to this Company together with its annual Income and Expense" that James Leman joined a Committee on April 30th, 1740. The Accounts presented in June shewed that the Company had a permanent deficit of expenditure over income. On July 9th it was laid down as a precedent that all freemen of the Company whether or not freemen of the City of London were liable to be elected on to the Livery and to serve the offices of the Company. In August they decided not to hold the annual dinner in the autumn 'considering the present state of the Company's affairs' but the solution had been found. It summoned on to the Livery all the freemen on whom it could lay its hands (the Beadle was permitted to search for them by their Charter). If they refused to answer the summons the Company fined them £5 each. They were to be prosecuted at law if they refused, and for arrears at Quarterage. James Leman served on this Committee but a more important member co-opted on to it on November 17th was Mr. Alderman Baker. He had been Upper Bailiff of the Company during this critical year and it would be most interesting to know how far he had perhaps been responsible for initiating the policy on Livery-making in the previous July. He had not attended that particular court but he would have known better than anyone else whether a Livery Company could elect to its ranks people who were not freemen of the City of London. When he retired from office he received a fulsome vote of thanks (on August 27th)

- (1) List of new Liverymen taken on in 1740/41. The names are listed in alphabetical order for convenience. In the Quarterage Lists they are listed in order of seniority. The spelling of the names has been slightly altered where a more correct spelling is known from a will, etc.

Obadiah Agace	<u>Thomas Chantry</u>	James Guidin(?)	<u>Francis Peters</u>
Peter Alavoine	John Chevalier	John Guillemard	John Peters alias Lamblois
Peter Huber	<u>Edward Crowder</u>	<u>Richard Home</u>	<u>Matthew Parasion</u>
Francis Paul	James Dalbiac	Henry Jonquer	Daniel Pilon
Audeer	Isaac Dargent	Nicholas Lamy	John Pilon
<u>Andrew Bampton</u>	Abraham David	(John) Luke	Christian Pleeas
<u>William Barnett</u>	Moses Delahaise	Landon	Abraham Ravenell
Giles Bigot	<u>Timothy Dennison</u>	James Lardant	Daniel Renne
Peter Bigot	Lewis Desormeaux	Robert Lee	(Reneu ?)
<u>John Boulton</u>	René Dusane	Peter Lemaitre	John Anthony
Peter Bourdon	Peter Ferry	Isaac LePlay	Rocher
<u>Joseph Brooke</u>	Abraham Fleury	<u>Jeremiah Mather</u>	<u>John Ruffey</u>
<u>Thomas Byas</u>	Stephen Gaudy	John Mazy	John Sabatier
<u>John Callow</u>	<u>Lewis Gilbert</u>	John Maud	<u>Thomas Sharpless</u>
Peter Campart	Daniel Gobbe	Peter Abraham	René Turquand
<u>John Carpenter</u>	James Gourgass	Ogier	Nicholas Vander-
<u>Stephen Cazalet</u>		James Ouvry	howen
		James Ouvry	Daniel Vautier
			<u>Thomas Wake</u>

The names of pureley English origin have been underlined.

for "his kind and constant attendance on the business of this Company...." This may have been diplomatic flattery for no other retiring officer received a similar vote of thanks, (his importance to the Company is considered in Chapter 4, p.411-2), but he may indeed have helped them.

Whoever had been responsible for initiating this policy the results were immediately apparent. Some 64 people were added to the Livery in the autumn of 1740 (1), nearly all of whom can be identified as silk weavers and only 16 of whom were of purely English extraction. Twenty-three of them subsequently appeared on the list of "loyal" manufacturers published in the London Gazette of October 5-8th 1745. The manufacturers on the list offered varying numbers of their workmen to serve the Crown, if it should be found necessary, against the Young Pretender. Since they were, by definition, the manufacturers of Spitalfields, it is an extremely useful list to compare with the names on the Quarterage Lists. Thus the twenty-three recruits of 1740 offered nearly a third of the total number of men. None presumably offered all his men. From the size of these figures it can perhaps be deduced that the Company had recruited some of the most influential men in the silk industry - for no more subtle reason than their ability to pay entry fines and Quarterage. Until the late 1750's the effect of this transfusion is seen less in the character of the officers and Assistants than in the people co-opted for special purposes. It is, however, in this period that the

(1) See p. 85.

(2) See p. 55-6, 199-200, Appendix 2 (iii)

Weavers Company can be tentatively identified with the organised opinion of the silk industry.

The Quarterage List for 1745 reveals that 85 of the 132

"loyal" manufacturers of Spitalfields were members of the Company (Appendix 2(iii)). Ten others can be identified as being outside the Weavers Company quite legitimately,

i.e., 5 dyers, 2 throwsters, 2 builders and 1 vintner).

Twenty people were non-freemen of the Company but weavers by trade (1), and the professions of 18 others have not yet been

discovered. As, together, the latter only offered 101

men, mostly a maximum of 10 - 12 each, they were probably not

among the important manufacturers in the district, whatever

their professions. Of the 85 "loyal" manufacturers who were

also members of the Weavers Company 6 were from the Court.

William Reynolds, Upper Bailiff in the year, was probably,

though not certainly, the partner of Thomas Bray, the

Assistant. Reynolds and Bray (who were worsted weavers)

offered the largest number of men on the list: 107. John

Turner, the Assistant, is probably a partner in the firm of

John and Robert Turner who offered the next highest total

of 102 men. Benjamin Champion (probably making half-silks)

offered 50 men, John Tall 9 men. The two men who represent

the flowered silk contingent in the Court, John Baker and

James Godin, offered 75 and 60 men respectively. James

Godin was in partnership with one of the Ogiers (2) at this

time. They were thus in a minority, outnumbered by the

(1) Anna Maria Garthwaite drew eleven designs between 1750-1756 (series 5988, 5989 and 5990) "for Mr. Turner". Ten of these are tobines (a material in which the pattern is made by an additional warp) and one is a waistcoat pattern (5988.31) plate 49, No. 58. These could as well have been made in worsted as in silk. Despite the fact that Turner is a very common name it is possible to suggest that the firm of J. & R. Turner "Stuffmen" of Booth Street, Spitalfields, were probably her customers. No other Turners with sufficient capital have so far been traced in the Directories and etc. who are known to have made silks.

(2) The four extra in this total are cases where a name occurs in both lists, indicating father and son of the same name. It was probably the father who was "loyal", but since sons may have taken over their father's business as the latter retired, they have been counted twice.

(3) Nathaniel Rotheray offered 10 men to the Crown in 1745.

(4) Joseph Oram offered 6 men to the Crown in 1745. If the London Gazette list was compiled on the basis of signatures on Loyal Address "Jos." or "Jas." could have been confused.

probable weavers of worsteds. The Turners were probably making "flowered" as well as plain materials (1). Of the other 79, 57 were Liverymen and 26 freemen on the Commonalty (2). The offers from the Livery were generally larger than those of the freemen. Since the Livery lists are kept in order of seniority it is possible to see the full effects of the 1740 infusion. Thirteen offers of men out of 57 came from firms where the man adopted the Livery before 1740. Some of the names are doubtful, since in one or two cases the London Gazette appears to have mistaken the Christian name. The older group of Liverymen (171 people) were nearly all English, only 13 men were of foreign extraction and 8 of the offers of men came from them (Simon Julian 22, Daniel Carbonnel 30, Peter Duthoit 12, Abraham Jeudwine 60, Abraham Deheulle 47, Isaac Dupree 12, Daniel Messman 48, Peter Nouaille 3). The loyal Englishmen were John (?) (3) Rotheray 10, James Johnson 70, John Shield 5, John Gibson 10, James (?) (4) Oram 6. These were not the only practising weavers among this group of Liverymen in the Quarterage List. John Bloodworth was probably retired by 1745, since he had adopted the Livery in 1706 and had been a customer of James Leman's father, Peter Leman. John Barton, weaver, was presumably still active, Bartholomew Bray, John Willett and Thomas Mist can be identified from their insurance policies, Edward Wolstonecraft was the handkerchief maker, Thomas Mason was probably the man who

- (1) There were two James Ouvry's who could have offered men, one living in Church Street, the other in Brown's Lane. See Chapter 1, p. 63 note 1.
- (2) Of the 137 manufacturers who offered men, 81 were people with foreign names while only 56 were almost certainly of purely English descent. Thus there were about one-third more "loyal" foreigners than Englishmen. The foreigners, however, promised altogether nearly twice as many men as the English firms. (This analysis was originally made for the paper published jointly with Mr. P. K. Thornton for the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, Vol. XX, No. 1).
- (3) (Appendix 2(i)). Anna Maria Garthwaite sold 10 designs in 1747-8 to a man she spelt variously as 'Brent' or 'Brant' (series 5985 & 5986). He made several varieties of flowered silks. He had one brother, James, who advertised in the Directories as a throwster. Their relationship is known from the will of their father James Brant, who died in 1740 (PCC. Browne, 315).

gave evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee in 1750, Edward Ingram was probably the mercer. All these, however, remained unmoved by the invasion of the Young Pretender.

Twenty-three offers came from the 1740 creations but only 3 of these were from Englishmen (Robert Lee 9 men, Jeremiah Mather 18, Thomas Chantry 35). None of the four were certainly making broad silks. The 19 Frenchmen, however, are nearly all identifiable as silk weavers from other sources and several as weavers of flowered silks (Daniel Gobbé, James Lardant, James Ouvry (1), Daniel Vautier, Peter Bigot, John Mazy, John Luke Landon, Peter Abraham Ogier (2)). Twelve offers came from the most junior Liverymen created after 1740. Only four of the twelve were English (James Martell (?), 9, John Harley 14, Samuel August 6, Henry Napton 10). Samuel August was a ribbon weaver and Henry Napton possibly a pattern drawer; the specialities of the others are not so far known. Of the eight Frenchmen Thomas Brant may have been making flowered silks (3), Peter Lekeux certainly was doing so, Peter Ogier was probably a weaver of flowered silks, and in that case it may have been his younger brother Thomas Abraham Ogier who was in partnership with James Godin (Thomas was also among the Liverymen created after 1740). The career of Lewis Chauvet has been outlined in Chapter 1, p. 45, John Ouvry may have been making striped and plain tabby, lustring and mantua, the specialities of James Duthoit, John Desolaux and Daniel Pineau are unknown.

- (1) Hug. Soc. Publns. Vol. 27 (1923) p. 150. 23, Geo. II, No. 3. Naturalisation Act which received the Royal Assent 20th December 1749.

Very few of the other 33 Liverymen in this group can be identified since they are for the most part Englishmen with fairly common names. Peter Ogier, his brother Thomas Abraham, and Lewis Chauvet were not even naturalised until 1749 (1).

The general impression made by the 1745 Quarterage List is that without the admissions of 1740 an important proportion of silk weavers would have been left either outside the Company altogether or with very little representation in it. This would have seriously weakened the effective power of the Company in the next twenty years. The majority of the Court and the Livery were Englishmen whose particular professions can only be identified with some difficulty. The most active members of the Company were, however, equally the few Englishmen important in the industry (James Johnson, Benjamin Champion and John Baker, for example), and the silk weavers of French extraction. It is the latter especially who were co-opted "from the trade" on to the most important committees, even if in only a few cases they reached the Court of Assistants. Without them the silk industry would have been under-represented in the Weavers Company, at a time when it was expanding fairly rapidly.

The reiteration of names is perhaps exhausting and hence the personnel of the Court and the four in place from 1745-1766 have been tabulated on the chart, Appendix 7. These were the silk weavers of Princes Street and Spital Square.

(1) The active participation of the Freemen and Livery can be demonstrated throughout the period.

May 20th 1713. There is a brief note in the Court Books at that date to the effect that the Court had received the "proposall left by ye trade relating to Black silks". The proposal was "agreed to" at the next court (3 June, 1713) and "referred to a Committee to prepare a petition...to be presented at the House of Commons..."

Active financial support was offered in 1714. The Clerk recorded in the Minutes "several silk weavers waiting in the Hall attending on this affair, (a petition in which the Turkey merchants were also interested) were called in and acquainted therewith but they declared they did not expect the Court..." to pay for it and decided among themselves how much they were prepared to contribute. In 1728 the Court were approached on separate occasions by the Livery and by the Journeymen:

5th April 1728. "Several Liverymen of this Company attending the Court referred to the inconvenience arising from long and frequent mournings to the trade..." and a Committee was formed to think of methods of obtaining redress.

July 22nd 1728. "The Court were informed of an application made to them by a petition signed by several thousand Journeymen weavers complaining of the use and wear of printed linens "and unemployment in general." The Court decided to form a committee and it was decided that "the said petition and reasons should be laid before some one or other of the chief officers of state..." The Committee reported back later in the month and the weavers "were called in and informed of the steps that had already been taken..."

4th February 1736. It was "several gentlemen of the Livery" who were desired to bring a copy of the Manchester Bill who "appeared with the same and also with a Draft of a Petition against the said Bill for the Company's Common Seale". The petition was agreed to by the Court.

27th January 1743. (see p. 104 of this Chapter). The "gold and silver lace makers" who asked the Company to petition against a Bill depending in Parliament, offered to pay all the expenses arising. The petition was sent and is printed in the House of Commons Journals, p. 399 Vol. 24. It was referred with other Petitions to a Select Committee who reported back on March 11th 1743 (p. 462). Unfortunately no details of the report made are printed in the Journals.

26th June 1745. The full text of a petition against the use and wear of printed calicoes signed by several hundred journeymen is printed in the Court Books. It was addressed to the Bailiffs, Wardens and Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Weavers in London. A Committee was appointed and positive action taken (interrupted the landing of the Young Pretender).

28th March 1764. A Liveryman appeared in Court on behalf of the Journeymen demonstrating outside "who were assembled in the Hall in very great number and in the street about the Hall gate to present a petition to this court "against imported foreign woven silks. The Court agreed to present a petition in the next session of Parliament. A deputation of eight was received by the Court on the condition that the rest went home. These

(1) cont'd:

offered £100 towards the expenses of an expedition to Parliament. Further action was taken at the next Court. The lapse of a number of years between these decisions and the carrying out of the expedition, however, was not left by the rank and file of the force towards the Company. In a crisis they turned naturally to the Company, even offering financial support.

The active participation of the Freemen and Livery can be de-
scribed throughout the period.

(1) cont'd:

offered £100 towards the expenses of an application to a
to Parliament. Further action was taken at the next
Court.

The lapse of a number of years between these occasions
surely emphasises the continuous loyalty and respect
felt by the rank and file of the trade towards the
Company. In a crisis they turned naturally to the
Company, even offering financial support.

The Court were approached on separate occasions by the
Journymen and by the Liverymen.
The Liverymen, "Several Liverymen of this Company attending the
Court petitioned to the inconvenience arising from long and
expensive journeys to the Court..." and a Committee was formed
to take up the matter of obtaining redress.

The Court were informed of an application made
to the Court by a petition signed by several thousand Journymen
and Liverymen of the use and wear of printed Linens "and
other articles in general." The Court decided to form a
committee and it was decided that "the said petition and reasons
thereon should be laid before some one or other of the chief officers
of the Court..." The Committee reported back later in the month and
the Court "were called in and informed of the steps that had
already been taken..."

It was "several gentlemen of the Livery"
who were desired to bring a copy of the Manchester Bill who
"appeared with the same and also with a Draft of a Petition against
the said Bill for the Company's Common Weale". The petition was
agreed to by the Court.

The "gold and
silver lace makers" who asked the Company to petition against a
Bill depending in Parliament offered to pay all the expenses
arising. The petition was sent and is printed in the House
of Commons Journals, p. 399 Feb. 24. It was referred with
other Petitions to a Select Committee who reported back on
March 11th 1743 (p. 462). Unfortunately no details of the
report made are printed in the Journals.

The full text of a petition against the use and
wear of printed calicoes signed by several hundred Journymen
is printed in the Court Books. It was addressed to the Bailiffs,
Wardens and Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Weavers in
London. A Committee was appointed and positive action taken
(interrupted the landing of the Young Pretender).

28th March 1744. A Liveryman appeared in Court on behalf of the
Journymen demonstrating outside "who were assembled in the Hall
in very great number and in the street about the Hall gate to
present a petition to this Court "against imported foreign woven
silks." The Court agreed to present a petition in the next
session of Parliament. A petition of eight was received by
the Court on the condition that the rest went home. These

The desperate measures of 1740 prolonged the active life of the Company for at least 25 years. Apart from its normal work the Company was deeply involved throughout the period in a series of general issues affecting every aspect of the weaving industry in London. It co-ordinated its efforts with the spokesmen of other industries whenever it could and it received active support and encouragement from its own Livery and Freemen (1). The issues which were raised both at Full and Private Courts constitute a chronicle of the vicissitudes of the silk industry. In this chapter it is only proposed to consider these issues insofar as they reflect the Company's organisation. What measures could they take to influence the course of events?

Whenever a crisis arose from "a Bill depending in Parliament" or a complaint was made by "some freemen of this Company" or "a great body of the Livery", the immediate reaction of the Court of Assistants (if they felt that some action was justified), was to appoint a special committee to deal with the situation. They in due course reported back to the Court, who then took appropriate action. Almost every year some special committee was created, and some became standing committees such as those on the prosecution of non-freemen or the

(1) Examples of Standing Committees are:

The Committee which "manages ye affairs relating to the seizures of East India Goods" appointed in 1713 and still active in 1719 when it was decided by the Court to use their funds in the campaign against printed calicoes (13th November, 1719) and to add some fresh blood to the Committee members.

This committee was revived February 20th 1726/7 when it was resolved "that the whole court of Assistants be a committee for that purpose (i.e. "to consider East India goods, calicoes and chintz") and shall be invited in such a place and manner as the 4 gentlemen in place shall think fitt".

26th January 1744. "The Committee for managing lawsuits.... against any person or persons for breaches of the By-Laws or Franchises of the Company is to be revived". Its members were John Willett, William Reynolds, John Barnes, Alderman (William) Baker, James Leman, Benjamin Champion, Thomas Bray, John Baker and John Turner. They reported on March 28th with the list quoted on p. 86 note 1 of this Chapter.

Throughout 1745-7 a standing committee directed a series of prosecutions against sellers and weavers of printed calicoes. In 1753 a committee was appointed to help with the re-drafting of a bill for putting duties on foreign woven silks and arranging the clauses for the recovery of penalties. The bill became law and the committee was then directed (July 4th 1753) to stand by to "prosecute for the Penalties for any offence against the said act". They were still active in 1755 (25th June 1755).

On March 29th, 1758 "Mr. William Reynolds...member of the Standing Committee for promoting and taking care of the trade and manufactures of this Company..."reported on the action taken on French silks coming in 'under the denomination of Dutch or Italian' ".

- (2) For example, James Leman in July 1732 (p. 91 of this Chapter). On December 23rd 1747 the Company's Clerk was owed £58.19.10. for charges arising in law-suits 1745-7. The expenses incurred in the act of 1749 on silk and wool manufactures is referred to on p. 111 of this chapter.

smugglers of imported woven silks etc. (1). The flexibility of its organisation is most evident in this system. The Assistants did not hesitate to co-opt specialists "from the trade" on to these committees whether of French or English extraction. The men thus drafted responded by working hard and resolutely for the Company's interests, receiving back their expenses some time afterwards (2). Col. Lekeux was the prototype of such men. His nephew, Captain Peter Lekeux was involved from a very early period in his career. On February 16th, 1712/13 it was "Resolved a Representation be presented to her Ma^jty. and a committee be appointed to draw up same...." Among its members "Cap. Lekeux is hereby desired to be assisting to ye Committee and Ye Committee is desired to speed ye same and may send for such other persons for their advice as they shall think fit...." This Committee was functioning in the months preceding the Treaty with France in which the Company was very interested, fearing future competition from French goods. The extent to which other prominent silk weavers took part in these committees has been generally considered in this study in conjunction with the other events in their careers. It is, however, perhaps worth noting the composition of a few of the important committees:

On August 15th, 1720 "The Bailiff acquainted the court that they had received a letter from the Secretary of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to desire

flexibility of its organization is more evident in this

this Compa. to inform their Lord^{ps.} of the present State of their trade and particularly whether there be any and what alteration therein since your last application to that Board". A committee was appointed to draft a reply, which was the "four in place, the two new Wardens (i.e., Capn. Raphael Dubois and John Johnson), Mr. (Henry) Soames, Mr. (Humphrey) Burroughs, Mr. (John) Tredwell, Mr. (Thomas) Pearce, Mr. (William) Dawson, Mr. (Cornelius) Dutch, Mr. (William) Daintry, Col. Lekeux, Captain Peter Lekeux, Mr. Leman (probably James), Mr. Phillip Humphreys, Mr. Edward Cowper, Capt. (Josiah) Tidmarsh, Mr. (Reuben) Foxwell, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Joseph Willett or any 7 of them and such as they shall call to their Assistance of the Weaving Trade".

The first 5 men were Assistants and so was Daintry; Dutch shortly became an Assistant. The others named were Liverymen. Only Dawson, Cowper and Wilson are quite unknown as weavers. The majority, as one should expect of such a Committee, were at least weavers, even if it is not known what they made. They were certainly competent to answer the letter and their reply is printed in the Journal of the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations (October 25th 1720, p. 218) (1). In 1727 the Court heard of a bill in Parliament which had resulted from a petition from the throwsters' company. They decided to investigate its contents and to appoint a committee. A further decision was taken to co-opt on to the committee members of the Company not of the Court. The "gentlemen of the Trade" had chosen eleven, out of which

this Company. to inform their Lordships of the present

(1) See Chapter 1, p. 21, 30.

and what alteration therein since your last application

to that Board". A committee was appointed to draft a

reply which was the "four in place, the two new members

(i.e., Capt. Raphael Dabola and John Johnson), Mr. (Henry)

Gomes, Mr. (Raphael) Burroughs, Mr. (John) Trevellick, Mr.

(Thomas) Swasey, Mr. (William) Dawson, Mr. (Cornelius) Dutch,

Mr. (William) Dainty, Col. James, Captain Peter Lehou,

Mr. James (probably James), Mr. Philip Humphreys, Mr.

Edward Cowper, Capt. (John) Williams, Mr. (Reuben) Foxwell,

Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Joseph Willett or any 7 of them and such

as they shall call to their assistance of the weaving trade".

The first 5 men were assistants and so was Dainty; Dutch

shortly became an Assistant. The others named were Livery-

men. Only Dainty, Cowper and Wilson are quite unknown as

weavers. The majority, as one should expect of such a

Committee, were at least weavers, even if it is not known

what they made. They were certainly competent to answer

the letter and their reply is printed in the Journal of

the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations (October 25th

1720, p. 213) (1). In 1727 the Court heard of a bill in

Parliament which had resulted from a petition from the throwsters,

company. They decided to investigate its contents and to

appoint a committee. A further decision was taken to co-opt

on to the committee members of the Company not of the Court.

The "Gentlemen of the Trade" had chosen eleven, out of which

the Court were to choose six, and seven members of the Court were to join with them. From the Court were chosen Mr. Dawson, Col. (Thomas) Excelbee, Mr. Nipps, Mr. Soames, Mr. (Thomas) Eades, Mr. Dutch and Mr. Willett. The "Persons nominated by the trade" were Mr. Bloodworth (George or his son John), Capt. Lekeux, Mr. Harley, Mr. Booth (Daniel), Mr. Baker senior (the father of John and Henry) and Capt. Garrett (Alexander). It is reassuring to see the "Principal Inhabitants" of Spitalfields chosen by their colleagues (1). The composition of the "Manchester Bill" Committee has already been quoted (p. 92).

Another instance in which the composition of a Committee demonstrates the co-operation between the Court and the rest of industry occurred on January 27th, 1743. The Upper Bailiff (John Baker, weaver of flowered silks) told the Court "that there was a bill depending before the House of Commons to prohibit the wearing of Gold and Silver Lace thread or wire in apparel, in the event of which several members of this Company were concerned". The Bill was read to the Court and several members of the Livery came in asking the Company to send a petition to oppose it under the Company's seal. The members who were asking for it described themselves as "gold and silver lace" makers. The Company agreed to this, and a committee was formed of the Upper Bailiff (who had bought at least one design for a silk containing gold or silver thread from Anna Maria

(1) 5981.23 (plate 35, No. 41). The yellow areas are almost certainly intended for metal thread. Garthwaite uses yellow as a code for metal thread on many designs including the one in the same series referred to below for Capn. Lekeux. She used grey to indicate a damask sub-pattern.

(2) E. 4487-1909 for instance "a silver lustring without colours" and etc. 1719, and E. 4507-1909, July 1720. "Silver lustring for Mr. Alexander", plate 16, No. 16.

(3) 5986.2. "A Brocade Lu/s/t ring" sold to Mr. Godin in 1748", plate 46, No. 55.

Garthwaite in 1742 (1), and who was described in Mortimer's Directory as making gold and silver brocade and flowered silk, the Upper Warden Edward Whitehouse, the Renter Warden William Philips, and from the Assistants John Johnson, Daniel Gwilt, James Leman (whose last surviving designs in 1721 and '22 include a number of 'silver lustrings' and the like (2)), Captain Peter Lekeux (for whom Garthwaite designed a silk, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum woven in various types of silver and silk) (see plates 37-9, Nos. 44, 45, 46), Benjamin Champion, William Reynolds, James Godin (also a weaver of flowered silks and a customer of Garthwaite and presumably concerned ^{with} gold and silver silks) (3); any five of these could "do business and have liberty to call in any other gentlemen of the Trade to their Assistance as they see fit, particularly Mr. Daniel Booth (who had already appeared twice before Select Committees of the House of Commons in 1732 and 1741), Mr. Daniel Gobbee (possibly a customer of Garthwaite's and therefore making such silks, he appeared before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1750), Mr. John Burnham and Mr. Robert Hooper". The two last were perhaps weavers of gold and silver lace, since the others were not.

The same people formed the nucleus of a number of committees in the next few years. Even fourteen years later when organzine silk was very scarce in April 1757 Mr. (William) Reynolds, Mr. (Benjamin) Champion, Mr. John Baker,

- (1) 5984.5. "A brocaded satin sold to Mr. Jeudwine in 1745, plate 40, No. 47. See Appendix 2(i), (ii) & (iii) & Chapter 1, p. 31
- (2) He was almost certainly the witness before the Parliamentary Select Committees mentioned below. In 1766 (p. 726) he and a Mr. George Vaughan were described as "Dealers in Gold & Silver Lace".
- (3) Also a weaver of flowered silks, he succeeded his father as a customer of Anna Maria Garthwaite, see Appendix 2(i) & (ii).
- (4) A weaver of striped and plain lustring, mantua and tabby, he lived first in Wood Street and then in Church Street, where he died in 1772. (P.C.C. Taverner fol. 165). Appendix 2(iii), (iv), pp. 206, 210, 212, 216 note 1.
- (5) Charles Triquet (see Appendix 2(ii)) was a junior partner in the firm of Ogier, Vansommer and Triquet, of Spital Square. The firm is listed in Mortimer's Directory of 1763 as making "Gold & Silver, brocaded and flowered Silk". He was the son of a dyer, Peter Triquet, probably the man living in Paternoster Row in the early part of the century (see Chapter 1, p.). The father may have come from Nîmes since several Peter Triquets from Nîmes were naturalised in 1703, '02 and '07, and none from anywhere else. Charles Triquet was thus a second generation Huguenot. He was apprenticed early in 1744 (February 20th) to Peter Ogier, the son of Peter Abraham Ogier of Princes Street. His master had taken up his freedom at the same court. This Peter Ogier lived in Spital Square. He moved to Princes Street after the death of his father in 1747 and is listed there in the Directories. Charles Triquet presumably worked for him until Ogier's death in 1754. He then joined Ogier and Vansommer who had been in partnership since 1749. Peter Ogier, the senior partner in this firm was a cousin of Triquet's deceased master, Peter Ogier, and the son of another Peter Ogier who emigrated from Poitou in 1729. John Vansommer was a pattern drawer. It is almost certain that Peter Ogier, his senior partner, was a customer of Garthwaite between 1742-49 (see page 160 & Pl 2). The firm also bought designs from Peter Abraham de Brissac between 1760 and 1762. It is thus interesting to see a representative of a firm who had been probably making flowered silks since 1742 sharing with one other the burden of representing the case of the entire silk industry to Parliament in 1765 and 66. Charles Triquet joined the Court of Assistants in 1764. He served continuously on the Committee concerned with the campaign against foreign silks until the passing of the 1766 Act. He thus presumably attended the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations in those years since it is frequently noted in their Journals that "the committee of the Weavers Company" had attended. (Vol. 1764-7). The individual names are not distinguished in their Journals. Not very much is known about his private life. He attended meetings of the Norton Falgate Vestry and, from 1752-74, his name is recorded among the Governors For Life of the London Hospital. In 1774, when the addresses of the Governors are given for the first time, he was living at the top of Gravel Lane, Ratcliff Highway, which perhaps indicates that he had retired from business. The date of his death has not, so far, been discovered.

Mr. (James) Godin, Mr. James Johnson, were appointed to the committee "to support an application to Parliament" but joined with them were Mr. (Peter) Ogier, Mr. (Abraham) Jeudwine (1) and Mr. John Gibson (2). One of the most important committees the Company ever appointed was that formed on October 3rd 1764, to consider the measures to be taken to restrict the import, use and wear of foreign woven silks. This included the Upper Bailiff, Peter Lekeux (3), (son of the man on the 1743 Committee), John Baker (who gave evidence in 1765), James Johnson (who also gave evidence in 1765) and Peter Ogier (also a 1765 witness before the Select Committee of the House of Commons), Peter Campart (4), John Gibson (a witness in 1765 and 66), John Hinde, Joshua Pickersgill and James Walker. On March 27th 1765 a motion was made and seconded nem. con. (somewhat prematurely as it turned out) that "the thanks of this Court be given to Mr. James Johnson and Mr. Charles Triquet (5) for their care and constant attendance in prosecuting the present application to Parliament in behalf of the Silk Manufacture and trade of this Company and that they be recommended to continue their diligence to bring the same to a happy end..." It is not clear in the Minutes at what stage Charles Triquet joined in, perhaps after his election to the Court of Assistants.

The terms of reference of each committee varied enormously. The Committee formed to "put into force the

Act of Parliament against the sellers and weavers of printed calico" in the summer of 1745 received an "instruction....that they have Power to Receive Information from the Committee appointed by the Trade or Others of the Offenders against the said act, and that they do prosecute the Offenders in the name of this Company or otherwise at this Company's expense.....And that the said Company do assemble at such time and places as they shall see fitt. And call into their Assistance such persons of the Trade or others from time to time as they shall direct", an instruction which gave them considerable freedom of action. They were further ordered on August 19th ".....to wait upon Mr. Alderman Baker a Member of this Court to Desire him to introduce the said Committee to the Commissioners of H.M. Customs And to use his interest with them to give it in Charge to their Officers effectually to put the Laws into force against all such who sell Prohibited Goods contrary to law and likewise to Desire the said Alderman Baker to wait on the Lords of the Treasury to engage their Assistance herein as shall be found needful....."

The Committee had thus a most responsible and time-consuming charge, they were expected to exercise the greatest tact, since Alderman Baker was a most influential man (1), and they were expected to appear before the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations and, possibly, even the Lords of the Treasury once Alderman Baker had taken the initiative. Very few of the Committees were expected to do as much as this one, normally they were called into being

- (1) Examples are:
May 6th, 1720. A report was to be published "to keep quietness among the journeymen of the trade" of the actions taken in and out of Parliament against the use and wear of printed calicoes.
December 24th, 1760. Anticipating renewed activity by the smugglers of foreign silks because of the impending coronation, the Upper Bailiff suggested publishing the clauses in the different acts of Parliament which dealt with the smugglers of foreign silks.
June 25th, 1766. Extracts of the "late act of Parliament" on the import of foreign silks were to be published by order of the Company.
- (2) The Company received reports of Bills affecting their interests as opposed to those they had initiated through their petitions, etc. on the following occasions:
February 1st, 1725. On a bill for regulating elections in the City they were especially interested in the part relating to the limitation in the number of Liverymen.
March 6th, 1727. They had heard a report that the Throwsters Company had been given leave to bring a bill (or presumably a member had been given permission on their behalf). The Company decided to investigate. On March 15th, having read the bill, the Court decided to petition against it.
May 7th, 1729. The Court heard of a Bill for the Stamping of Silks proceeding through Parliament and decided to oppose it. The Livery evidently disagreed and therefore the Upper Bailiff summoned a Common Hall (See p. note of this Chapter).
January 17th, 1732. The wire-drawers told them of a bill passing through the Irish Parliament which they wanted the Company to oppose with them jointly. The Company decided against doing so but appointed a standing committee to watch over bills proceeding through the Irish Parliament.
March 19th, 1745. The Court was informed of a petition to the House of Commons asking for the drawbacks on exported foreign linens to be removed. This was thought to be a threat to the trade of the Company, and the Company decided on a counter petition.
- (3) 11th April 1764. An advertisement in the name of the Company was to be printed in the Daily Advertiser and Gazeteer on the following day, and three times a week for a fortnight, and then once a week on Wednesdays until further notice. This was to encourage seizures of foreign wrought silks, and 5 guineas reward was offered "to be paid on conviction of the offenders and condemnation of the goods."
- (4) See Appendix 5.
- (5) Only a small number of the reports made in the period by Select Committees of the House of Commons on the Bills concerning the silk industry are printed in the Journals, although a direction is often given when petitions are referred to Select Committees that witnesses are to be called to speak for the petitions. Appendix 2(ii) thus represents only a proportion of the people who gave evidence in the period. The Committee appointed on October 3rd 1764 to conduct the campaign against imported foreign silks is one of the few that can be seen in action from the printed reports of 1765 and 1766 in the Journals of the Commons and the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations.

for some specific function. They might be asked to find out and publish the relevant parts of certain acts of Parliament and other papers (1), report on the contents of bills in Parliament and their relevance to the Company (2), from the later 1750's to send letters to newspapers (3), to undertake particular law-suits and, most frequently, to draft a petition to Parliament incorporating resolutions made in the Court of Assistants, perhaps on the basis of the petitions the Court had itself received. When the petitions were drafted they were submitted to the Court for its approval and the text often written out in the Minutes (4). They had then to ensure that the petitions were presented to both Houses of Parliament in the proper form, pay any fees arising, and if successful in getting a hearing before a Select Committee or the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, they might have to represent the Company (5).

Moreover, it can be seen from the petitions to Parliament printed in the Journals of the House of Commons that the Company had drawn together as many interests as it could in its support. The Weavers Company Petition is often the first and the others follow its text closely. It is their representatives who were often heard first in any controversy and who thus bore the brunt of responsibility. Such co-ordination was not accidental. Here again there is a marked contrast with the Lyon industry. The latter were completely indifferent to the fate of industries in

- (1) There is, for example, a letter of 21st January 1716 in the Letter Book (Missives) of the Lyon Chamber of Commerce, Vol. 1706-1740 (deposited at the Lyon Chamber of Commerce), p. 121. From the letter it is apparent that they had been consulted about regulations for the silk industry at Nîmes and they wrote "nous n'avons aucun intérêt de rendre leur fabrique parfaite" and their only comment was that the widths of the cloths made should be different from those made in Lyon, and marked in the selvages so that the public should not confuse them with Lyon goods.

other parts of France and only indeed took any interest in them when they feared some competition (1). There is no evidence at any time of a policy equivalent to that of the London Weavers Company.

On May 10th, 1714 "The Committee elected.....to manage the Seizing of East India Prohibited goods.....have leave to apply to ye Throwsters Company in their names for money for carrying on the service aforesaid". There is no record of the reply from the Throwsters to this request. The great anti-calico campaign of 1719 to 1721 was probably the most important concerted effort made by the Company before the crisis of 1764-6. On September 14th 1719 the committee conducting it were ordered "to wait upon the Throwsters and Dyers Companies and to represent to them that this Court look upon the Throwsters and Dyers to be very much concerned in the affair and to desire their assistance both in plan and purse". On October 12th "the said Throwsters Company sent a message in answer thereto in writing by three of their members subscribed by their clerk dated 6th October 1719 purporting that the said Throwsters Company will separately at their own expense (as a Company) make ye applications towards suppressing the Weaving of Callicoes". Meanwhile the Committee was to be ready to appear before the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations with permission to incur expenses up to £100. A petition to Parliament was drafted and agreed, and then sealed and it was "Ordered that copies thereof be delivered to ye Throwsters, Dyers Comp^{as}, and to ye Weavers of Norwich if desired". It is thus hardly surprising that the

texts of the Petitions sent by these people, to say nothing of those from woollen and worsted weavers in other parts of England, were remarkably similar. Each added a special reason why their particular trade would be ruined if calicoes were allowed to be imported or made in this country, but the general tone of the petitions and even the wording conformed to the pattern set by the Weavers Company of London (and also of Worcester).

In later years the Company co-operated with other interests on individual issues. On January 17th, 1732 "the Court took into consideration the Bill prohibiting Gold and Silver Lace & etc. in Ireland and the Application of the Wire-drawers to this Company and resolved to unite with the Wire-drawers in their petition upon this account". They appointed the usual committee (of which James Leman was a member) with power to take actions approved by the majority of its members and its expenses paid by the Company. The bleak period 1736-40 did not entirely interrupt such activity although the Company was more concerned with its domestic affairs. In 1749 the Company was a little worried by a bill introduced in the Commons by Horatio Walpole senior "to amend and render more effectual the act George II 13 referring to woollen manufactures" which he sought to extend to silk (8th March 1749). At the next court Mr. Reynolds reported from the Committee set up to investigate the contents of the Bill. The committee thought that, with some amendments, the bill would in fact be useful "but that the Scotch & Divers other manufacturers desiring to

have the said bill extended the Bill was to be recommitted". This was accepted by the Court and the bill helped on its way. On July 19th the Committee were paid their expenses incurred including a solicitor's fee (£43. 4. 8d.). In the following year the Company was asked for its support by "the Russia Merchants....in their application to Parliament for leave to import Persia silk from Russia into this country...." This was a most interesting episode which will be considered later. The Company agreed to give its support (the opposition from the Levant Company was stiff) and in June "upwards of £400" was claimed in expenses.

The "seduction of artificers" was an issue recurring a number of times from the late 1740's. The period was one when a number of attempts were being made by various European sovereigns to foster native industries. The Company took this seriously and paid expenses to several individuals who informed against people attempting to ship weavers or their equipment abroad. A full report of such a case and the action taken by the Company is given in the Court Books in August 14th 1751. It is worth quoting in full since it shews the highly responsible attitude taken by the Company in what it considered to be the best interests of the nation and also because of the action taken.

"Mr. Reynolds reported to this court that one Jacob Sharpe a broad cloth weaver from Leeds....was lately returned from Spain and....giving an information...respecting the carrying

on the Weaving Manufacture in Spain and that Great Numbers of Artificers and Utensils were sent from England and Ireland to be employed therein, That he had sent the said Jacob Sharpe to Mr. Briggs (the Company's Clerk) to take his examination which he had done and finding it to be of consequence had sent to Mr. De Berdt the Agent for the Clothiers of Bradford etc.

"Whereupon it was thought needful to lay the Information before one of the Secretaries of State but first to consult the Speaker of the House of Commons who had been attended: And advised to lay the Information before the Earl of Holderness, that a memorial had been prepared accordingly which he had signed on behalf of the Company and Mr. De Berdt on behalf of the Clothiers which was immediately deliver'd and expected to be sent for in relation thereto...." The Court approved of this action and voted its thanks to Mr. Reynolds.

At other times the Company found itself in opposition to various interests. The makers and sellers of printed calicoes, whether English or Indian, the sellers of East Indian Silks, and the importers of foreign European silks, both legal and clandestine, probably constituted the major economic rivals of the silk manufacturers. Since their competition is of general economic significance and not especially related to the Weavers Company, discussion is reserved until Chapter 5. The Company took what actions it could in defence of its members but the results did not entirely depend upon them. The

- (1) 1/26 Geo. II Cap. 21. For encouraging the silk manufactures and for securing the duties on Foreign velvets and wrought silks mixed with other materials. (House of Commons Journals XXVI, p.754). See Chapter 4, p. 415.

Company also fought campaigns on more limited issues. In 1727, for instance, they were at odds with the Throwsters Company whose petition to Parliament sought to restrict the quantity of thrown silk imported - while the silk weavers were naturally anxious to have as much and as cheaply as possible. In 1738 the Company refused to support the makers of woven buttons and button-holes who wanted to ensure the continuance of their monopoly. (They were themselves members of the Weavers Company and appeared in person at the court to ask for a petition to Parliament against a bill which was impending).

The mercers constituted the most dangerous rivals to the Company since their capital and their command of the retail trade gave them formidable power in any battle. The pamphlet war between weavers and mercers broke out on several occasions (in 1719, 1751, 1753, 1764-6). This was notwithstanding the fact that several mercers were themselves members of the Company throughout the period. The Clerk of the Company reported with some pleasure an incident in 1753 following an act which sought to restrict the amount of imported foreign silks (1). "Mr. Reynolds (again!) reported the Application of the Mercers to the Commissioners of the Customs in relation to their stock in hand of foreign wrought silks, supposed to be about £10,000 Value which would remain at Mich^{as}. 1754 Undisposed of When it was proposed to them to export the same and import them again paying the Duty which would be the least expensive and only secure method to prevent Smuggling. But the mercers not seeming to relish the proposal....." decided to apply to Parliament. Reynolds

- (1) 1765 Report op. cit. p. 209.
- (2) 1765 Report op. cit. p. 210. Evidence of Mr. Ashburner (a mercer).
- (3) 1765 Report op. cit. p. 210. Evidence of Mr. Fleetwood (a mercer).
- (4) 1765 Report op. cit. p. 212. Evidence of Mr. Carr (a mercer).
- (5) 1766 Report op. cit. p. 724. Evidence of John Sabatier; and Mr. Triquet, p. 725.
- (6) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, May 20th 1765. It was reported that the journeymen weavers demonstrating outside the Houses of Parliament "went home quietly as soon as they had had assurances....(of future employment) by some of the silk mercers promising they would suspend the importation of foreign wrought silk till the next sessions of Parliament....."
- (7) 6 Geo. III, cap. 28. Its provisions are discussed in the conclusions of this study, p. 505-6.

suggested that if the mercers took any action through Parliament to have their existing stocks sealed the Company should oppose it, and to this the Court agreed. The fiercest clash came during the depression of 1764-6. The bitterness felt by the weavers towards the mercers (which was fully reciprocated) is recurrent throughout the Reports made by the Select Committees of the House of Commons on the silk industry. Giving evidence to the Select Committee of 1765, the weavers alleged that the mercers' petition against the bill to increase duties on imported foreign silks was, in fact, concocted by only two or three firms but that all the partners had signed in order to swell the number of signatures (1). The mercers said that if the weavers were protected they would take unfair advantage of their monopoly (2). Already "at this time" they "treat the mercers as if they were their servants" (3). The weavers claimed that they could more than supply the home market, the mercers said their goods were inferior to those imported (4), and so it continued. In 1766 the feeling was even more bitter, and more than one weaver referred to the alleged promise made by the mercers in the summer of 1765 not to import any more foreign silks, which had encouraged the master weavers to give out work which they now had on their hands (5). This agreement was referred to at the time in the newspapers (6) so it cannot have been entirely imaginary. Oddly enough little of this appears in the Court Books until the summer of 1766 after the passing of the act which had so long been desired (7). On

- (1) There was, nevertheless, an implicit responsibility of its members to the Court. On November 28th 1728, "the Master acquainted the Court of Assistants of an Application to my Lord Townshend for a regulation of public mournings". The Court subsequently adopted a resolution to petition on this subject but it is clear that the Upper Bailiff had acted on his own initiative and it is also clear that they did not approve, for they carried a resolution that no one was to "attend" anyone about the affairs of the Company "without express instructions from this Court".

June 25th the Committee appointed "to manage the application to Parliament was told to publish a contradiction of" the reports and assertions" of "the mercers or others of the Weavers having raised the price of their silks...." and the publication was to be in the name of the Company. For some years the Weavers Company had suspected the mercers of smuggling foreign silks into the country and (as will be seen) fought a number of unsuccessful cases against them. This grievance was also brought out in the Select Committee Reports.

Thus the Weavers Company took an active part in supporting what it considered to be the best interests of the industries it represented. It wrote letters, sent deputations, made enquiries and drew up petitions. It appealed on important issues to Parliament for redress of grievances or advice. Moreover the men who engaged in this activity were themselves practising weavers, not all of them silk weavers but a high proportion of them were. The appointment of ad hoc committees with the widest powers and the minimum of procedural obligations (1) left the Company free to carry on its normal affairs, binding apprentices, looking after its poor or supervising its property without interruption. An assessment of the results of this activity is postponed because the other factors which contributed towards the success or failure of any campaign were often quite outside the control of the Company. These factors are considered in Chapters 4 and 5 and some conclusions drawn in Chapter 7.

(1) There was a general report from the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Laws respecting trade in June 1751 (House of Commons Journals Vol. 26, p. 292). They had examined all the laws concerning "drapery". They thought many could be repealed or individual clauses retained and some modified. Some, which had formerly been useful, were at the present time pernicious, and among them the laws concerning apprenticeship. These were "at first well-intentioned" but now should be reconsidered. "Since the improvement of trade in general it is found that all manufactures find their own value according to their goodness" (it might have been written by Adam Smith) and that prosecutions under these statutes "have been of those who have excelled in their own Trades by Force of their own genius and not against such as have been ignorant of their Professions, which is the Reverse of the Intent of such Laws and a great Obstruction to Industry and Improvements". (The Weavers Company was to illustrate this policy to some extent in the threatened prosecutions of the Parliamentary witnesses John Perrigal and John Louis in 1766, but, on the other hand, they also attempted to control the poorer and less distinguished through the policy of half fees started in 1761).

"These obstructions," the report continued, "arise partly from the laws above-mentioned, and partly from particular franchises and Bye-Laws of Corporations; but your Committee are of the opinion if the legal restraints were once removed, the particular Bye-Laws would soon be reversed;...as they cannot but observe that the most useful and beneficial manufactures are principally carried on and Trade most flourishing in such towns and Places as are under no such Disabilities." The extent to which the Weavers Company may be said to have cramped the development of the London Silk industry will be discussed in the conclusion of this study.

The relationship of the Company towards the silk industry was a peculiar one. The Quarterage Lists shew that a majority of Masters remained in the Company throughout these years and almost all the important ones did. A Comparison with the Directories from 1755-65 makes this evident. The government of the Company, formed partly by a self-perpetuating oligarchy and partly by rotation, was nevertheless composed of neighbours, either living next door to one another or within a very few streets and often engaged in very similar branches of the industry. It was hardly necessary for James Johnson and Charles Triquet to go to Basinghall Street to formulate a coherent case to present to Parliament. The business and family relationships of the important weavers are discussed later in this chapter. The fact that they were also colleagues in the Company gave the latter a renewed lease of life and power. A Livery Company in the 18th century was in many ways an anachronism (1) but it was a convenient organisation, it was the traditional organisation supported, of course, by City law and by act of Parliament. There was nothing in its charter or its custom which hampered its usefulness, and, on the contrary, it had a traditional and official right to be heard by Parliament and by such government organisations as the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations. Without approaching the hyperboles of Samuel Smiles, it may be added that the Company was exceedingly fortunate in the calibre and efficiency of the Huguenot element which took part in its affairs. They were indefatigable, whether as auditors, paying the poor, or helping to draft

- (1) See p. 77 note 2 . The master summoned a Common Hall in May 1729 because the Court had expressed its disapproval of a bill going through Parliament which would have introduced the stamping of British silks. It is clear from the remarks made by the Upper Bailiff that the Livery were in favour of this scheme and had been so for some time previously.

See p. 86 . The petition of the Journeymen Weavers on 20th August 1750 in which they referred to the impending "destruction of our trade for want of proper regulations....." During the crisis of 1765 the question of "proper regulations" was raised frequently:

"Mercator" writing in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on February 5th 1765 recommended the legislature when it considered "the various articles that may attend the silk manufacture" prayed "....a fixed standard for the breadths... conceiving the present practice injurious to the public and a manifest disgrace to the British manufacture". On February 6th "Simplex" wrote in the same paper on the causes of the slump. If there was to be any relief from Parliament he thought "now is the time to bring masters and men under proper regulations that may be binding on both parties..." If they could not agree they were unworthy of government protection and any laws passed which eliminated competition from French silks would only enable them to hold the nation up to ransom. He drafted his "proper regulations" on February 16th. The page is missing from the edition in the Burney Collection but his proposals can be deduced from the refutation by "Veritas" on February 27th. They included the suggestion that the "Company of Weavers may be endowed with an authority (as) the Goldsmiths at their Hall to stamp every silk manufactured within the Bills of Mortality". Another writer, "Sericiarius et Philalethese", who wrote on March 5th, wanted to "have proper persons to inspect (silks) from their halls weekly (as in other countries) to seal or confiscate work not of the full breadth....", and furthermore he wanted "Every master to bring his goods to market in a proper channel..." In November 1767, after an industrial dispute between masters and men in which some "cutting" of work on the loom had taken place some masters were forced to concede wage increases. Both parties appealed to the Court of Assistants on November 25th. The journeymen attended and said prices had been reduced and asked the Court to fix them. On 30th they re-appeared with further evidence: a book of prices agreed by some masters and journeymen in August 1762. The Court upheld the journeymen thinking that the 1762 prices were "fair" and they decided that the reduction in wages "was the chief cause of the late disturbance in the trade". They then ordered their resolution on the subject to be printed in the newspapers.

- (2) The petition of the journeymen to the Court on 26th June 1745 maintained that "the petitioners (were) reduced to the utmost poverty and distress and in danger of starving unless..." the laws against the sellers and weavers of printed calicoes were enforced. The Court promised to prosecute offenders

(2) cont'd:

when there was sufficient evidence and called the petitioners back into court "And at the same time it was earnestly recommended by the court to the petitioners that they would take especial care of themselves and also recommend it to the rest of the journeymen weavers to behave themselves quietly and not commit any violence which might tend to break the peace...." The petitions against non-freemen of May 7th 1753 and 30th September 1761 (p.87 , and p.87 note 4) demonstrate another aspect of this trust. The petition of March 28th 1764 in which the journeymen prayed "an application might be made to Parliament to hinder the exorbitant increase and wear of foreign wrought silks" shewed their continued reliance in the Company to support them on economic issues. The paternal attitude of the Company towards its journeymen at this time is borne out by some of their actions as private individuals. The Committee formed to collect money and distribute relief to the unemployed in the Spring of 1765 was listed in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on March 5th. There were 24 members. Apart from the Chairman, the Revd. John Waring, the brewer Sir Benjamin Truman and a financier (?) Zachary Philip Fonnereau, nearly all the others can be identified as connected in some way with the silk industry. Five were almost certainly throwsters. Twelve were certainly weavers, and four of them were members of the Court of Assistants (Zachariah Agace, John Baker, Peter Lekeux, and Thomas Abraham Ogier). Obadiah Agace, brother of Zachariah, and Lewis Ogier, the younger brother of Thomas Abraham were also members. Most of the other Assistants subsequently appeared in the printed list of contributors.

- (3) May 19th, 1720. The Court decided to investigate "the Riot at Mr. Dalbiac's".
- (4) The Gentleman's Magazine reported in November 1739 (GM IX p. 602 Historical Chronicle) "A great number of journeymen weavers assembled in Spital Square before the house of an eminent master weaver and attempted to destroy the same, occasioned by a report of his being concerned in a Combination to oblige the Journeymen to wind in their silk gratis with their work...."
- On October 3rd 1763 (GMXXXIII, p. 515) it reported that "Several thousand Journeymen weavers assembled in Spittlefields and in a riotous and violent manner broken open the house of one of their masters, destroyed his looms and cut a great quantity of rich silk to pieces, after which they placed his effigy in a cart with a halter about his neck, an executioner on one side and a coffin on the other: and after drawing it through several streets they hanged it on a gibbet, then burnt it to ashes and afterwards dispersed". The report did not explain why they went to these lengths. The newspapers did, however. See this Chapter, p.183
- (5) The Gentleman's Magazine contained a graphic report of the riot which was caused by Irish labourers alleged to be working as weavers "under rates" (GM VI, p. 422). Two public houses kept by Irishmen were almost destroyed. It also reported, however, a riot a few days before at Dartford in Kent over Irish labourers, so that the Spital-fields weavers were evidently rioting at a time when feeling was already running high.

petitions to Parliament in excellent English.

The masters below 'directory rank' and an increasingly large number of journeymen were perhaps outside the Company. Certain regulations, particularly those about employing women and girls, lapsed rapidly in the middle of the century. On the other hand, even the non-freemen respected its authority. When the journeymen marched to Weavers Hall it was to present their case but not to challenge the power of the Company. On the contrary, it was the freemen and rank and file Liverymen who put their faith in more stringent regulations (1). They expected the Company to look after them (2) and to use its influence in Parliament and elsewhere on their behalf. Mr. Dalbiac (3) whose house was threatened in 1720, and Mr. Chauvet who was attacked in 1765 and 1769 were individuals and, moreover, almost the only individuals (4) who appear to have caused such personal animosity. Riots or even demonstrations were infrequent in this period and before the crises of 1763-1766 they were generally caused by some specific local grievance. There was, for instance, a riot in 1736 when it was thought that cheap Irish labour was undercutting the rates paid to the journeymen (5). The policy of the Company was never in question.

It is not until the years 1766-69 when, indeed, it may be doubted how far the Weavers Company had any influence over the textile industries in London, even though a large number of Master Weavers continued to belong to it. The Court Books are remarkably placid in tone from 1766 until 1773, when

the next Select Committee of the House of Commons reported on the state of the silk industry. It was in these years that the struggles of the journeymen and the "cutters" produced an incipient trade unionism within the silk industry. To these struggles the Company was at first sympathetic, if rather bewildered. The 1769 List of Prices was the forerunner of a different industrial system. The reasons for this change in emphasis and for the subsequent decline in importance of the Weavers Company will be discussed in the last chapter of this study, but the decline was sufficiently rapid to throw quite sharply into relief the contrast with the period up to 1766.

(1) See Appendix 4 (2).

CHAPTER 2

Part II

The Industrial Elements

The Weavers Company, by definition, could only contain a proportion of those engaged professionally in the silk industry. Its hierarchy of Assistants, Livery and Commonalty had its counterpart among the great masters, the lesser ones and the journeymen, but the weavers were only some of the people who handled silk between its journey in bales to England and the dress length bought by Mrs. Delaney.

Raw silk was chiefly imported from three sources: it was brought from Turkey by the Levant Company, from Italy by individual merchants, and to a lesser extent in this period from Bengal by the East India Company. In addition, small quantities were imported occasionally from Spain and for a brief period some came from Persia up the Volga through the hands of the Russia Company. A little silk of good quality came spasmodically from China (1). It was sold in this country by the importers, either piecemeal in individual bales, or by the East India Company at its sales held twice a year. It had then to be thrown, which was increasingly done outside London, in Derby, Stockport, Macclesfield, etc. The silk might be dyed at this stage or in the piece after weaving. It would be woven in Spitalfields and round about, and any finishing processes applied. The woven silk might

- (1) A History of Trade in England. See Chapter 1, p.23.
- (2) From 1736-40, for example, Bigot and Godin advertised as throwsters. They subsequently became weavers, and James Godin appears on his later insurance policies as a merchant.

be then sold wholesale to a merchant or directly to a mercer who sold it in his shop. In France the people who carried out each operation were governed by the reglements, and if any set of people took over the functions of another, acrimonious disputes arose. In England the organisation was infinitely more complex and infinitely more flexible. Despite the objection to Mr. Hebert at the beginning of the century (1) several trades were often carried on by one firm. Although the organisation of the industry has been grouped in this chapter into roughly five divisions according to the technical processes, this is simply for the sake of clarity. Throwsters became weavers and weavers merchants (2). The five divisions are:

1. the people importing and selling raw silk;
2. the throwsters;
3. the ancillaries of the industry: dyers, designers and finishers, etc.;
4. the weavers;
5. the people who handled and sold the finished product at home and abroad.

Since little direct evidence of their professional careers has survived, more indirect information about the personal lives of the people involved in the industry has had to be used to supplement the little that is known. A brief note on the general financial organisation concludes this section; more general conclusions are reserved until the end of the study.

- (1) See Chapter 3, pp. 239-40, 243-5, Sir Thomas Lombe patented a machine for throwing it successfully on the pattern of those used in Italy.
- (2) See petitions printed in the House of Commons Journals, Vol. 19, pp. 190 et. seq. The Plymouth mercers, clothiers and shopkeepers were followed by the Tewkesbury and Kidderminster clothiers and stuff weavers, etc. & The Ilminster makers of druggets, mixed serges, saggaties and duroys and dealers in wool. They maintained that druggets, mixed serges etc. were sent to Leghorn and in return raw silk was imported.
- (3) Several firms which are not Italian are mentioned in the Bosanquet correspondence and ledgers. 1759-64 Langlois & Sons of Leghorn, & he wrote to Messrs. Frank and Lutyens at Leghorn for Messina tabbies 31st May, 1765. In the Ledger of the uncle (?) Claude Bosanquet, various sums were paid to André and Mazel "de Turin" (1756). "Huigens et Borghini de Livorne" were presumably a firm with Italian and foreign partners.

1. Raw Silk.

It was an obvious but unfortunate fact for the English industry that every ounce of silk used had to be imported. Moreover, the greater part of it had to come by uncertain and hazardous journeys from places not in any way subject to political or economic control by this country. The uncertainty of the supply and the solutions proposed will be discussed later, but it was an inherent factor in the English industry that the raw material was far more expensive than it was for their chief competitors, the French. Silk came from several sources but only certain qualities were of any use at all and each quality had its particular use. Only at the end of the period was raw silk of quality as well as quantity imported by the East India Company. Bengal silk was cheap, poor and unfit for most purposes. Good Italian silk was essential for the warp of any woven silk and was either imported as organzine (already doubled and thrown) or raw and processed in this country (1). The 'Italian' merchants who handled the trade, exported various woollen goods particularly, and imported raw silk. Hence there was a firm alliance between certain small, particularly West Country, producers of woollen goods for the Italian markets and the silk industry in London. This was especially evident in the calico campaign of 1719-20 but can also be seen later (2). There were foreign dealers established at Leghorn, Genoa and other towns (3) who were in touch both with the English

- (1) See, for example, the Parliamentary Paper of 1749 in University College "50 Reasons for encouraging the making of Raw Silk in America" and the evidence given to the Select Committee of the House of Commons in that year. Nathaniel Patterson in 1765 (H. of C. Journal, Vol. 30, p.213) mentioned on the other hand "Florence from whence the best of all silk comes for the use of the throwsters".
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 28, 1757., pp. 23, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, for example.
- (3) For example, The Weekly Journal or Saturday Post, November 21st, 1719. "The ship Prince George.....is arrived in the Downs, richly laden from Leghorn and has on board a great cargo of silk". The Weekly Journal or British Gazeteer, January 9th 1720, "London. The Pompey merchant ship has arrived with £200,000 of raw silk in the Downs 90 days from Leghorn." The General Evening Post, July 9-11th, 1745. "Yesterday was entered at the Customs House 131,000 lbs. weight of raw silk, a commodity much wanted among the weavers of Spittlefields".
- (4) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 21, p. 795.
- (5) Introduction p. Appendix 2(i), (ii), (iii); Chapter 1, p.25, note 1, & plates 37-39.

importers and the Italian suppliers. Silk came from various places but the best was generally agreed to come from Piedmont (1). It normally travelled by sea, and the Navigation Acts had to be specially set aside by act of Parliament when, in an emergency, it had to come overland (2). Its arrival was eagerly awaited and reported in the newspapers (3). Daniel Booth, giving evidence to a House of Commons Select Committee in 1732 (4) commented, "that fine Italian Organzine Silk is a Commodity absolutely necessary for making the warp of all fine silks". Moreover "lustrings, alamodes and several other of our silk manufactures are wholly made of this organzine silk". He then shewed the Select Committee the difference between organzine and other types of silk. Several merchants gave evidence, including William Selwyn, "who is an importer of Italian organzine Silk and Trades in other Sorts of Silks". Another, Roger Drake, mentioned that he always paid for his organzine in money" either by remitting it to Italy or being drawn upon from thence". Captain Peter Lekeux, a weaver, of whom much had already been said (5) "being examined, said that he has imported Organzine Silk from Italy, and has paid for it 27/- per pound....which said organzine silk is absolutely necessary to make all sorts of plain and flowered silks, Gold and Silver silks and Brocades". The purpose of this Select Committee was to investigate the renewal of Sir Thomas Lombe's patent for making organzine silk on his "engines" at Derby (which will be discussed in the next chapter). Not even his "engines" could

(1) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, 15th February, 1749/50, p. 996. (He was also a witness in 1765).

(2) It is not quite clear to which member of the family this account book belonged. The date 1735 occurs several times in it.

remove the basic need for Italian raw silk, and much the same evidence was given to the House of Commons in 1750. To quote Mr. Nathaniel Pattison (1), "a merchant in the silk trade....our Manufactures are supplied with raw short silk chiefly from Italy: That the China Silk is not fine enough in common for the Warp, but that he has had some as fine as any Italian: that the Turkey Silk is in general too coarse to be used for the Warp: and that China Silk, some years, was imported as bad as the Turkey: and that if a sufficient quantity was imported from China it would not serve all the purposes; for the manufacturers can depend on the Goodness of the Italian Silk but not upon that of China". Without a warp (the threads entered in the loom before weaving, which take the greatest strain) of good quality it would have been impossible to have made competitive English silks.

Roger Drake's evidence that the silk was bought with money either remitted or drawn upon from there, is confirmed in an account book belonging to a member of the Bosanquet family at this time (2). He dealt in Italian goods, among many other things, and calculated the comparative costs and profits of "organcin silk of Piedmont, bought at Turin" and "organcin silk of Piedmont sold in London". Unfortunately though the figures are graded in price they are not explained. He also calculated with fuller details the charges on a bale of silk organzine of Bergama and the final profit. These are instructive. He bought it at Bergama and had to pay "imbaling"

- (1) See Appendix 4 (iii).
- (2) GM. Vol. XII, p. 20. The Bill for opening trade to Persia via Russia was printed in full, together with a report by Capt. Elton. A further letter on the advantages of this trade was printed, pp. 28-29.
- (3) (i) Chelmsford. Essex County Record Office. D/DE 2 F 4 Rawston A/C. Book.
(ii) Account Book 1758-65 of Samuel (?) Bosanquet, and another 1765 - .

fees, customs and carriage to Leghorn. A bale of £149.2.1d. sterling value he expected to sell at £223.17.0d. but against this sum he set customs charges at £35.16.5d., bills and post 3/-, freight £1.19.6d., carterage and portorage at the sale 1/6d., brokerage at ½ %, £39.8.11d., reducing the selling price to £184.8.1d.

The net profit was thus only some £30. This was not large, considering the risks of the trade, and the dangers of damage en route. Since the account book was a private one, the figures are probably accurate. On another page he worked out the comparative cost of a bill drawn direct from Turin, one for Leghorn which could be negotiated at Turin, and one for Genoa which could also be negotiated at Turin. Whichever course of payment he took "the bale will cost me the same". Nevertheless, the Customs figures shew (1) that very large quantities of silk were imported in the period, both from the mainland of Italy and the Streights (i.e. Leghorn).

Raw silk for the weft of the fabric was chiefly imported from Turkey by merchants of the Levant Company. As the Russia merchants point out in 1742 (2) its real origin was Northern Persia from whence it was carried south to Aleppo by Armenian dealers. The trade was more uncertain than the Italian (since the distance was greater and therefore the costs), and complicated by the fact that trade was largely carried on by barter. Two series of accounts have survived, one for the 1720's and one for the 1760's (3), which give

- (1) His trade was by no means limited to raw silk. He sent tin to St. Petersburg and brought back fur; Needles, thimbles, quicksilver, French londrines and French indigo to Aleppo. In 1758-9 particularly, despite the Seven Years War, he sent far more French cloth than English. He dealt also in ginger, pimento, nutmegs and watches. He had a large trade in amber beads which gave him endless trouble, since they were shipped from Königsberg (invoices 1756-1778) via Amsterdam to Aleppo without touching London, and their quality was unreliable. They were still, however, being bartered for silk in 1772.
- (2) In 1713 the Treasurer of the Levant Company, addressing the House of Lords, said "Your Lordships well known that this trade to Turkey consists almost wholly in the exportation of the woollen manufactures and other productions of this kingdom..." He went on to argue that the silk imports were thus essential to secure markets for English woollen goods. H. of L. MSS. Vol. X, 1712-14 (1953), p. 115 No. 3001(c). Speech of the Treasurer of the Levant Company June 4th, 1713 in support of of their petition. Thirty years later the Company continued to use the same argument. Their petition to the House of Commons (Journals Vol. 24, p. 591, 28th February 1743/4) when they said that the opening of the trade to the Levant "would very much distress.... the Turkey trade, to the great prejudice of these two most valuable branches of the British commerce, the woollen and the silk...." Their contention may have been more honest in 1713 than it was later in the century.

valuable information. The Accounts of Edwin Rawston begin in April 1720 with sales to merchants at Aleppo. These are very largely "cloth sold in barter" against "white silk". The bale marks are listed and the names of the Arab merchants, for instance, "sold Alli Chelaby Coramy in barter against white silk", in December 1720. The silk is described as sherbaffe silk in the sales to customers in London.

The letter book of Samuel Bosanquet (and his account books of the same date) which begins in 1765 shews that the system had changed very little. His letters were written chiefly to his partner at Aleppo, Mr. David Hays, to whom he despatched various goods in return for raw sherbaffe silk (1). Early in the correspondence he complained that the silk was "immensely dear, which as far as I find can't be helped but if silk don't fall with you, the Trade will infallably be lost as the manufacturers here can't afford to pay such prices as the silk now sells for...." He was hard put to it to find suitable commodities to export. In October 1767 he wrote suggesting that he should buy cochineal from Cadiz and asking Hays for his opinion, "for something I must think of if I design to trade at all as cloth I am sure won't do." This comment is particularly interesting in view of the many public declarations made by the Levant Company on the value of their trade to the nation because of the markets for English cloth (2). The Russia merchants, on the other hand, had already argued in 1742 that the French had captured the Turkish market for

(1) See page 125 note 2 .

woollen goods (1) which they used as an additional argument in favour of trading directly with Persia. In the same letter of October 1767, Bosanquet commented to Hays on the rise in insurance premiums because of Algerian pirates. In January 1768 he wrote that a bale had been opened and pilfered. The high cost of silk and its low sales value worried him. "15% profitt will never do in the Turkey trade.... now silk hardly ever makes more than 5% profitt which with the other 15 will give but 20% for four years or 5% p.a. I can make that now in England in time of Peace, and I will not run the risk of trade if I can't make 8% at least, indeed, I can make it in more trades than one at this time". In December 1768 he wrote to Hays about the inconvenience of the system of barter and if he found it so then it can hardly have been less troublesome in the years between." "In future purchases of silk" he wrote, "I could wish to have all the silk bought for Barter in one Account and all for money in another, that I may know how the goods turn out, for in the present way I am quite in the dark, I don't know which renders the best account in the long run, whether cloth or money or goods, and here I once more beg to have my money and Barter Accounts charged to me that I may now set off right with you and know ~~my~~ own books when I have money in your hands and when not...."

The sales of Bengal silk seemed to Bosanquet to be competing with their own. He wrote to Hays in November 1765 that he would not sell the latter's silk until after the Bengal sale, when he thought he would get a better price.

- (1) See Appendix 4 (4).
- (2) A certain amount of raw silk was re-exported every year and is noted in the Customs figures. The amounts, on the whole, were small.
- (3) Porter. Treatise on the Origin, Progressive Improvement and Present State of the Silk Manufacture, 1831. Chapter V pp 71-2.
- (4) April 3rd, 1769. He had sold half a consignment of silk sent by Hays and kept half but could not get a better price than 21/6d. although asking 22/- a bale. "Indeed I heartily wish I had sold all the silk as some others did in the first arrival. It would have been just 5% in my favour".

On August 12th, 1768 he wrote: "The East India Company resolved to bring home as much Bengal silk as possible, this is the silk that will interfere with ours the most, and I doubt on that account we shall not see silk at so high a price again as it has been at lately, if they should keep their resolution". Nathaniel Paterson (sic.) no doubt the same witness who spoke in 1749, told the 1765 House of Commons Select Committee that both Turkish and Bengal Silk were "very ordinary" and "used mostly in the Button Twist and Stocking Way." He may have been exaggerating perhaps, for enormous quantities of Levantine silk were imported according to the Customs figures (1) - too much if it was only being used for these purposes even allowing for re-exports (2). Even Porter who was writing about a period possibly within his own lifetime said that great improvements in the quality of Bengal silk took place in the late 18th century (3). Bosanquet was probably excessively cautious, for he did, indeed, regret in one letter having waited too long before selling a consignment and thus getting a worse price than if he had sold them straight away (4).

There were thus several methods by which raw silk came into the country: the East India sales, the imports of the Italian merchants, the imports of a man such as Bosanquet, a member of the Levant Company, whose silk imports were only a part of his extensive foreign trade, and the imports made by a weaver, such as Captain Lekeux, importing directly for his own use.

- (1) For example: Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, March 20th, 1765, "at Garraway's Coffee House. A sale of 5 bales of Bengal raw silk lying in the Company's warehouse.

6(bales understood) fine Calabria	1 Fine Modena
2 do Valencia	2 Superfine Milan tram
8 short raws	3 Fine Bergama
2 fine Nov.	12 Fine Piedmonts

Also 500 lbs. China thrown silk. About 300 lbs. Manila sewing silk for exportation."

- (2) "Letter to the Gentlemen of Spitalfields who associate and consult in the present complaints".

- (3) April 5th in "Observations".

- (4) April 8th, 1765.

The sale of raw silk in this country was by equally diverse methods. Possibly the most usual was sale through a broker who found the customers and then took his brokerage. Sales were advertised in the newspapers (1) and also customers found privately. The Rawston Accounts of January 2nd, 1728 mention that James Cooke, Broker (of Batson's Coffee House) had sold a bale to Mr. Mosely & Co. (probably Mosely and Foster, silkmen of Avemary Lane). On January 11th, 1728 Cooke sold a bale of sherbaffe silk to John Gregory (probably the silkman of Bishopsgate Street) "for ready money". Later in January and in March he sold a number of bales to Jonathan Gurnell & Co. (The latter's address is given in the 1740 Complete Guide as near St. Paul's Head Tavern, Guildhall; he is presumably also a silkman).

The brokers were looked upon with some suspicion as middlemen. A letter to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on March 12th, 1765 (2) which attacked various elements in the industry attributed the general decline (in a series of rhetorical questions) to the high price of silk. This was owing to the "management of merchant brokers and opulent manufacturers". A report appeared in the same newspaper a few weeks later (3) that the "merchants and principal weavers of Spitalfields, having lately held a meeting to consider the increase in the number of silk brokers, resolved not to employ them in future nor send them any samples of silk". The Editor would not vouch for the truth of the report but the paragraph provoked an indignant reply from "Gil Blas" (4).

(1) June 24th, 1771.

The following is a copy of a letter from the Honorable John Jay to the Honorable John Adams, dated June 24th, 1771. The letter is written in a formal, polite style, and discusses the state of the American colonies and the need for a more unified government. Jay expresses his concerns about the lack of unity and the potential for conflict between the colonies and Great Britain. He suggests that the colonies should work together to establish a more effective system of governance, one that would protect their rights and interests while also maintaining good relations with the British Crown. Jay's letter is a significant document in the history of the American Revolution, as it provides insight into the thoughts and feelings of the Founding Fathers at a critical moment in time. The letter is written in a clear, concise manner, and is easy to read and understand. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of the United States and the American Revolution.

He denied that such a meeting had ever taken place and said it would be "the most stupid thing to form such a design". He then outlined the functions of his (?) profession. Firstly, they obtained a quick sale for the merchants whose silk might otherwise stay a long time in their warehouses, and they could make discreet enquiries about customers which the merchant could not do, "especially into the reliability of those newly established in business". Bosanquet's letters illustrate the truth of this remark, for a series of his Irish customers in Dublin went bankrupt between 1770-72. He wrote very angrily to his agent there, Joseph Pike, after one such bankruptcy (1) that a man who was not of sufficient substance was not to be trusted with long credit - two to three months not nine. He hoped his other buyers were better. In this he was disappointed for several went bankrupt, and he then insisted that Pike should stand credit for the silk he sold on his behalf. It was, however, evident that Bosanquet could not have sold silk in Dublin without such an intermediary and that he relied upon him to find reliable customers. To this extent the point made by "Gil Blas" is proved even if Pike was not an efficient example of his kind.

The second advantage to the weavers, according to "Gil Blas", came from the fact that the brokers regulated the price of silk and caused the merchants to sell on the same terms. The weavers could see samples instead of travelling from house to house. The merchant had the advantage that he did

- (1) H. of L. MSS. 575. April 5th, 1720 (Journals XXI, 290) on Act for encouraging and preserving the silk manufacture... Petition No. 24.

not have to open his warehouse unnecessarily.

A third function he might have mentioned in his letter is apparent in a letter from Bosanquet to David Hays on January 3rd, 1769. He reported that a bale of silk had been "unfairly packed" in Aleppo. A broker had come to complain to him that in the centre of one bale about 35-36 lbs. were not sherbaffe but "of an ordinary quality" worth at least 5/- a lb. less. He had thus had to give the buyer 2-3 gns. If Bosanquet was a typical merchant it seems that the broker would be given a pretty free hand in choosing customers. In February 1769 he wrote to Pike setting a reserve price on the bales he had sent to Dublin "according to the prices here but I do not mean to tie up your hands if you can't get these prices you will be pleased to sell at 6/- less...as you will judge for my interest..."

The silkmen who bought, at the sale or privately from the broker, were probably men of some considerable capital. They were incorporated in a Livery Company in 1631 which, in the middle of the 18th century, consisted of a master and twenty Assistants but neither Livery nor Hall. They described their profession in a petition to the House of Lords in 1720 (1) in which they said their "trade is the Buying of raw silk from the Turkey merchants, which after having got thrown or twisted in and about London and several other parts of the kingdom...." (employing especially seamen's wives and children)

- (1) H. of L. MSS. January 23rd, 1722. On Bill to encourage English Manufactures. Petition No.3.
- (2) One man, Peter Sauberque, graduated from throwster to silk broker.

..."we sell to the Weavers of London, Norwich and Canterbury". The petition was presented by "The Traders in Raw Silk" but a number of men who appear in the later Directories as "silkmen" signed it. (William Selwyn, Thomas Mosely of the Rawston Accounts, Francis Cockayne and William Upfold, for example). Several throwsters also signed it (Samuel Spragg, John Russell and Benjamin Barroneau, for example). This would seem to put the initiative of throwing the silk on to either profession. The "traders in raw silk" again petitioned in 1722 (1) and among those signing was Thomas Lombe, who appears in another context at this time as an Italian merchant and, most famously, of course, as the patentee of the engines for throwing organzine silk in Derby. Thus it seems there was a natural connection between the silkmen and the throwers of silk. The 1722 Petition included financiers, Italian merchants and throwsters so that they were traders in raw silk in the widest sense. On the one hand the silkmen dealt at sales in the City and on the other both with the weavers in Spitalfields and the throwsters who might come from various parts of the country. It is not therefore surprising that they themselves were scattered throughout the City and not resident in any one quarter. The successful throwster evidently became a silkman (2). James Brant, for instance, advertised from 1753-5 as a throwster in Hand Alley, Bishopsgate Street, and in 1765 at the Blue Boar, Cheapside (late Richard Finlow's) as a Silk Thrower and Silkman, and sold

- (1) D.C.A. Agnew. Protestant Exiles from France, 1871. Vol. II, p. 315. His grandfather came from Nîmes.
- (2) See Appendix 6.

"all sorts of dyed and raw silks". Another successful throwster was Peter Nouaille (1724-1810) (a Liveryman of the Weavers Company whose family came from Nîmes (1)). In the Directory of 1736 he is described as a silk thrower of Spitalfields. Between 1745 and 1752 he insured a brick house for £500 at first in conjunction with James Fruchard and later with his own son. The house stood on the south side of Paternoster Row, next to South Street, "their dwelling house", but it also had a warehouse. During this period Nouaille and Fruchard of Corbet Court advertised as "Silkmen". From this it seems that they bought the raw silk and gave it out from their warehouse to be thrown. In the 1753 Directories Peter Nouaille advertised at the Paternoster Row address as "merchant". He was perhaps by this time exclusively a dealer in the raw material, but in the previous years it seems that he and his partner carried on the two professions - at two addresses - that of silkman involving by far the greater capital risk.

Bosanquet's account books somewhat modify the description of 1719 that the silkman bought from the merchant and organised the next stage in the manufacture of the silk. It is true that even the earliest entries refer to a much later period (1758-65). The accounts are for many miscellaneous items as well as silk. His customers are listed under "bills and promissory notes" for bales of silk. The majority were indeed silkmen (2) but a number of throwsters bought directly from him and also a few of the most important weavers. Even more significant is the

one sale to Carr, Ibbetson and Bigge of £300 worth of silk on a note due on January 22nd, 1762, for this firm appear from every source to have been one of the largest firms of mercers in the period. The petitions of 1719 and 1722 probably imply a more rigid distinction of functions than perhaps ever existed. A possible hypothesis would seem to be that the silkmen normally dealt with the merchants and themselves sold to the less important throwsters in smaller quantities on shorter credit. In some cases they controlled the throwing of the silk. The larger throwsters who could afford the greater capital risk would buy from the merchant directly at least some of the silk they required. The weavers with the largest capital and good credit probably bought in bulk and then had the silk thrown to their requirements, even, as Captain Lekeux, importing directly from source themselves. It also seems unlikely that the sale to Carr & Co. was the only one ever made to a mercer. This suggests that the richest mercers who could risk a very large capital sometimes undertook all the operations. Only a very small minority would have been able to do this and the point will be discussed later in this chapter.

- (1) Universal Pocket Companion. 1741. p. 49. It was also mentioned in the 1745 Edition.
- (2) Court Books of the Assistants of the Weavers Company, op. cit. May 10th, 1714; Dec. 16th 1717; January 19th 1718/19; September 14th 1719; October 12th 1719; November 24th 1719; March 6th, 1726/7; March 15th 1726/7; March 16th 1726/7; March 29th 1726/7; May 1st 1727; April 5th 1728.
- (3) See p. 137 note 3.
- (4) The contribution made by Sir Thomas Lombe is fully discussed in W. M. Jordan's Thesis, op. cit. Chapter 2, pp. 28-42.
- (5) University College. Vol. 59. Accounts and Papers 1749-1777. 1749/50. Reasons for the Encouragement of the Making of Raw Silk in America.
- (6) Obituary GM. IX 1739, p. 47, and Will, PCC Henchman, fol. 14, London, January.

2. The Throwsters.

Only a part of the silk imported was thrown in London. The Throwsters Company of London, founded in 1630, still existed in 1741 (1), but ceased to play an active part in the industry after about 1730. Its records no longer exist, but until the early 1730's its activities are reflected in the Court Books of the Weavers Company (2). Although silk continued to be thrown in London in quite large quantities (3) as the evidence presented in 1765 shewed, the decline of the Company coincided with the successful renewal of Sir Thomas Lombe's patent in 1732 and the widespread establishment of silk-throwing mills in Northern England (4).

Sir Thomas Lombe's mills at Derby were followed by mills at Stockport. In a Parliamentary paper of 1749-50 (5) it was reported "the art of making organzines has been increasing in England" and there were "three large machines at Stockport" and "several others for that purpose erected in sundry counties since that at Derby". Lombe died a very rich man (6), and as an Alderman of the City of London was interested in many other affairs. In 1744 the "silk and mohair yarn manufacturers" of Macclesfield petitioned the House of Commons for the opening of the Levant trade. A similar petition from Macclesfield was presented in 1753 in which the petitioners said they were "concerned in the manufacture of raw silk and mohair yarn in which they employ several thousand hands". They alleged that they were discouraged by the high price and poor quality of silk imported by the Levant Company.

- (1) H. of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 997 (1749/50).
(2) H. of Commons Journal, Vol. 30, 4th March 1765, pp. 215-219.

They thought that the latter were only importing a small quantity in order to keep up the price and that "they take up the refuse of the market after the French have been served". They argued that if the trade were opened to all this country would be able to compete with France and obtain better qualities. The tenor of this argument implies a well-established throwing industry. Derby continued, however, to hold the lead it had first gained. It is significant that an experimental piece of velluret woven by Thomas Mason (1) from Georgia silk and shewn to the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1750 had been thrown at Derby under the instructions of Messrs. Lloyd Wilson and Co. of London. The Select Committees of the House of Commons of 1765 and 1766 heard evidence from several provincial throwsters. John Sherrard, giving evidence in 1765, said that "he was a thrower of silk upon his own account; that he has employed 1,500 people at a Time, viz. 500 in London, 200 in Gloucester, 400 in Dorsetshire and 400 in Cheshire". Evidence was also given by Mr. David Hall, a silk throwster at Macclesfield in business for five years who had employed 200 people in 1762. An Appendix to this report tabulated figures from various provincial towns of the numbers unemployed (2). A letter (also included) of February 9th 1765 from Macclesfield, said that there were 7 larger firms and 12 smaller firms who had formerly been fully employed. The letter mentioned the desirability of sending "a petition to Parliament from this

- (1) He also gave evidence in 1750 to a Parliamentary Committee. (See p.) and in 1766 p. 726 same volume of Journals as 1765 Report.
- (2) 1765 Report. op. cit. p. 208 (Canterbury). Silk ribbons were also being made in Coventry in the period but they could only have taken up a small part of the output of the throwsters.
- (3) Appendix XI "A true state of several Silk Throwsters in London in the years 1761, 1762, 1763 and 1764.

	<u>1761</u>	<u>1762</u>	<u>1763</u>	<u>1764</u>
Men, women and children employed in				
Spragg, Hopkins and White	-	800	700	300
John Graham	500	350	240	120
John Powell	-	400	300	170
Triquett & Bunney	300	300	200	130
Sam Nichols	300	300	200	150
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Number of hands employed in.....	1,100	2,150	1,640	870
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

town, Stockport, Congleton and Leek". Appendices II - VII gave the numbers of unemployed and No. XII summarised the facts. Nathaniel Patterson (1) and Richard Blackburn gave evidence in 1766. Patterson was asked whether the act passed in the previous session (which had lowered the duty on raw silk) had affected his trade, ^{and} said he had indeed been able to give full employment to one-third more than in the previous year. He approved of a high duty or prohibition on foreign silks "most certainly, as it would employ the Hands in Spitalfields and would therefore employ the throwsters; a brisk trade with them makes a brisk trade with the throwsters who depend on them." He thought that the plain silk trade could be "extended" to other parts of the country (since there was already a large handkerchief manufacture at Manchester). Blackburn confirmed his evidence and mentioned "50 looms lately set up at Bristol". Their evidence does, however, imply that the greater part of their production was intended for the London silk weavers (albeit that Canterbury silks are occasionally mentioned (2)). It would also seem from the emphasis given to the number of engines "made after Sir Thomas Lombe's model", or on "Sir Thomas Lombe's construction" that probably much of the silk for the warp was thrown outside London.

Also included as an Appendix to the 1765 Report was a table giving the numbers employed by certain large firms of throwsters in London (3). The insurance policies shew

- (1) Guildhall Hand in Hand Insurance Company Pol. Reg. MS. 8674/63 No. 43872; 1749 MS 8674/75, fol. 94. (Note in margin says renewed in 1756).
- (2) MS 8674 op. cit./53, fol. 295. No. 7239.
- (3) MS 8674 op. cit./47, fol. 190. No. 23983.
- (4) MS 8674 op. cit./67, fol. 288.
- (5) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 213.

a much larger number of smaller firms with their "workshops backward" behind their houses: John Crush, of Princes Street, insured his house in 1742 for £300 including £100 (1) for the workshop backward (the policy was renewed in 1749 and 1756), Peter Delamare Junior, whose "throwsters workshop" was mentioned in his policy in 1736 is another example. It was valued at £75 on £275 (2). Alexander Garrett Junior had a throwster's workshop backward valued at £100 on a £400 house in Paternoster Row in 1733 (3). Samuel Ware had larger premises valued at £800 in 1745 (£600 brick and £200 timber) "with a warehouse, workshop & etc...." The house had three storeys and a garret with wainscotted rooms and a marble chimney-piece. The warehouse and the rooms above it were valued at £150 and the workshop with two storeys and lofts £200 (4). Nathaniel Patterson, whose evidence in 1765 has already been quoted, was a London throwster. He said "that in his building he has eleven Mills of which five are now standing still" (5). He also said that "Organzining Mills can work tram as well as organzine and that there are a great number of silk mills....which do not work organzine but having adopted the Italian winding engines, which is part of Sir Thomas Lombe's Discovery, work very large quantities of fine trams". If he was correct, then much of the silk for the weft was also thrown outside London.

The mills he described were working on a factory system employing large numbers of people in one building on machines.

- (1) The employment of very young children suggests this. The Diderot Encyclopaedia is too late to be very useful on this point. No other evidence has so far been discovered.
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 996.
- (3) 1765 Report, pp. 212-13.
- (4) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser.

Samuel Ware's premises may perhaps have contained similar mills. It is doubtful, however, whether there were many "factories" of this kind in London. The smaller throwsters' workshops were probably throwing entirely by hand (1), moreover, the warehouse of Samuel Ware could also suggest that work was given out. There was a letter in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on January 24th 1765 from "A Friend to Industry" who said that he was a "manufacturer in Spitalfields" and that his business was "to prepare silk for the use of the weavers". He formerly kept at work 400-500 people, men, women and children of whom three-quarters were unemployed. He quoted a case of a poor woman "whom I sometimes employ" who had brought him some work on which 2/5d. was owing. When he paid her she burst into tears as she owed 2/- for rent, leaving 5d. to feed her six children and her unemployed journeyman weaver husband. He vouched for the truth of their plight. It is clear that she was employed on outwork and thus was presumably throwing by hand. Labour was probably cheap. Samuel Lloyd, "a merchant in the silk trade", said in 1749 that "in the throwing of silk he employs children and infirm persons". (2) This was confirmed by John Sherrard in 1765 (3) who said "that in the throwsters' trade there are a great many children employed at 7 years old and that in 1500 he thinks the proportion is 1400 women and children and 100 men". It was reported on March 1st, 1765 (4) that "an agent in Spitalfields concerned in the throwing business will undertake to make it appear that there are at present above 4000 persons

- (1) During the crisis of 1719-21 when the weavers of London were suffering from a depression in their industry, a document in the Papers of the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations, "The State of the Silk and Silk and Worsted Manufactures in this Kingdom" mentioned among those threatened with unemployment were also "many other trades that depend upon the weavers, viz. Dyers, Loom-makers, Reed-makers, Harness-makers, and Dressers of Silk which are many thousands". (P.R.O. C.O. 388.21. Bundle 1, fol. 137.

chiefly women and children now unemployed in that branch" and indeed it was a throwster who initiated the subscription list in that spring. There seems no reason to doubt that the throwsters were probably women and children, particularly since the Weavers Company did its best to prevent them from weaving. It is, however, interesting that there were probably three types of industrial system co-existing in the throwing of silk, factories with "mills", i.e., machines, workshops, probably with hand-workers of silk and cutwork. It is implicit that payment was on a piece-work basis in all cases.

3. The Ancillaries of the Industry (1).

Apart from the throwing of the silk and its weaving into cloth, it was dyed, and in the case of certain types of material dressed or finished in various ways. Compared with the processes to which a piece of woollen or worsted cloth had to be subjected when it was woven, the finishing processes in the silk industry were very few. On the other hand, one group of people who played only a small part even in the worsted industry were very important in the silk industry. These were the pattern drawers responsible for the designs in figured materials and the draughtsmen who converted the designs into drafts on "ruled paper" from which the weaver could set up the pattern on his drawloom. The latter processes are described in the next chapter, and they were highly skilled.

- (1) Paul Clowdesly, William Sherad and Peter Duclen took out a patent (No. 261) on November 23rd 1688 (Patent Office, B. Woodcraft. Abridgments, Old Classes. 20. Weaving 1620-1850. Pt. 1, 1859) for an "Invencion of making, dressing and lustrating silks called black plain, alamodes, ranforcees and lutestrings such as are commonly used for womens' hoods and scarfs which have been made at Lyons in France only".
- (2) Register of the Church of the Artillery, Spitalfields (1691-1786), Vol. XLII Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, p. XX. List of professions represented includes a "Thomas" lustreur de taffetas".
- (3) e.g., William de Sauthune of Mason's Court in Kent's Directory of 1759.
- (4) Lyon. Archives Départementales. Série 'C'. C.10. Industries et Manufactures 1732-1789 Grande Fabrique. 141 papers, 1 printed, includes 2 bundles on various aspects of Badger's affairs. He received a pension from the State. Some of these are briefly reported in Godart. L'Ouvrier en Soie. Lyon, 1899, p. 488.
- (5) J. Savary des Bruslons....Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, 1723, Vol. 1. Article on "Commerce d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande", p. 951. "Les manufactures Anglaises de soyerie sont encore plus modernes que celles de lainerie. Les principales étoffes qui en sortent sont des moirés ondées et tabbizées, tant noires, que de couleurs, des taffetas de diverses qualites...."
- (6) Joubert, op. cit. pp. 56-85, Ch. XIV, Des Moeres.

The most important silk in which some extra process, apart from throwing and weaving, was essential was the "lustring". Its special gloss was obtained by processing the warp before weaving and treating the silk after weaving (1). The foundation of the Royal Lustring Company had depended upon the introduction of this process to England. After the collapse of the Company, lustrings continued to be made in quantity and indeed throughout the period. Thus, occasionally a "lustreur de taffetas" occurs in a register (2). One or two "satin dressers" also advertised in the Directories (3). Since they served a limited clientèle within a small district it is understandable that few of these men advertised in the general Directories. A third type of finisher, of which not a single example has been found so far, was the man who made the watering of tabbies to produce *môiré* silks his profession. It was an Englishman named Badger who was heavily rewarded at Lyon for introducing English methods of calendaring to produce these silks (4). From this, and indeed from the entry in Savary's *Encyclopaedia* (5), it can be assumed that such men - and their equipment - must have existed in some numbers. Joubert describes the process of watering silk in considerable detail (6) and also (as he always does) its hazards. Many silks from the period have watered grounds, whether English or French, and "tabbies watered and unwatered" appear on most of the trade cards.

The professions of the ratepayers were mentioned in the Vestry Minutes of Christ Church, Spitalfields, for the first

- 181
- (1) Paris. Archives Nationales. F. 12, 1432 (a). Undated mid. 18th century document.
 - (2) The warp is normally wound on one roller and gradually taken up by the weaver as he needs it (Plate 77 (93)). On a velvet loom - especially one on which a patterned velvet is to be woven, each warp thread forming the pile may be taken up at a different rate from its neighbour and thus each is wound on a separate bobbin in place of the roller. The tension on each must, of course, be even. The looms on which velvets are woven by hand, of which some exist in this country and some in Lyon, have not changed substantially since the 18th century.

time in 1754. Among them one man, James Laverdue of Monmouth Street, is described as a "loom-maker". It seems at first sight a little surprising that only one man in the entire parish was making the essential tool for a flourishing industry. The maître ouvrier of Lyon (1) who costed his equipment in such detail said, however, that the wooden framework was expected to last 60 to 80 years. The movable parts (the remisse) he expected to change every 5-6 years on a loom making plain silks. On a draw-loom it might not last more than eighteen months. The cords of the draw-loom he expected to renew every 12 years. Even if the loom-maker's services were not thus required very often, someone must have supplied the necessary twine and cord and, for that matter, the weights or lingoos and all the other spare parts, especially those on a velvet loom, where each warp thread had to have its own bobbin (2); these weights were (and are) most delicately adjusted to ensure an even tension. The loom-maker perhaps also supplied warping-mills, shuttles and other similar tools. It would be most interesting to see his trade card if he had ever had one printed. The local carpenters in Spitalfields could, of course, have built up a reasonable practice in making the larger equipment. Shuttles, like looms, did not quickly wear out and the weaver himself could replace the bobbin actually holding the silk.

The silk lace and gold and silver lace weavers possibly deserve more than this brief note. Silk lace was widely used for many furnishings - some of it still survives

(1) LC.9, 267. This contains actual samples of a series of silk braids supplied by Tempest Hey, silk lace manufacturer. They include several types, e.g., "broad silk orris 2/- per yard". This is a reversible silk ribbon or braid with a tabby ground and a pattern of weft floats. The smaller ones were cheaper. Some are heavily ribbed and all are thick and rather coarse with geometric patterns.

(2) The classic instance is probably the Coronation of Queen Anne in 1702 (LC 2. 15). One of the mercers, William Sherrard, submitted a bill for £450. 19. 9d. but William Elliott the lace-man, submitted one for £889. 9. 6¼d. In LC 9, 295, Bills and Receipts 1750, the total of bills at the end of the volume are as follows:

John Mallory Gold Lace Man	£2015.10. 2d.
Burford & Fisher Packers (i.e. woollen goods)	£ 954.14. 9d.
Francis Greene Embroiderer	£ 613. 4. 0d.
William Reason Upholsterer	£ 621. 8. 0¼d.
Robert Carr Mercer	£ 567. 6. 0d.
Thomas Bell Mercer	£479. 0. 2d.
Helen Child Beltmaker	£430. 15. 0d.
Richard Cooke Linen Draper	£411. 7. 3d.
Alt. & Humphreys Tailors etc.	£263. 5. 0d.

These were the ordinary routine expenses for one year and by far the most frequent entry in these bills is that for William Reason, the upholsterer, whether supplying large quantities of printed cotton, fitting carpets or taking down tapestries in order to look for rats in the wainscotting (which he had to do two days in succession!).

(3) 1766 Report op. cit. p. 726.

with the red damask it trimmed. Some typical examples are preserved in one of the miscellaneous documents in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts (1). A number of weavers of silk lace advertised throughout the period. (They were not, of course, making imitations of the lace made by hand, whether bobbin or needle point, though it is evident from the Garthwaite designs that the gauze weavers made goods very close to the latter (plate 48, No. 57)). Tempest Hey, probably the most regular supplier of silk lace to the Great Wardrobe in this period, was a Liveryman of the Weavers Company; although he attended Common Halls fairly often he does not appear to have taken a very active part in the Company's affairs. Gold and silver lace was used extensively on costume - it trimmed the "rich" silks, the gold and silver tissues at 60/- per yard. In the royal accounts the bills presented by the gold lacemen were often larger than those of the mercers (2) and they had to put up a stiff fight against various attempts at sumptuary legislation. The portraits of the period shew that gold and silver lace was worn extensively - not only by Royalty at Coronations. A handful of gold and silver lace weavers advertised in the Directories and two of them, John Gibson and George Vaughan gave evidence to the 1766 House of Commons Select Committee. They were described as "dealers in gold and silver lace" (3), and said "that since the year 1749, when the law passed for burning all Foreign lace which was seized, which before that time was allowed to be sold here after it was

- (1) For instance, "Thomas Kidgell, living in Grub Street, Orrice Weaver, bound apprentice 5th November 1744 to his father Isaac Kidgell, Citizen and Weaver of London, is made free by servitude", on June 2nd 1755. Another orris weaver, Thomas Dudfield, of College Hill, London took up his freedom July 21st 1755, a third became free January 19th, 1756.
- (2) Ancker. Report on the London Silk Manufactory, Section 6.
- (3) See Chapter 1, p.33.

seized, there has never been any combination attempted amongst the Dealers in these goods. That the lace is now made as good or better than it was before that time, and full as cheap in proportion to the price of silver;.....the Dealers in Gold and Silver Lace.....who consist of not more than 21 persons, ...are all Manufacturers, and all resident within the Cities of London and Westminster". No other types of weaver have been found in the City of Westminster, (at least according to the Directories). Moreover, it is interesting that the witnesses themselves emphasised that the dealers were also the manufacturers, each presumably with his own journeyman. A number of "orris weavers" are mentioned in the Weavers Company Court Books taking up their freedom or binding apprentices (1). These must have worked for the two categories of lace weavers. Some of this lace survives, that which is most certainly 18th century in date is attached to items of costume, but it has generally lost much of its former glory.

The Dyers.

The Dyers stood somewhat apart from the industry. In 1776 Ancker wrote (2) that the number of established silk dyers was 50 with 600 journeymen and 250 apprentices. There seem to have been fewer in the period of this study, but the difficulty of distinguishing silk dyers from those of worsted, cotton etc. (also made in Spitalfields) has already been mentioned (3). Ancker wrote that the Dyers were usually prosperous men who owned whatever buildings and equipment

- (1) Guildhall MS 8674/64, fol. 5, No. 5025.
- (2) Penny London Post or Morning Advertiser. October 8th, 1745.
"On Monday John Peck, Esq. and several other gentlemen
of Spitalfields waited on H. M.....with the names of near
3000 men who have entered into their pay for one year to
serve....as Occasion may require...."

they required for their trade. They themselves bought the dyes and paid their employees, whose numbers often exceeded 20, usually including the two apprentices they were permitted by Act of Parliament. The rest were journeymen. Apprenticeship lasted seven years and the consideration was 30 guineas. None but those who had rich friends could hope to establish themselves as the trade required much capital. Therefore the remainder served as journeymen. The Master Weavers, he said, paid the Dyers from 1/- to 2/- per lb. for ordinary colours, 3/- to 6/- for true (? fast) colours, 5/- for red and 6/- for crimson. (1) Although so much later in date, Ancker's description fits the facts that are known for the earlier period. They, too, were working on a basis of piece-work.

All the dyers noticed in the first chapter of this study were, as Ancker would have them, living in substantial houses usually "standing clear of other buildings" such as Thomas Triquet of Princes Street, whose house was valued at £1,000 (1). Only a few were Huguenots other than Triquet (Abraham Desormeaux and Isaac Lefèvre, for example). Two men, scarlet dyers, exemplify the type. These were Edward Peck, who died in 1736, and his son John, who died in 1749. They were both very rich and their capital was not entirely in their dyeing business, although both father and son were practising dyers. It was John Peck who carried the list of offers of men from the loyal manufacturers of Spitalfields in 1745, to the King (2). The

- (1) John (Anthony) Rocher, Isaac Delamare, Daniel Vautier, Jacob Leman, Isaac Vautier, see Hand in Hand Policy Registers under Peck. Guildhall MS 8674, 21 (1719-20), 53 (1736-7), 67 (1745).
- (2) GM. 1736, Vol. VI, p. 356.
- (3) PCC. Derby, fol. 159, proved 1.7.1736. The Wapping property was presumably the three houses insured by John Peck in 1736/7 for £150 each (Guidhall MS 8674/53, fol. 299).
- (4) This may seem a reasonable enough charity. The two Pecks, however, were the only people whose wills have been traced who thought of doing such a thing. None of the silk weavers trace thought of apprenticing any poor boys from the parish (or their own community in the case of the Huguenots) to their fellow silk weavers.

Pecks owned very extensive house property in Spitalfields; and the Hand in Hand Insurance Company registers demonstrate that a very large number of important weavers were in fact their tenants (1) - and one pattern drawer, Christopher Baudouin. In one year Edward Peck insured £2,150 of property (17 properties in and around Spitalfields including his own house in Red Lyon Street). When he died in 1736, the Gentleman's Magazine noted that he was "worth £40,000" (2), a convenient round sum but at any rate implying that he was regarded as a rich man by his contemporaries. When he made his will he gave his country house as his address and he left his real estate to his son John. Other bequests included £5,500 in trust for John to buy stock, to yield an income of £200 per annum to his eldest daughter. He left £1,000 to his granddaughter, and two other daughters got £5,000 each. His eldest, or perhaps favourite, daughter received rent from some property in Wapping in her lifetime (3). A number of minor bequests prefaced £100 to the Charity School of Spitalfields to place out two poor boys as apprentices to freemen of the Dyers' Company (4). It would appear that £40,000 was a reasonably good guess on the part of the Gentleman's Magazine.

His son John appears in London and Middlesex Illustrated by Warburton as "Mr. Peck of Spitalfields descended from Thomas Peck, Mayor of Norwich" with arms granted in 1589. He fined £400 and 20 marks to be excused serving the office of Sheriff in the City of London in 1741. He too had a

- (1) The latter married the daughter of John Henry Martin, Esq. of Threadneedle Street - with £10,000, according to the Gentleman's Magazine (XVII, 1747, March, p. 153). It is tempting to connect him with the Thomas Bird, the Coventry ribbon manufacturer who died in the previous year "who daily employed 2,000 hands" (GM. XVI, p. 45). There was a Mr. John Bird buying patterns for ribbons in the 60's, see p. 164.
- (2) See Appendix 2(iii).
- (3) PCC Lisle, fol. 117. proved April 1749.
- (4) It may be noted in passing that he left £200 in 3% annuities to the Charity School of Christ Church to be used every two years in "placing out as apprentices two girls of the said parish and brought up in the said school apprenticed to some trade or reputable housekeeper to be taught good housewifery and the management of a tradesman's family".

string of house properties insured in the period, the majority of course inherited from his father. His own house (which he inherited) was re-valued at £800, of which £400 were the dyehouse, coach-house and stables adjoining. In his obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine it was noted that he had left "most of his fortune to Sir Robert Ladbroke (Lord Mayor of London) who had married his niece, and £200 to each of the five London hospitals of which he was a governor". In his will he asked to be buried in the family vault in Christ Church, Spitalfields, but unlike his father, he was to have "no monument". He left large legacies including one to his nephew Robert Bird of Coventry (1), £2,000 - £3,000 each to various other nephews and nieces. Small legacies were given to his servants, his coachman and his book-keeper and he also bequeathed "unto each of the journeymen in my dyehouse as shall be employed at the time of my decease 40/- each, also to Mr. William Griffiths, foreman of my dyehouse £50" together with the 40/- bequeathed to him with the other journeymen. His clerk was left £20. He released a weaver John Shields (2), also of Red Lyon Street, from a debt of £138. 19. Od. provided the latter discharged his other claims on the estate. The residue (3) went to Ladbroke and Henry Mertens, J.P., Philanthropist (4) and property owner, he was nevertheless an active silk dyer. Unfortunately, nothing of his commercial activity has survived. It is impossible to do more than guess on what footing he stood with the weavers, throwsters or the importers of the dyes he used.

- (1) T. Packer in The Dyers Guide 1816 (Patent Office CV. 76, 18503), described the several branches of Dyers. For instance, the silk dyers who are likewise grain dyers worked "solely in those colours arising from cochineal". Again, "there are two-three dyers in the metropolis whose business is to dye black, woollen, silk cotton, etc. for the shops, many of them putting out all their black to be dyed". Some dyers took in all colours while on the other hand there were one or two "famous for dyeing silk hose black". Two generations in the Desormeaux family were dyers, the elder Abraham, a scarlet dyer, the younger James Louis, a black silk dyer (exclusively).
- (2) p.110-111.
- (3) The coloured illustrations in Chapter 3 hardly do justice to the originals.
- (4) The quotation is made by Moreau from 'a writer of that times'. In the context it would appear to refer to 1719-20 and the author to be writing in the middle of the century, but this is not clear in the text.

Moreover, although he and his father were "scarlet dyers" - the highest paid according to Ancker - it would be interesting to know how far this was a generic term for the largest firms and how far they dyed silk in any other colours (1). It is apparent that the Pecks were successful and it may be deduced that his colleagues were also prosperous. Only five dyers went bankrupt between 1731-1766 but of those four lived in or near Spitalfields. As Ancker said, to become a silk dyer needed a good capital in the first place.

A critical essay on "Des étoffes de soie" in Rouquet's "État des Arts en Angleterre" (1755) singled out "la perfection des teintures" which saved the plain silk materials made in England, although he deplored the designs of the figured (2). In the latter, although it was the distribution of the colours which he condemned among other things, he added that this was notwithstanding that they were "très belles en elles mêmes". The colours in the silks of the period made in Spitalfields are indeed fresh, strong and pleasing even today (3).

Designers (and draughtsmen).

César Moreau, writing in 1826 and quoting from evidence given to the House of Commons on the state of the silk industry in the 18th century said: "indeed the fabrics of Spitalfields were then esteemed to be superior to those of France. We had likewise many excellent designers among our weavers which had not a little contributed to the increase of this manufacture to that superlative height which it is arrived" (4). It is difficult to say to what period

(1) 1765 Report op. cit. pp. 211-212.

(2) F. Bregnot du Lut (editor): "Le livre de Raison de Jacques Charles Dutillieu," Lyon, 1886.

this opinion referred, and the phrase "among our weavers" begs a few questions; nor does he tell the audience who "esteemed" English silks to be better than the French, but it is interesting to see that the tradition remained that the pattern drawer played a very important part. The contention was much discussed in 1765. The Select Committee of the House of Commons (1), having heard evidence from certain mercers who "laid great stress on the necessity of having French patterns...thought it proper to enquire particularly into this fact". A tart discussion between mercers, weavers and pattern drawers is then recorded, which gives a good account of the situation in 1765. One fact, however, underlined all the arguments; it was essential to have designers of the calibre of those in France if English figured silks were to compete with the French.

J. C. Dutillieu, a Lyon designer, writing in 1769 (2) and looking back over the previous twenty years said: "On ne trop admirer les belles étoffes qui se fabriquent à Lyon, à Tours et même à Londres.....Si l'on recherche les causes de cette perfection on s'aperçoit que ce n'est pas tant le métier qui a été perfectionné que la décoration habilement dirigé par les peintres de fleurs...." He was rather scathing about the English in this connection. The Huguenots had established a silk industry in London but, according to him, "ils ne purent venir à bout de faire passablement des brochés et durent se contenter de faire des moires" (a statement which was quite

- (1) Joubert de l'Hiberderie. *Le Dessinateur pour les Étoffes d'or, d'argent et de soie*. Nouvelle édition, 1774. (It reprinted the dedication of the first edition, dated 1764).
- (2) Joubert, op. cit. Preface, pp. 15-17.
- (3) He was an exceedingly well-known designer, one of a family of fabriquants at Lyon. Some of his designs are preserved in the Cabinet d'Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.
- (4) A draft bearing his signature exists in the École de Tissage in Lyon which demonstrates the technique. A more complete design of the same subject also has been preserved in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Points rentrées were a striking innovation. His contribution has been assessed by my colleague, Mr. P. K. Thornton, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, July 1960.
- (5) In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes.
- (6) These are:
 - (1) Mr. Dandridge, active from the beginning of the century (and no doubt before), who worked independently and partly for James Leman.
 - (2) Christopher Baudouin, active in the late 17th century until the late 1720's, died before 1736.
 - (3) James Leman, c. 1688-1745.
 - (4) Anna Maria Garthwaite ? - 1763.
 - (5) John Vansommer 1706-1774.
 - (6) Peter Abraham de Brissac 1731-1768 (also drew designs for calico printers).
 - (7) "Mrs. Wright" described in the 1765 Report as "a pattern drawer of great eminence, who for many years has drawn designs for all sorts of silk...." (p. 212 Evidence of P. Triquet).
 - (8) Peter Cheveney, who gave evidence in 1765, pp. 212-213.

In addition, Henry Napton of Bell Lane, pattern drawer, was listed among the ratepayers in Christ Church, Spitalfields, in 1754 (Vestry Minutes). A man of this name offered ten men to serve the Crown in 1745 and in the same year a Henry Napton adopted the Livery of the Weavers Company. This would be unusual for a pattern drawer unless, like Leman, he was a manufacturer as well. It would be most interesting to know whether the three facts do refer to the same man, but it is difficult to trace him in any other context since he was not a Huguenot.

untrue but understandably so). "Cependant", he admitted, "des artistes médiocres se sont formés chez eux et, depuis 1748, on commence à voir dans les foires d'Allemagne quelques-unes de leurs étoffes assez goûtées mais bien inférieures aux nôtres".

The position of the pattern drawer in the Lyon industry is important, and the 1765 witnesses frequently referred to it. The French designer worked to a rather different system although the technical processes were naturally the same. Joubert (1) who wrote in 1774, said it was essential for the young designer to understand the technique of the loom and how designs were drafted and he listed all the defects which could result in the finished silk if he did not (2). In the course of his description he mentioned by name the French designers who had been especially good at designing one sort of silk or another: M. Dacier, who had a flair for three-colour damasks; M. Aubert, especially good at border patterns; M. Deschamps, who restricted his subjects to two colours; M. Ringuet, who introduced naturalistic flowers into silks (3); M. Courtois who introduced shading by tones; M. Revel who introduced "points rentrées" (a method of shading by dovetailing the colours) (4). Against this galaxy of talent, some of whose designs survive as proof that Joubert hardly exaggerated (5), the eight English designers whose careers are known (6) are somewhat eclipsed.

The evolution of their styles may be studied, and their

(1) Laboratory or School of Arts, op. cit. p. 37.

(2) GM. Vol. XIX, p. 319.

designs were often most pleasing, but it cannot be said for the English designers whose work has survived that they broke new ground (although this will be discussed more fully in the next chapter). The three designers whose output is known in some detail did not specialise in one type of silk and not even the author of the essay on the subject in the 1786 Laboratory or School of Arts attributed any special inventions to "the late ingenious Mr. Lemon" (1).

Apart from a study of the loom and the special characteristics of each type of silk, Joubert recommended a formal academic training in anatomy, plant drawing, etc. which he himself had had. By contrast the Gentleman's Magazine carried an enthusiastic little article in June 1749 (2) on a designer of English silks "Our incomparable countrywoman, by the force of mere natural taste and ingenuity, (who) has made the English loom vie with the Italian pencil, very different from the gaudy patterns of the French, who have never yet with all the assistance of the Drawing Academy, been able to exhibit true proportion or just colouring on silks or linen in any single flower...." Nevertheless, the argument of the writer continued, that if an English designer who was untrained could do so well, how much more "superior we should be if this natural genius was cultivated by art, and encouraged by reward". Thus the Gentleman's Magazine strongly supported the policy of the Royal Society of Arts in giving premiums to pattern drawers and always advertised them suitably. These

- (1) Royal Society of Arts. Printed lists of prize-winners and prize designs. A rather high proportion of the latter (by no means a complete series) were from members of the Pingo family.
- (2) See, for example, Lyon. Bibliothèque Municipale. Inventaire Chappe. HH 131, 1725. A memorial on the copying of designs. The merchants complained that designers were sent to Paris "examiner ce que a plie d'avantage aux personnes de meilleur goût..." upon which "ils travaillent à des nouveaux dessins qu'ils leur vendent très chers....et ils vendent ces mêmes dessins en mesmes temps aux étrangers" who make the material and thereby injure the Lyon fabricant, "parce que leurs étoffes n'ont plus l'agrement nouveauté". By some such method Anna Maria Garthwaite acquired two sets of French designs one of which was certainly woven as a silk in Lyon (plate 31).
 Paulet, (Le Fabricant des Étoffes de Soies), a silk weaver of Nîmes by origin, wrote in the introduction to his work that the Lyon manufacturer sent his chief designer to Paris each year "pour prendre connaissance de tout ce que chaque saison précédente a fourni de nouveau dans tous les genres". He repeated the statement in other parts of the book; on page 884 of Vol. 7. he wrote: "Les Lyonnais ont si bien reconnu la nécessité d'échauffer l'imagination de leurs dessinateurs que tout les gros Fabricants envoient les leurs une ou deux fois par an, à Paris pour voir tout ce que les autres ont fait de Nouveau". Volume 7 was published in 1784, several years after the beginning of the work. He presumably thought it was a very important point, and worth repeating.
- (3) The partnership of the designer with the fabricant in Lyon was taken as a matter of course. The passage in the introduction to Paulet's work began "tel fabricant qui n'occupe que cinquante ou soixante métiers, a cinq ou six dessinateurs, auxquels il donne des appointements considérables..." It may be argued that Paulet was writing some time after this period. There is, however, good evidence that he hardly exaggerated his case. In the Inventaire Chappe at Lyon, HH. 139 there was a case in 1715 in which an action was brought by Louis Bron, Benoist Carre and Jean Monlong against Jean Cadory and Jean Baptiste Ganin for copying a "damas rayé, rose et vert". The defendants claimed that Jaques Rigollet, "dessinateur dudite Ganin" had in fact executed the design. Monlong is known in other contexts as a designer, so that both firms thus had their own resident designers. In 1726 Ringuet, an important designer, was a partner in "les sieurs Brons et Ringuet". Jacques Charles Dutillieu (see p. 149) was a designer who was elected a maître fabricant, and finally had his own firm "Dutillieu et Cie." in 1761. In the Archives Départementales at Lyon, série B, papiers de commerçants, there are the papers of a designer named Meunier who was apparently imprisoned about 1761 for breaking his contract. Among his scattered designs and slightly hysterical drafts of a memorial arguing his case and pleading his release, is a copy of his contract, with Messrs. Gabriel Aimard & Teste Fils. Its clauses included one forbidding him to work for any other firm or to copy his designs for any other firm. His salary was quoted for the six years of the contract. The burden of his complaint was that, having bound him to this exclusive agreement, the firm had not then made use of his designs. Many other cases could be quoted.

began in 175 but they were small and few and the prize-winners (among the young silk designers) seem to have come from a very small group (1).

Joubert strongly recommended the Lyon designer to visit Paris in order to gain inspiration from, among other things, the silks in the shops. Such a visit was often written into the agreement signed between the Lyon designer and his employers (2). It is true that the London designer was more easily placed in that he was already in the capital of his country, but he or she could not see the same range of goods that the Frenchman could. Moreover, the French designer made his trip "officially" as a partner or employee in a firm. The Englishman had to take his own time to do so, for the majority worked independently, and this was probably the greatest difference between the two countries (3).

There may never have been a large number of designers practising at any one period in London. A letter in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser of March 12th, 1765 "to the Gentlemen of Spitalfields who associate and consult on the present complaints" questioned if there were "more than three pattern drawers, that draw for silk only, in this kingdom, and if those three are not engaged to support the monopoly of two houses only ?". This was denied two days later in "C's answers to B's queries". "Can it be supposed that 3 persons can draw for all the looms and those three employed by two weavers only, and all the rest to draw

- (1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 211. It is a little puzzling to know who the three were. The independent designer could be Peter Cheveney since he was of sufficient standing to give evidence. John Vansommer, partner in Ogier, Vansommer and Triquet, would seem a very likely candidate for one of the two "confined to particular houses" (Fleetwood). Peregal also said that there were only two really good pattern drawers "who draw for particular houses" "in general esteem". John Pritchard, one of the "capital" mercers by definition, said that one of his partners was a pattern drawer....He therefore had more than one. The only firm with a Pritchard among the partners was Palmer and Pritchard (at a different address to Palmer and Fleetwood). In each case, however, no third partner is mentioned in the Directories. A trade card for either firm for this date might help to identify the third designer, but none so far has been discovered.
- (2) See Introduction p.9. His career is outlined Hug. Soc. Procs. 1960. XX, No. 1. pp. 66-69.
- (3) In the Diaries of Bishop Nicholson at the Tullie House Museum Carlisle, for that date.
- (4) E.4464-1909. Mr. Hinchliffe must be Mr. Hinchliffe at the the Great Wheatsheaf, who died in 1740.

for themselves? 'Tis a contradiction to common sense, there may possibly be but two or three excellent persons in that way and if two weavers will make goods to all the patterns they draw pray who is injured?" Since almost exactly the same arguments and figures were quoted to the Select Committee of the House of Commons a week previously (1), there may have been some foundation for them. The eight designers known are probably therefore a fair selection of the number active and the facts known about them probably true of their colleagues. Christopher Baudouin was associated with some important weavers (2) but not always with the same men. He probably had regular customers but there is no record of a partnership. "Mr. Dandridge" was described in 1705/6 as "...a drawer of patterns for the silk weavers in Moorfields..." (3). On a Leman design of 1719 for a "pattern for a lustring brocaded in colours"... the inscription recorded that the pattern was of Leman's "Drawing in imitation of another drawn by Mr. Dandridge for Mr. Hinchcliffe (the mercer) (4), from a foreign stuff". This probably epitomises the rôle of the English designer. He was following, not creating fashion, and he was working on an individual commission from a notable mercer who, from the text of this inscription, also took designs from Leman. James Leman, as a boy, had copies Baudouin's designs for Mr. Vernon (probably Matthew Vernon, a leading mercer, supplying goods to the Crown) in the same way.

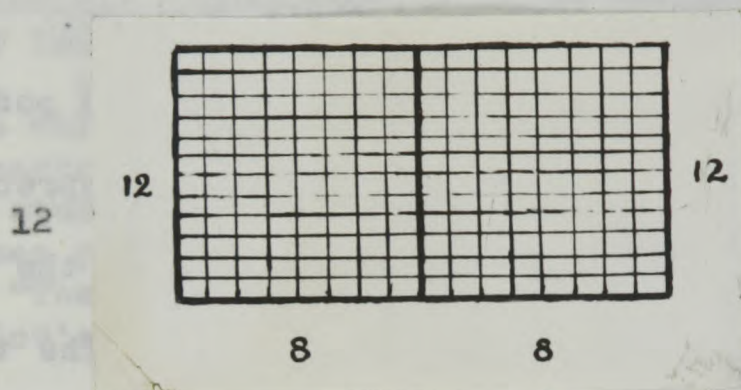
- (1) PCC. Admon. granted to Elizabeth Leman his widow, January 9th, 1713.
- (2) Mr. Care & Comp. 1708-10, Mr. Carr & Comp. 1709-10, Mr. Carr, Lofield & Comp. 1710-11, Mr. Hinchcliff (sic.) 1711-1712, Mr. Reynolds & Partners 1711, Mr. Tullie & Company 1710, Mr. Whittington 1707-1716 (including one design in which he is mentioned with Hinchcliff). Mr. Trenchfield (1706-1707) = Caleb Trenchfield, father-in-law of Isaac Whittington, who succeeded him in his business. His house, the Wheatsheaf, on Ludgate Hill, passed to Whittington (Caleb Trenchfield died in 1712), and his partner Hinchcliff. The partnership subsequently broke up since Leman mentioned both firms in the same period (see p.157 note 2), Hinchcliff presumably called his shop "The Great Wheatsheaf" to distinguish it from Whittington's.

From 1706-22, from 1742-56, and from 1760-62, three English designers left sufficient documentary evidence of their activities to reveal their relationship with the weavers and mercers for whom they worked or, more correctly, to whom they sold their designs.

The first of these, James Leman, was possibly exceptional. He worked at first as an apprentice to his father, 1702-1711, when he became free of the Weavers Company and late in 1712 his father died (1). The technical details on his designs shew that he had received a grounding in the techniques of his profession to a degree of which Joubert would have approved. The mercers' names on the early designs (2) reflect Peter Leman's customers rather than a clientèle chosen by young James. Peter Leman received commissions from a number of different firms, and the turn of phrase used suggests that the mercer asked the elder Leman for a certain kind of silk which James then designed. He drew, for instance, "A damask figure for Mr. Wittington & Comp." in 1708, and on another in the same year is the inscription, "Mr. Vernon's orrace tissue....this modell was drawn from one of Mr. Baudewine's". A design of 1707 was for "A flowd. satin for changes and a broad^c, 400 cords No. 8 & 12 - 130 Dezines in 5 simples, 26 in each, Designed for Mr. Sadler, For my father, by me James Leman for a new workman". This inscription sums up the relationship between all the people who were concerned with the silk. Mr. Sadler has commissioned Peter Leman to weave a flowered satin with part

- (1) This was a standard method of designing. On one of Garthwaite's designs, 5981.5 (1742) she indicated the changes in the margin of the design. The silk woven with a pattern made in this way has bands of different colours visible on the back, but if well made this is not obvious on the front of the textile.

(2)



- (3) The cords are those of the figure harness (See Plate 74, 75, and each would be represented by one square on the graph paper, although several warp threads might be controlled by one cord. The cords pass through the comb board and across the top of the draw-loom to the simple.
- (4) The lashes tied to the cords at the side of the loom constitute the simple. Several series might be arranged to make the work of the drawboy lighter (See diagram).

of the design brocaded and part of it with a pattern weft going from selvage to selvage. The colour of the silk in the bobbin on the shuttle is changed according to the requirements of the design in the length of the silk (1). Both methods would help to give the maximum decorative effect while economising in the actual amount of silk used. Peter Leman had handed over the commission to his son who draws a suitable design and gives sufficient instructions for the draughtsman to draw it out on "rule", or graph, paper from which the loom can be set up. 8 & 12 is the size of this graph paper (2), the dezines are the unit, and thus there are 130×12 different lines in the design and there are 400 in the width. The draughtsman has all the information he needs in order to convert the free design into a working draft. The "new workman" would presumably weave the silk. A large number of the early designs are not, however, inscribed with a mercer's name, as, for instance, one which was inscribed: "Jan. 15 1711/12 This pattern for a 900=8 thred Damask brocaded with silver, 450 cords (3) No. 8 & 10, 80 Dez. 2 simples (4) For my father Peter Leman, By me James Leman", which suggests that Peter Leman also worked quite independently and not to commissions. A part of his production was "bespoke" but for the rest he could choose his customer. During these years James Leman was working very much as a French designer would have done, as an integral part of a weaving firm, junior partner to a "maître fabricant" receiving

- (1) James Leman. Inscription on the back of a design E.4460-1909. The minimum necessary information for the draughtsman is given: 400 cords etc., the type of silk, a flowered lustring brocaded with colours, the name of the mercer, Whittington, and that of the journeyman who is to carry out the design (See p.154-5).

June 23/1869

400 cords No 8 & 10 - 70 Decimals in 2 samples

for a flood: lustring. brd: wth col: ^o

for Mr Whittington

to be made by Ben: Mankey his 1st draught for the

James Leman

- (1) On E 4471-1909 dated May 11th, 1719 Leman wrote:
".....Mr. Dandridge please to finish some of this pattern
as soon as may....."
- (2) This is probably George Binckes, a mercer who supplied
goods to the Crown from 1719-1727 (and probably outside those
dates). Other mercers who were customers of Leman in
these years were: Alexander & Co. 1719-21, Mr. Henclif (Hinchclif
etc.) 1716-1721, Mr. Inslip (?) date (?), Mr. Tullie 1717-1721,
Mr. Wittington (sic) & Company 1717-1721.
- (3) E.4463-1909.
- (4) See Chapter 1, p.35.
- (5) Not all the designs are dated. Taking the five years together
there were about four or five in most months of the year, but
only one design bears an October date. The greatest number
(9 & 8) were in the months of March and May for the spring
and summer trade presumably.

commissions from the "maître marchand".

The designs from 1717-1722 in the Victoria and Albert Museum shew Leman working as an independent weaver, even occasionally making use of the services of another pattern drawer (1). His practice remained the same. There are instructions on the designs for his draughtsmen and his journeymen and often an inscription "for Mr. Binckes" (2), "To be made by Wells for Mr. Alexander & Comp." Significantly, one design (3) is inscribed "For Mr. Tullie & Comp. order 50 (yards ?)". He does not say for what kind of silk this design is intended but adds "This figure will do, make it the same breadth and the same richness 50 yards" (this part of the inscription is also in his handwriting.). Thus Tullie (probably Isaac Tullie)(4), would seem to have placed a blank order for 50 yards of a certain type of silk agreed verbally with Leman, leaving to him the choice of pattern. Other patterns only name the type of silk "a silver lustring" and the date, with the minimum of technical details for the draughtsman but have no mercer's name. These would, I suggest, have been produced for the next season's trade in anticipation of an independent sale to a mercer. (5). It can be said without reservation that the patterns changed for each season from early in the century.

The designs of Anna Maria Garthwaite, although they cover the years 1726-1756, only bear lengthy inscriptions from 1742 onwards. She was not a trained weaver and little is known about her background other than the fact that she

- (2) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Index to one of her volumes of designs. The index is in her own handwriting. The names are those of the weavers to whom the designs were sold, and under each are listed the types of design and, occasionally, the name of a mercer for whom the design was bespoke. The page numbers correspond to numbers on the designs themselves.

Patterns Drawn in 1747	
<u>M^r Brant</u>	<u>M^r Labitier</u>
1 Broad Lat. --- 160	1 Tamash --- 23
<u>Cop^r Baker.</u>	2 Dico for M ^r Linckeliff --- 27
3 Telines --- 38	1 Floured Tab. --- 28
<u>M^r Cook.</u>	3 Telines --- 30
1 Bro. for M ^r Palmer --- 7	3 Telines --- 31
<u>M^r Gelin</u>	2 Dico --- 35
1 Bro. Tab. --- 1	2 Telines --- 37
1 Print Bro. --- 4	<u>M^r Vautier</u>
1 Bro. Lat. --- 8	1 Bro. Teline --- 2
2 Dico --- 12	1 Bro. Lat. --- 3
<u>M^r Leleux</u>	1 Kid Bro. --- 5
1 Blue & Silk Bro. --- 10	1 India figure Bro. --- 6
1 Blue & Silk Watercoat --- 13	1 Bro. Lat. --- 9
<u>M^r J. Mass</u>	1 Bro. Lat. --- 11
1 Tamash --- 25	2 Dico --- 14
1 Floured Tab. --- 27	2 Dico --- 15
2 Telines --- 34	1 Tamash --- 17
2 Dico --- 36	2 Dico for M ^r Palmer --- 18
<u>M^r Oger</u>	2 Dico for M ^r Carr --- 19
2 Telines --- 36	2 Dico for M ^r Palmer --- 20
<u>M^r Jaisfle</u>	2 Dico for M ^r Palmer --- 21
1 Teline --- 36	2 Dico for M ^r Carr --- 22
	1 Floured Tab. --- 25
	1 Teline Tab. --- 29
	1 Teline Lat. --- 31
	2 Dico --- 32
	3 Telines --- 33
	2 Telines --- 38
	2 Dico --- 39
	57 Patterns

- (1) 5970/37 is inscribed "in Yorkshire 1726" and 5970/36 "in York". An undated design 5970/28 is inscribed "This was sent to London with the rul'd paper before I came up...." All efforts to trace her family have so far failed. Her sister was, however, married and living in Spitalfields since they subsequently shared a house in Wood Street. (They appear in the Rate Books from 1743 together, "the widow Danny", her sister Mary, much earlier).
- (2) Her cousin, Edward Garthwaite, was granted the Admon. of her will (PCC Caesar 471). He bought a Tudor mansion at Shackleford in 1745 which he rebuilt. We are indebted to Miss E.M. Dance, Curator-Archivist, Guildford Museum and Muniment Room for information about Edward Garthwaite.
- (3) The series of damasks she designed 1740/41 could have been for Mr. Hinchcliff of the Great Wheatsheaf; If, indeed, she can be identified with the author of the article on silk designing in Smith's Laboratory, a suggestion made by my colleague, Mr. P. K. Thornton, in an article on the subject in the Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club, op. cit.)
- (4) 5982/4a, January 1744/5.
- (5) See pp.91-2, ^{104-6, 207-8} of this Chapter.

came from York (1) and had well-to-do relations at Shackleford in Surrey (2). Her entire working career appears to have been as a freelance artist. No journeymen occur in the inscriptions on her designs and far fewer technical instructions. It was in the first place the weaver who placed the order with her and took away a tracing or varnished paper from which his own draughtsmen made a draught. The date is probably that of the sale. She may have worked directly for one mercer (3) but this was exceptional. When she was working to a "bespoke" order she said so. A tobine she drew in 1745/6 (4), for instance, was inscribed "Mr. Bostock Mr. Grootert". The only weaver of that name who has been traced was Ralph Grotart of Hand Alley, Bishopsgate Street, who went bankrupt in February 1745. The first name is probably that of a mercer and would fit Henry Bostock of St. Paul's, Covent Garden who went bankrupt in January 1747. The two bankruptcies may be a coincidence but they may have had some permanent business association. On the other hand, since they only bought one of the surviving Garthwaite designs they probably were only casual customers.

One of her regular customers was "Captain Baker", whom it is not difficult to identify with Captain John Baker of the Weavers' Company (5). He bought designs from her between 1742-1755 for a variety of silks. In the index to her designs for 1745, for instance, she listed six under his name:

- (1) Palmer & Halsey, mercers of Ludgate Hill, Carr, Ibbetson & Bigge also of Ludgate Hill, Thomas & William Hinchliff (and James Croft from 1751) at the Hen & Chickens, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.
- (2) We should like to think that this was John Batchelor & Company of Spital Square until 1755, later Batchelor, Ham and Perigal of White Lyon Street. He is the only Batchelor known to have been making flowered silks but the name is too common to be at all certain.
- (3) See Chapter 1, p. 54-6.
- (4) The third of this name. Their family history is traced in an article prepared jointly with my colleague Mr. F.K. Thornoton in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society for 1960.XX, No. 1, pp. 82-83.
- (5) This is almost certainly James Godin the elder, of Spital Square, See Chapter 1, p. 55-6. There are no other Godins in the industry at the time of sufficient standing to have been weavers of flowered silks.
- (6) See p. 106²⁰⁰n.5 of this Chapter.
- (7) This may be Daniel Vautier, the elder, of Lamb Street, who died in 1753. There are, however, other members of his family in the industry.

"A Bro. Lut. Patt. for Mr. Palmer.....	1
A Bro. Sattin for Mr. Carr.....	3
A Damask for Mr. Carr.....	5
A Bro. Dam. for Mr. Henchcliff.....	7
A Bro. in one shade.....	15
A Bro. Lut.....	17"

five different kinds of flowered silk; two brocaded lustrings, the satin, the damask, the brocaded damask, and the brocade in one colour. Four of these were "bespoke"⁽¹⁾ but two were bought by Captain Baker on his own risk. The same division between "bespoke" and independently ordered designs is true in other years. Moreover, again taking 1745 as a convenient example, she sold her work to a number of other weavers during that year. Three of her designs went to Mr. Batchelor (2), all "bespoke"; two to Mr. Begot (i.e. Peter Bigot (3)), neither of them commissioned by a mercer; seven to Mr. (i.e. Peter (4)) Lekeux of which two were "bespoke" (both velvets, for Mr. Swan of Swan & Buck, and Mr. Carr); six to Mr. (i.e. James (5)) Godin none "bespoke"; two to Mr. Jeudwine (Abraham of Basinghall Street), neither "bespoke"; two to "Mr. Ogier P. Street" (i.e. Peter Abraham Ogier of Princes Street) neither "bespoke"; one to "Mr. Ogier No. 4" (probably Peter Ogier of Spital Square (6)); nineteen to Mr. Vautier (7) of which nine were "bespoke", six of these for Mr. Palmer and three for Mr. Carr; and seven to Mr. Gregory, none of them "bespoke". These men can nearly all be identified as rich and important weavers. Their

- (1) We should like to think that both references are to her and not to some other lady such as "Mrs. Wright" who seems to have worked rather later. There is one strange piece of evidence which supports the case. In the Patent office these Design Registers for 1842 there is a pattern for a carpet design (2.8.1842) drawn on printed graph paper with the trade mark or name "Anna Maria Garthwaite, No. 8 & 9, printed by Good & Son, 63 Bishopsgate Without, J. Clark, Sculp.". If her name was still a byword in the industry 80 years after her death, it is reasonable to argue that she had a considerable reputation in her lifetime.

purchases illustrate the diversity of her practice: sometimes a design was bought as a speculation, and sometimes in execution of a mercer's commission. If there was any kind of a contract it was for one particular sale and did not bind the parties in any permanent relationship. Moreover, none of her customers are invariably associated with one mercer. If her customers are tabulated over several years it can be seen that they could not have depended solely on Garthwaite for the designs for their silks - whether she was the "incomparable countrywoman" referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* or conversely the "femme sans art et sans lumière, guidé par un caprice ignorant....depuis longtemps la principale source des dessins colorés qu'on y employe" (i.e. in Spitalfields (1)).

The existence of other comparable, but so far unknown, designers can be demonstrated from the sales made to Captain Baker. He is a useful example because he can be identified without doubt, and because he was a Garthwaite customer for so long. He bought the following designs: 1742: 7, (1743 missing) 1744: (only one volume survives for this year, and it includes only the sales to two weavers who appear in the second of two volumes in the next year. She may therefore have sold designs to Baker in 1744 but none survive) 1745: 6, 1746 (missing), 1747: 3, 1748: 2, 1749: 9, 1750 (missing) 1751: 3, 1753: 1, 1753: 1, 1754 (missing), 1755: 1. Baker's firm was still advertising in Mortimer's Directory in 1763 making "Gold and Silver Brocade and flowered

- (1) The Account Book of P.A. de Briassac is in the Henry Francis Du Pont Museum, Winterthur, U.S.A. A microfilm copy has now been presented to the Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum. I am much indebted to Mr. & Mrs. Charles Montgomery who made this document available almost as soon as it came into their possession and have allowed members of the Victoria & Albert Museum unrestricted use of it.
- (2) See p.152 .
- (3) Royal Tissues were to be paid at the highest rates among tissues in the 1769 List of Prices (Strong plain, foot-figured, and flowered branches). They were a very "rich" silk of high quality. See Chapter 3, p.276-7, 279.

silk". It seems hardly probable that his total output of flowered silks was 2 in 1748 and 9 in 1749. It would appear that he bought designs as he fancied for his requirements, without any contractual relationship with any one designer. Garthwaite's rivals in her heyday, the 1740's, are unknown but their existence could be demonstrated from the sales made to any of her regular customers. The Garthwaite designs illustrate the complete freedom of practice in the English industry.

The work of P. A. de Brissac is ^{un}known but his Account Book has survived (1). He drew for printed calicoes as well as silks and must have been the type of designer the 1765 witnesses had in mind when, conversely, they spoke of the small number who worked for "silk only" (2). He drew gauzes and patterns "all stuff" and also "foot tobines and mantuas", that is, patterns for looms with shafts only (as the present-day dobby-loom). These would have been small-scale patterns repeating many times in the width of the textile. Since it is an Account Book he says how much he was paid. For some of the chintz designs he received two guineas, he was paid a guinea for a "Royal Tissue" (3), £1 for a velvet, a guinea for a "Model for a pretty rich Tobine, the same number of cords as former tobine which was nothing but roses and leaves". For ribbons he received on an average 10/6d. for a pair of designs. His designs were for fewer cords and dezines than those of Leman and Garthwaite - in other words, for smaller

(1) Smith, op. cit., p. 37.

(2) Between the designer and the weaver there were two further operations. The design had to be (and still has to be) drawn but by the draftsman on to the graph paper specified ("Il faut qu'il y ait dans la ligne horizontale autant de petite carreaux que de cordes au sample", Diderot Encyclopaedia "Velours", p. 897). Some skill was necessary to reduce a flowing curved line to a fixed number of small squares. Joubert described some of the hazards of this operation, pp. 15-16 of his Preface. If the design is badly drafted, the designer will see the "mauvaise effet d'une soie qui aura trop d'extension et qui bouclera par la faute du Dessinateur qui aura peint sur le papier réglé sa masse de couleur trop large et qui n'aura pas senti l'effet de sa reduction...." etc. The draftsmen had only to indicate the weave if there was no separate binding warp. There might be several colours in one pass and each would be painted normally one above the other so that the draft would be much longer either than the design or the finished silk.

The next operation was described by Smith (p. 45) "...the pattern is sent to the pattern reader who, having a frame prepared with such a number of cords or lish as the pattern is drawn for, and having placed the same under it, he, or she, works the flowers by crossing the warp with the other lish, each colour separate, this going through the whole length of the pattern, it is (then) taken altogether out of the frame and carried to the journeyman weaver, who then transfers the lish the pattern reader employed for the shoot, to the same number of packthreads of the warp as are fastened to the side of the loom...." In France the pattern reader was apparently usually a woman but both Paulet and the Diderot Encyclopaedia describe the same operation as Smith (see Plate 71, No. 86). The two operations took a long time and demanded a high concentration and accuracy as any fault would be most noticeable in the resulting silk.

(3) See Chapter 3, pp. 252-269

(4) See p. 159 footnote 1 .

(5) Among her designs in 1741 (5979.13 F) is one small draft for a tobine. It is the only one in the entire series.

patterns. It can be deduced that she was paid much more for her designs, for the author of the article in Smith (1) on Silk Designing remarked bitterly, when comparing the lot of the designer in England and in France, that there the designer "sells or disposes of his designs not by measure or so much per inch but by his merit".

In several items de Brissac has noted that with the design he charged 5/- for "the ruled paper" that is the draft for the weaver (2). He also has an item "to taking a feature from a bit of tissue and putting it on ruled paper for a flowered tabby". Unlike Leman, he appears to have been his own draftsman for he frequently supplied the draft to his customer ^{either} with the design or very soon afterwards. While Leman always gives his instructions to some third party, de Brissac's accounts never mention an assistant, although he does deal with a variety of weavers and mercers. He must have had a thorough technical knowledge to do the conversion mentioned above - to turn a design from a tissue into a tabby while keeping its proportion - to exploit the possibilities of each weave he would have needed a good knowledge of the finished silks, together with some mathematical competence (3). It is difficult to imagine the great French designers named by Joubert carrying out such laborious and badly paid work. Garthwaite had sent one of her earliest designs (4) up to London "with the rule paper" but whether she made any drafts subsequently it is difficult to say (5). Like Garthwaite, de Brissac evidently worked

- (1) See p. 147 footnote 1 . One of these ribbons was a commemorative one "to a pattern for a riband, a dove with an olive branch and the words Peace and Plenty in a Lawrel reath". This presumably dates the last entries in the book to the end of the Seven Years War. This is about 100 years before Coventry became famous for its commemorative ribbons and similar goods.
- (2) See pp. 89 of this Chapter and Appendix 2(ii).
- (3) See Chapter 1, p. 64 note 1
- (4) See Appendix 2(ii).
- (5) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 211.
- (6) John Gwyn. "An Essay on Design", 1749. pp. 71-2 footnote.
"....notwithstanding the Perfection to which the Silk Manufacture is brought in London, particularly in Spittlefields, our greatest artists, for want of skill to delineate.....are, in the Article of brocaded Silks in particular, reduced to the necessity either of calling in the Assistance of the better instructed, though not more ingenious French, who reside among them, or of servilely imitating their less elaborate performance." Rouquet's opinion was simply "Quelques dessinateurs de Lyon établis depuis peu d'années dans la fameuse manufacture de Londres, fournissent à cette manufacture ce qu'elle a de meilleur".
- (7) 1765 Report op. cit. pp. 211-212.

quite freely for both weavers and mercers and indeed for many of the same people. An interesting little item shews the system: "No. 6 designed for Mr. Palmer but he not liking it Mr. Baker (i.e. Captain ?) shewed it to Mr. Swan & Co. and they approved of it". Some of his designs were "returned" suggesting that he had submitted them to a weaver or mercer on his own initiative. A number of his ribbon patterns he sold to Mr. Bird, an important Coventry ribbon manufacturer (1). De Brissac was thus much more of a hack designer of any textile that came to hand. Nevertheless, his customers were well-known men, Mr. Baker (Garthwaite's customer), Mr. Lewis (John Louis, a witness in 1765 (2)), Francis Bowland and John Walker (3), Carr, Ibbetson & Bigge, the mercers, Abraham Ogier (i.e. Thomas Abraham Ogier of Spital Square), John Allen & Co. (another 1765 witness (4)), together with some not so far identified. Although he supplied these men with small patterns these were fashionable at the time and were in short supply according to a mercer, William Pickart, giving evidence in 1765 (5).

According to John Gwyn writing in 1749 and to Rouquet in 1755, the best designers in Spitalfields were Lyon men (6). Only one of the eight known by name was a Lyon designer, however, and this was Peter Cheveney. He told the Select Committee of 1765 (7) "that we has worked as a pattern drawer in Lyons" and said "that the best pattern drawers at Lyons are always taken into partnership with the weavers and that the salaries to others are very large (he has heard 6000-7000

(1) Meunier, the designer, mentioned in footnote 3, p.152 of this Chapter was, according to the agreement in his papers, to receive 3000 livres in his first year, rising by annual increments to 4000 at the end of six years. He was obviously not a leading designer. Cheveney's figures may not therefore be greatly exaggerated. According to the Universal Library of Trade and Commerce (B.M. 1480, bb 27) second section, "Compendious system of Arithmetick, pp. 60-61 Exchange Rates £3 sterling = 40 livres of Paris (in 1753)." If this exchange rate was approximately the same ten years later, Meunier's salary rose to £100 and the men referred to by Cheveney were getting from £150 p.a. and upwards. These would indeed seem to be large salaries, taking the royal officials who occur in the Great Wardrobe Accounts as a standard.

(2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.

(3) See p.106^{note 5} of this Chapter and Plate 56(66).

livres a year)....." (1). He thus thought it would be difficult to persuade them to come to England without a very strong financial inducement. One other pattern drawer was mentioned in the House of Commons evidence: "Mrs. Wright, a pattern drawer of great eminence who for many years has drawn designs for all sorts of silks, was never abroad, never received Instructions from any pattern drawer and draws entirely from her own fancy" (2). She was presumably a rival of Garthwaite in her later years. It was not stated, however, whether she worked independently or for a particular firm. John Vansommer of Ogier, Vansommer and Triquet is the only case so far discovered where a pattern drawer was taken into partnership by an eminent weaver (3).

The general conclusions of the evidence given in 1765 were that there were not enough pattern drawers and that more should be encouraged, either by regular partnerships with mercers or weavers, or by inducing Frenchmen to emigrate. No one referred to the Royal Society of Arts premiums or any similar method of encouraging the artist. The mercers doubted whether Frenchmen could be tempted over or whether native talent could ever fill the gap. As they were anxious to import French silks legally their despondency was self-interested. Only Cheveney made the point that it was more important to have original designers than to copy French patterns successfully for, in the foreign markets, the latter could only feebly compete with the French.

- (1) In "London & Middlesex, a historical, commercial and descriptive Survey London" Vol. I, 1810, pp. 666-67, the decline of the silk manufactures in the years 1782-3 was ascribed to "the improved manufacture and general wear of cottons". The author admitted the "ingenuity of the calico-printers in devising patterns for printed cottons....which for elegance of drawing exceeded everything that ever was imported.....(and) almost wholly superseded the use of silks".
- (2) Several books of such materials have been preserved by Messrs. Warner Bros., dating from the late 70's and 80's.
- (3) The D.N.B. records the early life of the 19th century designer, Thomas Stothard, who "was apprenticed to a draughtsman of patterns for flowered silks in Spital Square, Spitalfields. The fashion for these silks declining he employed his leisure in making designs from Homer and Spenser, being encouraged thereto by his master who died before his apprenticeship was out". Stothard stayed on for a time with the widow. He was apprenticed shortly after his own father's death in 1770. The only pattern drawer known to have been living in Spital Square was John Vansommer who died in 1774, a date which would fit this account. The source for this is not clear. If the master was John Vansommer, it is interesting that he should have seen the writing on the wall already as early as this. I am indebted to my colleague, Mrs. S. Bury, for drawing my attention to this entry.

The length of this discussion is warranted by the fact that during the period of this study, 1702-66, figured silks with more or less large patterns were in fashion although they changed, of course, in style. To capture the market, whether at home or abroad, it was necessary to capture it in figured silks. Plain silks of good quality were more easy to produce by the incipient industries set up at various places on the Continent. The silks themselves will be discussed in the next chapter but in the 60's and 70's printed calicoes and lighter, cheaper materials came increasingly into use (1). Although plain, striped and small patterned materials were made in quantity in the second half of the century (2), the pattern drawer became a less crucial figure in the fortunes of the industry since his *raison d'être* had disappeared (3). There was no equivalent in the English silk industry to Philippe de la Salle.

4. The Weavers.

The slump of 1764-6 produced a crisis in the silk industry in London which caused both the nation in general and the industry itself to take stock of its organisation and the factors which were thought to aggravate the situation. Thus, most of the readily available facts were quoted at that time by one or other of the interested parties: weaver, mercer, journeyman or consumer. The demonstrations, processions

(1) They were, for example, reported in John Noorthouck's "A New History of London" 1773, p. 431 et. seq. and also in Porter's Treatise of 1831.

(2) 1765 Report op. cit. p. 209.

through the City of London, and "picketing" of the House of Lords by the Journeymen weavers remained in the memory of the public long afterwards, and survived in the general accounts of the industry compiled later (1). Invaluable though this evidence may be, it has to be treated with some caution since none of it was unbiased, nor can it be taken for granted that the organisation of 1765 was true in 1702. By comparing the statements made at the time with the other evidence which survives, it is possible to make some assessment of the structure of the industry behind the polemics. Unfortunately, almost the only evidence which is quite impersonal is that which can be gained from a study of the inscriptions on the designs already discussed. This is to be regretted not so much because of its brevity in many cases, but because it refers specifically to one branch of the industry - the flowered silks. It has already been argued that these were exceptionally important in the period, but even in the 1765 Report (2) it is apparent that these silks were considered to form a special branch of the industry. Thus John Allen, a master weaver, said "that in his trade which is chiefly in flowered silks there has to his knowledge been no decrease, nor does he believe in general there has been any decrease for the last two years in the Flowered Way..." None of the bankrupt weavers of 1764-6 were, as far as is known, weavers of flowered silks.

- (1) 1747 Anon. p. 219.
- (2) See Chapter 3, pp. 250, 252-271, esp. 268.

The distinction between the different branches of the industry and the extent to which such specialisation was true earlier in the century must be considered here, for it was very real in 1765 and still more so in 1769. A factor which greatly concerned the Parliamentary Committee was the position of the journeymen weavers, and thus some attempt must be made to assess their standing and their relationship with their masters. In the absence of any commercial evidence comparable with the Bosanquet Papers, for instance, the cumulative evidence of the other activities of the master weavers must be taken into account: the evidence of Chapter 1: how and where they lived, the influence of the strong Huguenot element on the structure of the industry, the evidence from their wills of their capital and how they chose to invest it, their general interests, their behaviour as citizens and the good causes they chose to support, and their social aspirations.

According to the General Description of All Trades (1) the Weavers were "as numerous as the names of the things they weave...." and a brief catalogue was given, "according to which they have their particular denominations, all of which together make one of the most extensive branches of trade". There were three main divisions in the industry based on technical distinctions. The weavers of flowered silks made on the draw-loom stood the greatest capital risk (2), their journeymen had to be highly skilled and even at the beginning

- (1) "A History of Trade in England 1702", p. 126 et. seq.
- (2) See same source and also the 1769 List of Prices. A man was to receive a minimum of 7d. a yard for weaving a half ell (wide) manuf^a of the lowest quality. The weaver of a Royal Tissue was to receive a minimum of 2/9d. a yard with every extra embellishment to be paid for on top of this.
- (3) 1765 Report, op. cit. John Allen's evidence, p. 210.
"....that a Brocade Weaver can work in the Gauze Way, but a Gauze Weaver cannot work in the Brocade Way...."
- (4) Nine firms signed the List of Prices in this Branch (Ouvry & Prichard, Jacob Jamet, Daniel & Charles Messman, Andrew Benjamin Guiraud, Solomon Hesse, Legrew & Son, Peter Serret and Son, James & Charles Dalbiac, John Fremont and Son....) Others who specialised in black silks, according to the Directories, were: Isaac Roberdeau (1744-65), Daniel Messman, father of Daniel and Charles, Obadiah Agace and his son of the same name, etc.
- (5) See Chapter 3, p. 242
- (6) Daniel Defoe. "Complete English Tradesman." 1726, p. 402. The author describes the clothes worn by a typical tradesman and his wife and the places where the materials are said to be made. The typical wife is taken to be a country grocer's and "Her gown, a plain English Mantua silk, manufactured in Spitalfields".

of the century were thought to be well paid (1). The weavers of "foot-figured" silks with patterns made on shafts were less highly skilled and the journeymen less highly paid. Finally, there were the weavers of plain silks, whose quality was universally acknowledged to be good, and they probably constituted the majority at any period, and their journeymen were the poorest paid (2). Conversely, least is known about the weavers of plain silks. The weavers of flowered silks were highly subject to changes in fashion and season and the other two far less so. (Colours probably changed as much then as now, but the earliest evidence for such fashions so far discovered is in a ribbon weaver's pattern book in Coventry of the very early 19th century). Cutting across these main divisions were the weavers of gauze, net, lace and ribbons, all specialised branches, whose journeymen could not easily change to other trades (3). Their looms were different from those of other weavers and were useless if the goods were not in demand. A fifth branch characteristic of the 18th and 19th centuries was the Black Branch (4). They flourished during general mournings when the rest of the industry was unemployed. Few of their silks have survived owing to the inherent destructiveness of black dyes (5). They were, however, plain, fancy, or flowered as the others.

Despite the claim made by Daniel Defoe that the public at large wore Spitalfields silks (6) it was only the prosperous tradesman and the upper classes who bought silks,

- (1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 209.
- (2) Lord Chamberlain's Accounts. Taffeta was used regularly both as a furnishing and for the Heralds of the College of Arms, etc.
- (3) Mortimer wrote in the Introduction to his section on the Weavers: "Of all the Mechanic Arts that of Weaving in its different branches is the most extensive, and the manufactures of silk stuff, etc. carried on by the following weavers in or near Spitalfields are the largest of any in the kingdom & of the greatest importance to the trade in general. I have therefore been as exact as possible in distinguishing the different articles manufactured by each weaver....."
- (4) The categories he listed were Black silk, gauze, silk mixed with worsted, etc. (the largest group), striped and plain lustring mantua and tabby (usually together), brocade (including gold and silver brocade) and flowered silk, velvet, worsted stuff, handkerchiefs, ribbon, ferret, shag, silk damasks, & horsehair for chair bottoms. Paulet wrote in the Preface to "l'Art du Fabricant d'Étoffes de Soie," Section 51, (p. 21 of the 1779 edition published at Neuchâtel) "Les Anglais seuls paraissent avoir porté leurs manufactures à un très haut degré de perfection. Londres seuls contient environ huit mills métiers, et voice quelle est la raison de ce grand nombre, comme les ouvriers qui s'y donnent à un genre d'étoffes n'en fabriquent jamais d'autres, les métiers une fois consacrés à telle ou telle étoffe ne sont jamais montés pour une autre; ainsi tel ouvrier qui fait du satin ne fera jamais de taffetas ou de velours, et ainsi du reste: par ce moyen chacun d'eux acquiert dans son genre une précision à laquelle nul autre ne peut atteindre, parce que le fabricant ne change jamais la qualité de la soie...." This may have been a little exaggerated but there was certainly a basis of truth in his hyperboles.
- (5) Court Books, op. cit.

and thus the industry was inherently sensitive to changes of fashion and taste. There were very few staple goods on which they could always rely, and therefore there was a tendency towards the security of bespoke weaving. The prices of silks will be discussed in the next chapter, but to make a brief comparison, a good journeyman was said to earn normally between 15/- and 18/- a week by John Peregall (1). The average price of a plain white or coloured taffeta (except scarlet) over a very long period (2) was about 8/- a yard, a price for a plain silk which could be paid in 1960. The industry could not afford a slump or a strike, for the masters were probably working with a fairly narrow margin of profit. Thus, the tendency towards specialisation was probably an economic necessity.

By 1763, the date of Mortimer's Directory (3), there were further divisions within each group (4), and a study of the individual weavers suggests that some families or individuals practised in one branch over a long period. The Lekeux' were making flowered silks from the second half of the 17th century until 1758. The Messmans and the Agaces made black silks for two generations. John Sabatier is a good example of a distinguished weaver who specialised in one branch over a long period. His father of the same name was living in Spitalfields from the early years of the century. He was a "Foreign Weaver" when he took the younger Sabatier as an apprentice in 1716 (5). The father's will was proved in

(1) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 26, p. 996.

(2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 208 evidence of James Johnson.

July 1745, and thus it was the son who offered 34 men to fight against the Young Pretender in October of that year. His address is given as Princes Street from 1749, and he was living there until 1755. By 1759 he had moved to Red Lyon Street. He was in partnership with David Delavau between 1750-57. In Mortimer's Directory he is listed as a weaver of "flowered silk". He was among the 1740 freemen summoned for the Livery of the Weavers Company, and in January 1743 he was threatened with a summons for arrears of Quarterage. He gave evidence before the House of Commons in 1750, 1765 and 1766. In 1750 he said "that for 2 or 3 years last past he has exported wrought silk from Chester to Ireland to the amount of £2-3000 p.a." (1) Thus we see an individual weaver who was also an exporter, although in 1765 it was said that the weavers only sold wholesale (2). He was mentioned among the list of witnesses to the 1765 Committee, but his evidence was not quoted. In the following year his evidence was given at some length. He gave an instructive account of his career: "he had begun to trade for himself in the year 1750, and then employed about 50 looms; that he afterwards took a partner (i.e. David Delavau) and increased his looms to One hundred; that the partnership expired in 1757. That in the Year 1763, upon his own account, he employed from 70-80 looms; but in 1764 he put down 10, and last year he put down several others; but, from the promise he had had from the mercers he again employed 70. That from 1748-1750 the silk trade was better

(1) 1766 Report, op. cit. p. 725.

than since that period. and that from the commencement of his Business to the Year 1763 he had had patterns from most of the great mercers in Town, for the Spring trade; but that since the Year 1763, he had received no Orders but for Winter Goods. That he remembers going to the Mercers so long ago as the Year 1721 when they used to give orders for slight striped Goods, the Sort that are now imported from Italy; that the Orders for these Goods from the great shops are now diminished, but the small shops who cannot import foreign goods order them as usual....." (1).

It is interesting to note the peak years he mentions, and also that in the 60's he was certainly working in the bespoke trade since he had had "patterns from most of the great mercers in town". Further points from his evidence will be considered later. In 1721 he was still an apprentice, which indicated that his father was already a substantial weaver taking independent orders and grooming his son to take over from him.

It seems very probable that the Sabatiers, father and son, were customers of Anna Maria Garthwaite for there were no others of that name of sufficient standing in the industry who could have been weavers of flowered silks. "Mr. Sabatier" was one of her chief customers from 1747-56, buying approximately 90 of her designs in that period. If this identification is warranted - and her other important customers, "Capn. Baker", the Lekeux's, the Landons and the Ogiers, were of this calibre - then some interesting points

(1) See Chapter 3, pp. 264⁻⁶ on the time it took to set up a loom.

are raised. Some inconsistencies are apparent in his evidence to the Commons. In 1766 he said he had begun to trade for himself in 1750, but in 1750 he had been exporting silks for three years to Ireland. Mr. "Sabitier" certainly bought designs from Garthwaite from 1747. (The designs for the year 1746 are now missing). During the three years 1748-50 when John Sabatier said the industry was at its most flourishing, "Mr. Sabitier" bought patterns for the following silks: 1748, 8 tobines, a flowered lustring, and a damask; 1749, 10 tobines, 2 "tobine damasks", and 2 damasks; 1750, (the designs now missing), and 1751, a flowered two-coloured tabby, a damask, 2 tobine tabbies, 7 tobines, a spotted tabby, a waistcoat (flowered tabby) and a tissue flowered satin. The incidence of the dates shew that he had a number of looms working for him at the same time. For instance, he bought tobine patterns in 1748 on May 14th, 20th and 23rd (1). He also had a number of different kinds of loom working for him. A damask, a tobine and a tissue all require a different set-up of the loom, and it would be uneconomic to change over from one to the other, although not, of course, impossible. If "Mr. Sabitier" and John Sabatier are the same man, he was presumably making tobines in quantity for the Irish market. Warp patterned silks were becoming popular, but he bought more tobines from Garthwaite than her other customers did in these years (although they could have gone, of course, to other designers for these goods). On the other hand, a feasible hypothesis would

(1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 208 evidence of the Journeyman, Thomas Price.

(2) See Chapter 1, p. 45.

seem to be that this is a case of a weaver in one branch, not only specialising in one branch of the industry but making a particular kind of silk for a particular market.

Another point arises if the Parliamentary witness and the Garthwaite customer are the same man. With one exception, in 1747, when she sold him a damask pattern "for Mr. Hinchliff" none of her designs for him bear the name of any mercer, either in the indices to the volume or on the designs themselves. Does this perhaps suggest that he turned over to "bespoke" weaving in the later 50's and 60's? He was not a customer of de Brissac although the latter drew a number of tobines. In the course of his career he seems to have made almost every variety of flowered silk. Considering the time it took to set up the design and the risk in finding a customer, he must have had considerable capital but perhaps was eventually driven to obtaining "bespoke" orders from the mercers (never from one in particular, according to his evidence). Since four men to a loom was reckoned to be the average number (1), from his own account he had employed a maximum of four hundred men at his greatest prosperity, and 280 or less when the trade began to run into difficulties. This compares with the figure of those employed by Lewis Chauvet (2) and gives a useful standard for the size of a prosperous weaver's firm.

Occasional examples can be found of weavers who were specialists in one very limited field. Thus, Mr. Julins who

- (1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 210 evidence of Mr. Ashburner, mercer.
- (2) Weavers Company Quarterage List for 1728.
- (3) Stephen Jeudwine, Abraham's father, was mentioned in the latter's will, but is described as "aged". There are no others of this name mentioned either in the Court Books of the Weavers Company or the Directories (except a son of Abraham apprenticed to him in 1764).

bought designs from Garthwaite in 1742 and again from 1751-55, was evidently a specialist in damasks. The majority of the designs were for these (together with a few other silks) and he can certainly be identified with Simon Julian who was the solitary specialist in damasks to advertise in Mortimer's Directory. In 1765 (1) these silks were described as "common things" which accords with his status as a loyal Liveryman of the Weavers Company, (he went on the Livery in 1724), and his modest house in Booth Street, his address in 1728 (2), and probably earlier, which was valued at a mere £200 in 1747. He offered 22 men to serve the Crown in 1745.

The career of Abraham Jeudwine illustrates the tendency there seems to have been towards increasing specialisation. In 1745 he bought designs for a brocaded tissue and a brocaded satin from Garthwaite (and he presumably did not limit his production to these two patterns). When he gave evidence to the House of Commons twenty years later, however, he was described as a velvet weaver and his evidence on the quality of English velvets shewed the technical expertise that one would expect of a specialist. (There is no other Jeudwine in the field (3)). He had presumably concentrated on one of several kinds of silk which he had formerly made.

The 1769 List of Prices shews that some masters made several kinds of silk since they signed in several different branches. Jacob Jamet, for instance, signed the Black and

- (1) P.R.O. (Senior 159 Re: Hodgson). Chancery Masters Exhibits. A few letters are included among a bundle of documents and "A Catalogue of the Stock and Utensils in Trade of Mr. Mires, Shag Weaver in Daggers Court, Quaker Street, Spitalfields, to be sold by auction.....20th April, 1762". Many of the sales advertised in the newspapers, mentioned such catalogues although this is the only surviving one so far traced.

the Fancy, Andrew Benjamin Guiraud signed the Black and the Gauze. None of the weavers of black silks, however, signed in the Strong Plain, Foot-Figured and Flowered lists, suggesting that a weaver of black silks did not also make coloured silks. Few of the most well-known weavers signed the agreement in the Plain, Foot-Figured and Flowered Branches, and some of the weavers who signed can be seen to have changed their specialities in the course of their careers. John Roy was described as a satin weaver in Mortimer's Directory of 1763 and signed the Fancy Branch agreement in 1769. De West & Son were satin weavers according to the 1755 Directories and signed the Fancy Branch in 1760. When Lewis Ogier was in partnership with a Duthoit he made flowered silks, and from de Brissac he bought tobines. To the 1765 Select Committee he was described as a weaver of flowered velvets, and he was listed among the silkmen in the Complete Pocket Book of 1772 before he finally emigrated to America. Although the overwhelming impression is one of specialisation there were many who made several kinds of silk or changed their speciality. This would seem to be quite normal as demand fluctuated, what seems less so is the consistency with which whole groups continued in the same branches for so long.

The only weaver whose precise stock is known is a shag weaver, Ralph Myers, who went bankrupt in 1763 (1). He had a variety of mountures in stock, 3 for flowered shag, 7 of unspecified use, 1 silk mounture and - most interesting -

(1) John Bollard submitted a piece of quilting to the Royal Society of Arts in 1760 in the hope of being awarded a premium. He was turned down because it was "of the same sort and equal goodness as (that submitted by) Robert Elsdon 15 years ago." The Gentleman's Magazine reported another attempt in February 1765 (GM.XXXV, p. 93) saying that "the weavers in Spittlefields have invented a method of quilting in the loom which is much neater than the quilting performed by women in the usual way...." This suggests that neither of the two earlier inventions were entirely satisfactory. Quilting was used extensively for coverlets, for petticoats and for dresses. Examples of all these have been preserved. There are also silks in which part of the design is raised and wadded. There are no details in the sale catalogue which would indicate on what principle Mire's quilting loom worked.

(2) See p.76n.1 of this Chapter.

(3) They are:

Chapman	1721	Mr. Fox	1708
Grandprée	1721	Mr. Gauff	1708
Greenwood	1719	Mr. Lemoine	1708
Kindle's Boy	1720	Mr. Matton	1709
Young Philip		Mr. Muk	1718-20
Manckey	1708 & 11		
Ben Manckey	1721		
Pe. Rozee	1721		
Shoulder	1710-11 and James Shoulder		1721
Wells	1719-20 and Wells' Boy		1721.

(4) E.4460-1909. Plate 1, No. 1. The silk design referred to on p.154 of this Chapter for Mr. Sadler, was "for a new workman" which also implies continuous employment

"a new silk mounture for quilting" (1). He had only worsted and mohair in his workshop so that his silk weaving was very much subordinate to his worsted weaving. It is tempting to argue that he failed because he attempted to cut across the accepted divisions in the industry, making silk and worsted, as well as trying out new inventions without enough capital.

If the masters specialised it would be interesting to know how far their journeymen did. The case reported in the Weavers Company Court Books of 1713 (2) suggests that they did not do so. Powell, the offending journeyman, had switched from a cane of poplin to one of handkerchiefs. The list of weavers mentioned by Leman on his designs suggests the reverse (3). Ben Manckey received his "first draught work" in 1719 (4), which implies that more would follow. When Leman designed "a figure for a satin... tissue for Mr. Sadler and Co. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 162 dezines long drawn like 8 & 11.....to be made by Mr. Gauff in 3 simples" it can be assumed that Mr. Gauff was a highly skilled weaver who understood completely the process of transferring the design to the draft and the subsequent tying of the lashes. Some of Leman's weavers were employed for several years: Philip Manckey from 1708-11, his brother (?) Benjamin later, Mr. Muk from 1718-20, and Shoulder from 1710-11, who was possibly the same man as James Shoulder employed in 1721. When Leman says a silk is "to be made in the satin tissue harness" by a particular weaver it suggests a workshop

- (1) An example is quoted on p.245^{note 5} of the next Chapter.
- (2) See p.168 of this Chapter.
- (3) Thomas Byas died in 1747 (PCC. Potter, fol. 197).
- (4) PCC. Legard, fol. 252.

on the Leman premises and this is confirmed by the elaborate instructions on some of the designs for the distribution of the warp (1) in the loom. He appears to have employed certain journeymen regularly, whether or not he paid them on piece-work. While a number of weavers are mentioned on his designs simply by their surnames "Chapman" (1721) "Kindle's Boy" (1720) others are always referred to as "Mr." It is noticeable that there are no full technical instructions on the designs to be made by "Mr. Muk" or "Mr. Matton" for example. It may be that as a boy and young man he felt rather more respect for his father's journeymen than he did when they were his own employees, since he more often refers to them by their surnames only in the later series of designs, but it may also be that in addition to running his own workshop he handed out work to the lesser weavers. The latter would correspond to those mentioned in the General Description of All Trades who only needed £50-£100 capital to keep their few looms at work (2).

There is evidence for the employment of individual journeymen on a permanent footing later in the century. Ann Byas, widow of Thomas Byas (3), who carried on his business after his death, left substantial sums of money in her will and a minor legacy of £100 to her son, "to distribute among my poor workpeople.....", suggesting a regular connection continuing until her death in 1767 (4). It rather modifies the picture drawn in a letter to the Gazette and New Daily

- (1) "Veritas" writing on February 13th, 1765.
- (2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 209.
- (3) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 209.

Advertiser in 1765 (1) in which it was stated that since journeymen were paid by the yard they were free to change their master when they pleased. This may have been true, theoretically, but was probably not general practice. Lewis Desormeaux, who died in 1748, left to his son Matthew Lewis all his "tackling, looms and utensils in trade of whatsort soever excepting the looms which may be at the time of my decease lent to any of my journeymen, which looms I give to such of my journeymen as shall then have the same in their possession", presumably the most trusted. A letter written by a publican (or so he called himself) to the newspaper already quoted (1) in March 1765, describing the sad lot of the unemployed journeymen, said that they sat "moping on our benches", afraid to sell their looms "lest the French should buy them and who in England wants them?" There were thus degrees among the journeymen. Some might work in the master's shop, some borrowed or hired their looms from him, and at the top of the scale some owned their own equipment.

The point was discussed before the Select Committee of 1765. John James Bougeac ((2) said "that the Workman in France finds his own harness and everything else". Philip Riley compared English practice with conditions in Genoa (3). Wages in this country he thought were higher: 5/- a yard for velvet as against 3/4d. but "he must here pay 1/- for the hire and standing of his loom. The journeymen in Genoa find everything except loom, silk and wiros". The bills

(1) Such as that introduced and amended in 1752.

(2) In the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser.

(3) There was a crisis in the industry at that date. See Chapter 6, p.489-90.

The weavers then alleged undercutting by the master.

introduced into Parliament in the period dealing with Small Debts in the Tower Hamlets (1) (and the difficulty of recovering them), support the impression that most journeymen probably hired their equipment and speedily contracted debts when not fully employed. Although these may have constituted the majority, the distinction between the small independent master and the various grades of journeymen was slender. A pathetic letter to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on March 2nd, 1765 gave an account of a weaver "who formerly had three looms going" which enabled him to keep a wife and two children "in a very tidy manner" and "to lay a trifle by for sickness and accident, but having for near a year mounted only one loom, and that not constantly, we have sunk our little savings." He said that for three weeks he had been quite unemployed and that they had sold their best clothes.

The letter (if genuine) does imply that the normal status of the journeyman silk weaver was not one of abject poverty. He had "best clothes" to sell. Another letter from a "worsted weaver" living in Spitalfields on January 25th 1765 (2) on the desperate condition of the unemployed said "the journeymen silk weavers who (some years ago) despised the worsted weavers on account of their work, would now be very glad to accept of such work...." Despite short-term crises in the industry the journeyman silk weaver probably enjoyed higher wages than many of his contemporaries until 1763 (3). While the

(1) See Chapter 1, p.17 .

(2) Weavers Company Court Books, May 6th 1720.

(3) Gentleman's Magazine VI, pp. 353. June 7th.

industry expanded he probably had a fairly high standard of life. The poor Huguenots were cared for by their own community, and already by 1729 Spitalfields was said to have supported its own poor for some time (1). The poor who received the charity of the Weavers Company always signed for it and none appear to have been illiterate.

One factor which may have helped the journeymen to reach and to preserve a comparatively high standard of life was the geographical situation of the industry. There was an intense concentration of labour within a very small area in the streets north of Black Eagle Street and towards Bethnal Green. This produced almost the conditions of a modern factory. The journeymen were associated together very early in the century and the threat of their organised power was taken seriously both by the Weavers Company and the industry in general. The petitions which they presented as a body to the Company on Non-Freemen, imported foreign goods, and printed calicoes have already been discussed. The Company was worried about them as early as 1720, during the printed calico controversy. On May 6th "The Court being moved that Something might be prepared to be printed and dispersed speedily throughout the Trade in order to prevent any disorders and to keep quietness among the Journeymen of the Trade...." prepared a draft of an elaborate memorial (2). Sixteen years later the Gentleman's Magazine reported (3) "the demurrer to a Bill filed by a Society of Weavers in Spittlefields against Mr. Sutton landlord of the house where their Club was kept, for a

- (1) The Daily Gazetteer, November 7th 1739. "Last Monday night the weavers in Spitalfields rose against their masters on pretence of their not giving them full wages....."

sum of £30, lent him out of the Box, was argued before the Barons of the Exchequer, when the Court were of the Opinion that they were not a legal society, and therefore could neither sue nor be sued...." The weavers may have failed to ~~prote~~ protect their funds but the case shewed that they were capable of organisation. In the following year a series of spasmodic riots occurred in various places directed against the use of cheap Irish labour. These were discussed in the House of Lords and a report printed in the Gentleman's Magazine. A noble lord speaking of the "Defects of power in civil magistrates" said "The riots in Spitalfields.....were so far from proceeding from Oppression in any Magistrate that they proceeded from that which often occasions oppression, I mean the unlawful and unjust combination of Journeymen and Labourers to keep up or enhance their wages...." In 1739 the rumour of a cut in wages caused an immediate if local demonstration (1). There were no widespread repercussions on this occasion. For the next eleven years there seems to have been little industrial unrest but the threat was always there. During the crisis which arose owing to the shortage of raw silk in 1749-50, Mr. Reynolds reported to the Court of Assistants on October 3rd, 1750 the measures he had used "to keep the Journeymen weavers in a quiet and peaceable disposition". He thought he had done some good and that they had been "made sensible of the care and attention of this Company to

- (1) 28th April 1757, Weavers Company Court Books.
- (2) See Chapter 1, p. 45. The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, October 13th 1763, published an advertisement which gave the names of those who signed the agreement in 1762.
- (3) See Chapter 1, p. 64 note 1
- (4) See Chapter 1, p. 34 note 4 and Appendix 7.
- (5) The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser reported riots in Spitalfields on October 4th, 6th and 12th, 1763 followed by the renewal of the 1762 agreement on the 14th. They were, however, demonstrations rather than fully-fledged riots since there was very little bloodshed, arson etc. After the affairs on October 12th in which one man accused of black-legging was seriously hurt, 500 troops were quartered in Spitalfields.

prevent as much as they could the Inconveniences they foresaw might happen to the Journeymen and Manufacturers from the excessive dearness of silk". He was given a vote of thanks by the Court. A similar crisis occurred in 1757 which it was thought would cause widespread unemployment "And the very imminent danger and distress which might happen in consequence...." induced the Court to form a Committee and petition Parliament (1). The crisis passed and the Journeymen lived peacefully enough until the early 60's.

Since these crises were isolated it was as a potential threat that the Assistants of the Company (who, it has been demonstrated, were themselves master silk or worsted weavers) saw their Journeymen. The Court of Assistants was never unsympathetic in this period. Its attitude was paternal rather than hostile, even when it feared a riot might take place. From 1762 the relationship of master to journeyman began to change. In August of that year the first List of Prices was signed by a committee of Journeymen and three Masters representing the rest: Lewis Chauvet (2), Francis Bowland (3) and John Garsed (4). These weavers may be said to represent the chief divisions in the industry: broad silks, fancy silks and gauzes, etc. and narrow goods. The elaboration of the 1769 List into five divisions is indicative of the increasing specialisation within the industry. An attempt by some masters to go below the list prices caused extensive riots in 1763 (5) and a series of

cases occurred of the cutting of work on the loom and intimidation of "blacklegs". The unrest continued throughout the winter of 1763-4, to the disapproval of the Weavers Company. When the Court of Assistants was considering the best measures to take against the import of foreign silks on March 28th, 1764, it was recorded in the Minutes "that the Journeymen by their disorderly and riotous behaviour in many late instances of cutting and destroying work on looms and works, and other outrageous conduct in breach of the peace, had rendered themselves very offensive and to be looked upon as a very disorderly and turbulent set of people...." Unless, indeed, they behaved better "they would certainly prevent any relief being granted to their complaints". A deputation of eight was received to hear this admonition and the Court may have been perhaps a little disconcerted to receive from them £100 towards the expenses of an application to Parliament, no small sum after several months of economic difficulties in the industry. The events of 1765 were to shew that the journeymen were anything but 'disorderly and turbulent' being, on the contrary, well organised and well disciplined. It was the Journeymen who wanted "proper regulations" both in 1750 and later.

By 1765 the question of wages in the industry was underlined by much bitterness and resentment. The scales of normal wages quoted then shew a great divergence according to the source. It was "Veritas" (who seems to have been a master weaver from the tone of the letters which he wrote to the

- (1) To take an example at random, the first silk in the foot-figured and flowered branches were "Half ell plain and foot-figured Mantuas per yard..... 1100 or under (the number of the dents in the reed and hence the name of the reed) plain.....7d., 1200 Eightpence and if full half Ell 8 1/2d.....If check'd or bar'd for the first shuttle 2d. and for every other 1d." etc.
- (2) "Simplex" in Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, February 22nd, 1765.
- (3) "Veritas" in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, February 27th, 1765.
- (4) "Veritas" in the same newspaper, February 14th, 1765.

Gazette and New Daily Advertiser), who wrote on February 13th, 1765 that a journeyman's weekly wage could not be undercut because "all works are paid for by the yard or piece". This method of payment is borne out by every other writer and by the List of Prices in which such and such a count of a certain type of silk is to be paid at so much per yard (1). Some said that the journeymen were measured 39" to the yard (2) and others that, on the contrary (3), "there is not a single eminent master who does not give the balance in favour of the journeymen, though the writer of this was not sure what a few 'city weavers' might not do." There must have been some reality in this discount - although in whose favour it normally stood it is difficult to say - since at the end of the 1769 List of Prices it was stated "Thirty Seven Inches are to be the standard for the Yard and 46 for the Ell".

"Veritas" (4) gave an optimistic account of the earnings of the journeyman silk weaver: he could earn "one guinea per week moderate working (clear of all charges) and very few less than 25/- and some 30/-, I say clear of all charges after paying a drawboy, a quill winder (which I would observe may be the journeyman's own son and daughter); so that supposing the man and his wife each to have a loom's work they can employ four children, who will be earning money as well as themselves, this is an advantage that few trades have. A weaver may employ his children at three or four years old and after proper deductions for the time they lose in putting in a new figure and mounting their work they may earn 30/-

(1) "'C's answers to 'B's queries" March 14th, 1765 in the same newspaper.

(2) Paris. Archives Nationales - in bundle F.12. 1432a (Silk Misc. 18th Century). See Chapter 3, p.249.

a week for the best work and so in proportion from the day they take the card out of the house till they bring it home manufactured and it is a constant custom to lend them money every week by which means they sometimes get so deep in debt that the master is a very great loser". This pleasant picture of unremitting industry at all ages was criticised by a subsequent correspondent (1). Although wages were high, wrote 'C' in answer to 'B's queries, "before his loom is ready to weave in it will be 3, 4 or 6 weeks before it will be mounted in all of which time he earns nothing, but has the additional hardship of keeping his drawboys in pay and victuals". Both "Veritas" and this writer are discussing the journeymen weavers of flowered silks since the question of a 'new figure' or drawboys would not, of course, arise for the weavers of plain silks. A document compiled by a "maître ouvrier" in Lyon shews a very similar system (2). He costed the value of a loom, the time it took to mount and the expenses. The compagnon or journeyman would get half the wages for making a certain type of rich silk out of which he paid a girl assistant (the quill winder ?) and a drawgirl and bought them food - soup, wine, two lbs. of bread per day and oil for their lamp.

'C' in answer to 'B's queries "gave a much lower estimate of average wages:

Children and young persons ...	2/-	to	6/-	per week.
Others	6/-	to	10/-	per week.
Much the greater part do not exceed.....	10/-	to	16/-	per week.
Others	16/-	to	20/-	per week.
A very few	20/-	to	30/-	per week.

- (1) On February 25th, 1765 it was reported in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser that "one Mr. Perrin, a weaver in Spitalfields is mounting a mountier (sic.) for a piece of rich brocaded silk, for the wear of a personage of great distinction, the workmanship of which alone is to be paid for after the rate of 32/- or 33/- per yard and is intended as a challenge for any foreign manufacturer to produce its superior". This may, of course, have been an imaginary commission as the newspaper was taken up from time to time for publishing unfounded reports. On the other hand, in June there were several reports of Court functions at which the Royal family and others appeared dressed in silks of British manufacture, and particularly several newspapers around June 11th carried a report that "several pieces of silk of an entirely new pattern and manufactured in Spitalfields we hear....put in the baggage of the Duke of York and designed as a present from His Majesty to the Hereditary Princess of Brunswick". It is thus possible that Mr. Perrin's chef d'oeuvre was really executed.
- (2) 20th September 1761, 31st March 1762, 6th October 1762, 29th June 1763, 21st December 1763. Weavers Company Court Books op. cit.
- (3) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, February 27th, 1765.
- (4) Prices in the Flowered Branch were indeed settled according to the number of shuttles, satin stripes, "figured lambs on the ground" etc. In the variations on half ell lutestring brocades there was a provision "if a backshoot, the same is to be paid for as two Brocade shuttles...."

Some quite exceptional weavers were paid exceptional wages (1). According to "Veritas", "some rich works are two guineas per yard". The gauze weavers (generally agreed to be among the worst hit in 1765) were alleged to have earned such sums. Such high wages had induced "journeymen barbers, hostiers and coachmen" to give up their trades and to give "premiums to learn to weave in order to get a loom's worth of gauze" which, in turn, prompted the journeymen weavers to petition against unlawful workers. Although this statement was partisan and probably greatly exaggerated, there was some basis for it since there were in 1762 and 1763 several petitions to the Weavers Company against non-freemen (2). "Veritas" made a distinction between wages "in the plain way" and in the "figured or fancy goods", in which he said the price is agreed between master and journeymen and "upon the mounting a new figure the most ingenious men have an opportunity of making better wages". In his refutation of the "proper regulations" proposed by "Simplex" (3) (when the latter had suggested arbitration tribunals) he argued that "even if the masters and journeymen were to meet, all that could be done would be the settling of the prices on plain silks, for the prices on all figured goods must be settled according to the number of shuttles used & etc...." No copy of the 1762 List of Prices has so far been traced so it is impossible to say whether or not it included figured silks, but the 1769 List certainly did (4), and it is clear that "Veritas" was very much against such agreements.

- (1) The royal accounts include the annual payments to the housekeeper together with expenses on coal, candles, etc. These seem to remain fairly constant.

The general impression made by these discussions is that, even allowing for the higher cost of living in London than elsewhere, wages for the most highly skilled in the silk industry had been probably well above those in other trades, and even for the medium-skilled quite good. It is not very easy to find suitable material with which to make a legitimate comparison. There was, however, an article in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1739 on the wages of the woollen weavers in Wiltshire (following some riots). It sought to paint an idyllic picture of rural prosperity unappreciated by the obstinate and disgruntled weaver. Thus a weaver "shall perhaps fill a medley cloth in three weeks, for which the master shall receive of the clothier £1. 19. 3d. or £2. 1. 0d. clear", i.e. for one week just over 16/-, the average wage of the average silk weaver, not the most highly skilled. The four-year old who was also employed "shall perhaps quill the loom and earn 6d. per week and the wife 2/6d. to 3/- by spinning". From the tone of this article with its "proof of high wages as well as the luxury of the manufacturers" it can be seen that such an estimate of their wages was optimistic. The unbroken series of royal accounts for the period shew that while there were some slight changes in the prices of ordinary household goods (1) there was no extraordinary rise in the period, and possibly even a fall in the prices of some goods. Thus, the wages of 1739 can be compared with those of 1765, and, even allowing for the fact that it was cheaper no doubt to live in the country,

- (1) 1765 Report op. cit. pp. 208-10.
- (2) See pp.106 of this Chapter, and p.47 chapter 1.
- (3) Peregal, Allen and Paris are all well-known from other sources.

the real wages of the journeyman silk weaver were probably quite good until the 60's, and the agitation for the Lists of Prices seems to indicate that the journeymen intended, if they could, to preserve their wages.

The evidence given to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on this subject (1), although it was briefer, has the advantage that the witnesses are named and their statements more easily judged. James Johnson (2), for instance, was an experienced member of the Weavers Company who probably had his facts well marshalled. He thought wages had not been "raised lately" and that "good workmen may earn 12/- to 15/- per week and some 18/-". John Peregal put the figure at 15/- to 18/-. John Allen also said "that a good hand may earn from 12/- to 18/- a week". James Lawrence said he could earn 7/- a week at Lyons and 12/- in Spitalfields and "could live better at Lyons for 7/- a week than in London for 12/-". Stephen Paris (3) who said "he was fully employed in the brocade way and in flowered silks from 7/- a yard to £3 said "a good journeyman can get from 15/- to 20/- a week according to his ability", which would rather confirm the impression that the flowered silk weavers were the aristocracy of the industry. It is a little strange that Thomas Price, the journeyman whose figures of the numbers unemployed were quoted, was either not asked for his views on this subject or his reply is not recorded. Ancker's figures (for 1776) were 1/6d. to 5/6d. a week for the drawboy. A weaver, he reported, on ordinary work might earn 2/6d. a

- (1) The highest rate is under the denomination of Royal Tissues.
"A tissue tobine 900, 75 lines, 4 threads single, 2 double,
tobine with two great harnesses, one for the tabby and one for
the tobine with both shoots draught per yard....3.0d". It was
very unlikely that a weaver would make more than two yards a day.

day, 3/- to 4/- for better work, while for very rich stuffs he was paid from 8/- to 10/- per yard. These figures seem rather high, particularly when compared with what the journeymen themselves asked for in the 1769 List of Prices (1), and the late date is not an argument for an improvement in wages.

The activities of the journeymen weavers may have had some effect on their wages. Contemporary opinion thought so. A letter on March 13th, 1765 to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser contained in capitals the sentence "THE EXTRAVAGANT PRICE OF LABOUR WILL BE THE RUIN OF EVERY MANUFACTURE IN ENGLAND". The journeyman weavers had "not long previously entered into a combination to raise their wages" and had attacked weavers who worked for the old prices and destroyed their work on the loom. Their high wages were proved by their ability to combine: "or how could they have lived in idleness for months, only by the superfluities of their brethren or their own collected together in club boxes and devoted to support themselves in opposition to the reasonable and necessary regulations of their respective employers.....It was at this time when all the looms in Spitalfields stood still that the French manufacture gained ground". He appears to be referring to the events of the summer of 1763. The writer of this letter wanted to blacklist the leaders of this strike from receiving any charity, but a number of subsequent correspondents disagreed

- (1) During some "cutters'" riots on September 30th 1769 two weavers and one soldier were killed. On October 7th five cutters were killed and "many wounded". On October 18th two were sentenced to death at the Old Bailey. On December 6th they were taken "from Newgate to Bethnal Green and there executed". It was on that day that their fellow weavers did their best to wreck the house of Lewis Chauvet, (see Chapter 1, p. 45). On December 11th two more "cutters" were condemned to death. Nine days later three "cutters" were hanged at Tyburn. These grisly events were reported in the Historical Chronicle of the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XXXIX.
- (2) During the 1763 demonstrations a master weaver was hanged in effigy. Sir John Fielding was criticised by a Committee of the House of Lords in May 1765 for his lenient treatment of the weavers who had picketed outside the House of Lords and broken the windows of the Duke of Bedford's coach. (House of Lords MSS. May 22nd 1765, Committee held on riots of 16th and 17th May.).
- (3) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, June 13th 1765.

with him on humanitarian grounds. The suggestion that a general strike had indeed taken place in the recent past in Spitalfields is interesting, but if such a thing had really occurred it is odd that no echo of it reached the Historical Chronicle of the Gentleman's Magazine which reported riots in quite distant places in the country.

Some foundation for this hatred there must have been, for the fifteenth clause of the act passed in the summer of 1766 was that which extended to the silk industry the laws already in force in the woollen industry, making it a felony to combine in order to destroy work on the loom. In future the "cutters" faced and paid the death penalty (1). Until the passing of this act the demonstrators had, at the most, hanged their enemies in effigy and dispersed when harangued by a friendly magistrate (2). Thereafter a number of bloody riots occurred and the character of the industry changed greatly. It was indeed tragic that it was the journeymen who paid most dearly for the depression of 1764-6, for which they were hardly responsible and which caused them the greatest possible distress at the time.

Between the master weaver and his journeymen came the Foreman. An advertisement in 1765 (3) described him "a middle aged sober person to superintend a large manufactory both in the silk and woollen branches. He must be a man of general knowledge in the trade...." (and could himself invest in the business if he had any capital, and, if not,

(1) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 997.

he would receive an "advantageous employment")....ready with his pen and can understand figures well, and if master of the French language will be a recommendation, and his having been acquainted with different branches of the hosiery business". One or two examples of the type are known. Annesly Fromanteel, a Liveryman of the Weavers Company, was "servant to Abraham Jeudwine" and one of his executors, who was to carry on his business after his death for the benefit of the Jeudwine children. He had to appear in 1767 to prove Jeudwine's handwriting and it is evident he was a trusted assistant, for he had opened Jeudwine's desk in his counting-house and taken the will to the deceased's country house at Palmers Green, where he had read the will to Jeudwine's grown-up daughter. He presumably spoke French. Another was Peter Fremont, "weaver and Foreman to Mr. Delamare", who shewed the House of Commons Select Committee in 1750 (1) two pieces of paduasoy made of Georgia silk, on whose quality he gave evidence. He may be the Peter Fremont who was born about 1709 and apprenticed to a John Fremont in 1724, which would make him a reasonable age to be a Parliamentary witness in 1750. He may have had or accumulated some capital, since the Directory of 1755 records John and Peter Fremont in partnership. The Foreman may have become an independent master. The partnership subsequently became John Fremont and Son (by the date of the 1759 Directory), and this firm signed the List of Prices in the Black Branch in 1769.

(1) See p. 73 note 3 of this Chapter.

No practical evidence of the business activities of the master weavers survives, and yet to appreciate the structure of the industry it is essential to know something about their attitude towards it and towards each other.

The expansion of the industry and its difficulties cannot be divorced from the fortunes of the individuals who organised it. Since the account books and business correspondence no longer survive the minutiae of their personal lives must be examined to see what indirect evidence can be accumulated.

Firstly there is the evidence of Chapter 1. The rich lived together in certain streets and the poorer masters on the perimeter. The insurance policies shew that very few of the rich weavers had a workshop attached to their houses, but a number of them had warehouses. The author of the General Description of All Trades (1747) drew a distinction, in the article on Weavers, between the masters who only had a small capital and thus only kept a few looms at work and "the other masters, many of whom are great dealers and employ from £500 to £5,000 in trade, keeping large stocks of goods by them forcall", and if they take an apprentice "to be brought up in this wholesale way", they expected a round sum with him. We have already seen how "considerations" could vary (1). There was thus a difference between the Godins, the Landons, the Ogiers and Bigots on the one hand, and most of the throwsters who had workshops at the back of the premises. When some of the most notable weavers gave evidence to Parliament

(1) In 1750 Lewis Chauvet and in 1765 Lewis Ogier,^{and} John Allen,^{and} in 1766 John Sabatier and John Perigal mentioned the numbers they employed, either of looms or men.

(2) On October 6th 1763 it was reported in the Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser that cutters had entered the houses of several journeymen weavers in and around Spitalfields "who were suspected to work under price for the City masters..." In the London column of the same newspaper on October 13th a paragraph was included from a correspondent who "lamented the unhappy situation of the poor weavers in Spitalfields" and talked about the increase in the price of ribbons, which was not passed on in wages to the poor weavers. If indeed it was among the ribbon weavers that the greatest discontent lay, presumably the "City Masters" were largely responsible since the Directories shew that the greatest concentration of them was within the City. (See Chapter 1, p. 36).

(3) G.M. Vol. XIX, p. 557.

of the numbers of looms they employed (1) it is evident that whole streets in the poorer quarters were dependent on the inhabitants of Spital Square, Princes Street, Red Lyon Street, etc. Moreover, although the richer masters moved from time to time within this small area they seldom moved outside it. There seems to have been a strong corporate sense within the district. "Veritas" who thought it was "a sin to cheat the poor" was not sure what a few "City" masters might not do. The "City" masters had been suspected before (2). The mercers, on the other hand, said they could not have pattern drawers as "the Trade are too jealous of each other to unite". The facts accumulated about the personal lives of individuals seem to shew that far from being too jealous to unite they seldom moved for any purpose outside their own narrow community. There was an explanation for this.

Between 1740-1766 the industry was dominated by the Huguenot element which had become rich and successful, whose members had specialised in the various branches of the industry, especially the flowered. An article in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1749 (3), on the naturalisation of foreign Protestants recalled the opposition to the Huguenot immigrants at the beginning of the century. "But the looms in Spitalfields and the shops on Ludgate Hill have at last taught us another lesson....." and he spoke of the wealth which they had accumulated to the benefit of the nation at large. The second generation: the younger Ogiers, Dalbiacs, Messmans, Duthoits, Godins, Lekeuxs, Delamares, Sabatiers,

- (1) Herbert Sturmer (Some Poitevin Protestants in London, 1896), traced the history of the Ogiers. Lewis Ogier, who emigrated to America before 1775, supported England in the War of Independence. His family settled in South Carolina. They supported the South during the Civil War and Sturmer, himself, was violently anti-Yankee and describes the attitude of the Ogiers in some detail.
- (2) In the search for original family documents which would throw light principally on those weavers whose names were mentioned on the V. & A. designs, my colleague Mr. Thornton and I wrote to every Huguenot family who were listed as members of the Huguenot Society of London and who claimed descent from any family I knew from any source to have had some connection with the silk industry. We are indeed most grateful to the President of the Society for allowing us this privilege. Many replied with personal reminiscences, family traditions and most informative genealogies. Most of the word-of-mouth traditions found on checking to be true or only slightly distorted. Among these letters was one from Mr. F. B. Marmoy who quoted his father's opinion "that until my father's generation the Marmoyes had not married outside their Huguenot group". Mr. Cecil Grellier, among a rich collection of miscellaneous documents, possesses a genealogical record of every marriage and connection of the family from the late 17th century to the present day. The Grelliers were in the silk industry from the earliest years of the 18th century and so were a very large number of the families with which they became connected: the Turquands, the Ogiers, the Vansommers, the Rochers, Rivalins, Nouailles, Heberts, Perigals (a daughter of one of the Grelliers married John Perigal the 1765 witness) etc.
- (3) The Turquands and the Ogiers for example.
- (4) D.C.A. Agnew. "Protestant Exiles from France" 1871 edition. In Volume II the families are divided by profession. Especially useful is Chapter XIV, Industrial Refugees.

Alavoines, etc., were fully integrated as Englishmen, but the social pattern of the Huguenot community necessarily imposed itself upon the industry. It was a community with its own intense family pride (as martyrs), a fanatical loyalty to the English establishment (1), humanitarian and enlightened views on many social questions but withal strictly orthodox in its industrial relationships. It is still a word-of-mouth tradition in certain families that until the present century they had not married outside the Huguenot group (2). Since most of the Huguenot families preserved their family trees, the truth of this can be tested. A number preserved the 17th century accounts of the struggles of the refugees to come to England (3) and to establish themselves in this country. In the eighteenth century it was not simply their fellow Huguenots whom they married but their fellow weavers.

Writing in the 1870's Agnew divided the families of the Huguenots into trades and professions (4), and these seldom overlapped. It is a surprise to find one of the younger Ogiers, Abraham, had become a Notary and not a weaver. It is, however, characteristic that he is the notary employed by the Huguenot weavers more frequently than any other when they were drawing up their wills. They married the daughters of their partners or took up their sons-in-law into partnership with them. Conversely, there were very few business partnerships which, when examined, do not shew a family

- (1) Nicholas Jourdain appears to have been the universal friend. He was the "good friend" of James Maze who died in 1750, James Godin who died in 1762, Nicholas Hebert who died in 1764, John Maze who died in 1767, and John Vansommer who died in 1774.

connection as well. They chose one another as executors (1) or appointed each other as trustees or arbitrators in any disputes that might arise over their wills. They emphatically rejected primogeniture, seeking to set up each child with an equal portion. To their friends they bequeathed small legacies, and few Huguenots had friends who were English. The ramifications of the family relationships extend to such a degree that there can have been few of the inhabitants in the masters' quarter who were not related to one another. A few families may serve as examples. John Luke Landon (flowered silks) married Jane the daughter of Jacob Jamet, a flowered silk weaver. After the death of Jacob Jamet his widow married another silk weaver, Sebastian Loy, from Picardy, an inhabitant of Spital Square. A daughter of this marriage married Peter Abraham de Brissac, the designer. John Luke Landon had two sons, John and James, who were in partnership with Stephen Paris (flowered silks, gold and silver brocade). Paris married their cousin, Marie Landon. One of the younger Dandons married a daughter of Abraham Deheulle (a prosperous silk weaver whose sons were also in the business), Abraham Deheulle himself was married to Esther Alavoine (another proliferating silk family), while one of his sisters was married to a Lardant. Abraham Deheulle, junior, made striped and plain silks, lustring, mantuas and tabby; his brother John was a shag weaver. Stephen Paris appointed two weavers as executors: John Fremont the younger, and Abraham Levesque. John Levesque was a son-in-law.

(1) See Appendix 2(iii).

It would thus be very difficult to distinguish family from business associations in such a clan.

Co-lateral relationships are infinite. The Sabatiers were connected with the Fountains and the Delavaus (David Delavau was at different times in his career a partner of Giles Bigot and John Sabatier). Isaac Delamare was the son-in-law of Daniel Vautier. The Heberts were connected to the Desormeauxs and the Lardants; the Lardants to the Camparts and the Ouvrys. The Agaces married into the Lepines and the Legrews (James Lardant and Daniel Pilon were arbitrators to Obadiah Agace's will). Daniel Auber's cousin and executor was Jonathan Hauchecorne of Bethnal Green (1). Peter Auber (half silks), who offered 52 men in 1745, married a sister of Peter Delamare (throwster), who offered 22 men. Stephen Cazalet married a daughter of John Anthony Rocher, a Liveryman of the Weavers Company, and one of the few Huguenots to go bankrupt. Abraham Delamare married a sister of Peter Maillard (who sent 21 men in 1745). The connections are endless and often confusing, since they shewed an unnecessary restraint in the choice of Christian names. This recitation of names is not haphazard, for these were the manufacturers of the Directories, of the loyal manufacturers List in 1745, the witnesses to Parliament, the Livery and, in a few cases, the Assistants to the Weavers Company. They collected relief in 1765, they signed the List of Prices in 1769, their collective aspirations were those of the most influential in the silk industry.

- (1) I am particularly indebted to Mr. Cecil Grellier, Mr. R. Ogier-Ward and Mr. Perraux de Launay for information about this family. They made available all their family documents and drew my attention to invaluable printed works, such as the thesis of M. Baudry.
- (2) François Baudry. La Révocation de l'Edict de Nantes et le Protestantisme en Bas Poitou au XVIIIe siècle, 1922.

One family is worth looking at in some detail since its members appear in almost every context. These were the Ogiers. Taking their family connections in alphabetical order they were related to, or associated in partnership with the families of Audeer, Bigot, Byas, ^{Courtauld} Duthoit, Gastineau, ^{Godin, Grellier} Giles, ^{Godin, Grellier} Lemaître, Levesque, Maillard, Maze, Messman, Merzeau, Mocquett, Sorel, Telsier, Triquet, and Vansommer. Through these families they must have been connected with nearly every silk weaving clan in Spitalfields. Moreover, the only connection not of Huguenot descent was that of Byas and the only one not in the silk industry was Telsier (but inhabitants of Spital Square nevertheless). They were among the most prosperous and it would be almost possible to write a history of the industry from an account of this one family (1).

The Ogiers came from Chasais L'Église in Bas Poitou (2). They were all descended from a Protestant, Peter Ogier, who had thirteen children. He died suddenly in 1697, and in 1700 his widow emigrated to London with a number of the children. As the children grew up they entered the silk industry. Peter Abraham Ogier, fourth son of the first Peter Ogier, was among the first to do so. He was a customer of Garthwaite, the designer, whom she referred to as "Mr. Ogier P. Street". This was 19 Princes Street. He was apprenticed to Samuel Brule, a "Foreign Master", and became free in 1716. He lived in Corbet Court for a time next door to Daniel Gobbee, and became a Liveryman in 1741, offered his quota in 1745 and died in 1747. John Ogier, the seventh son of Peter

(1) 13th April 1725 the Abbé Goued, Missionnaire Royal, Bas Poitou, wrote to his superior:
'Nous avons passé quelques jours à Moncontant où les religieux sont en très grand nombre; il faut espérer que les ordres que M. de le Tour notre intendant, a donné de faire mettre dans les prisons de Thouars le nommé Bernadin, homme dangereux et qui a 4 de ses enfants en Angleterre, pourre les toucher. Il y a aussi le nommé des Berthières (i.e. Peter Ogier) très riche marchand, encore plus dangereux que Bernadin son oncle; il médite de sortir de royaume, à ce que M. le Curé nous a assuré, et qui a envoyé 2 de ses enfants âgés de 10 et 12 ans en Angleterre; il y a chez lui une autre âgée de 9 ans qu'il serait très heureux de faire mettre dans un couvent...." He added that most of the religious had firearms and had often threatened the Curé, and that in consequence their lives were not safe. Apparently Peter Ogier made two large loans on 12th October 1729 and 13th December, and some time in January or February came over to England with his wife and children. Baudry quotes 6.215 l Ordonnance de Saisie du 28 fev. 1730 Arch. Nat. TT 65.

(2) The registers of La Patente (Hug. Soc. Publns. XI) p. 100 record the baptism of a son in 1725 born to James Mocquet "orig. de Pouzange". His wife, incidentally, was a Turquand. James Mocquet was apprenticed to Francis Mocquet in 1715 (p. 74, Hug. Soc. Publns. Vol. XXXIII).

(3) Francis Paul Audeer took his "reconnaissance" with the rest of his family in 1713 (La Patente Registers op. cit. p. 201). They were said to come from "Panprou en Poictou" (p. 112). The mother of the child was Elizabeth Ogier of "Chasais L'Eglise en Poitou".

(4) He witnessed the will of Peter Ogier, his brother-in-law, who died in 1740.

(5) See pp. 43, 204.

(6) See Appendix 2(iii).

Ogier the first, also came to London early in the century. He married the widow of Peter Maillard, whose family also came from Bas Poitou. He was presumably the John Ogier offering 16 men in 1745. He died in 1772.

The emigration of Peter Ogier, the second son of Peter Ogier who died in Poitou, was a rather dramatic affair (1). M. Baudry traced the process of emigration from this district; the contacts in London, money sent by bills of exchange and the unfortunates who were captured and sent to the galleys. Peter Ogier arrived in London early in 1730 with a number of children. All his five sons became weavers - three of them, Peter (the third), Thomas Abraham, and Lewis important ones. It is quite clear that the Ogiers brought with them a considerable amount of capital, and the presence of half the family already in London gave them an immediate entry to the industry. Thus, in 1730 Peter (the third) was apprenticed to Daniel Gobbee, his uncle's neighbour. Francis, the second son, was apprenticed to another Poitevin, James Mocquett (2), and Thomas Abraham to still another, Francis Paul Audeer (3), who was in addition his uncle by marriage and also possibly a family friend (4). John Ogier was the only son apprenticed outside the family circle, to Thomas Byas, of Sandys Street (5). He married, however, within the Huguenot community. Lewis, the youngest son, was apprenticed to his elder brother Thomas Abraham. Six Ogier firms offered men to the Crown in 1745 (6), and there were

(1) Ogier, Vansommer and Triquet, Ogier & Duthoit, Thomas Abraham in business alone, and Peter Ogier of Devonshire Street (the only one who appears in the 1772 complete Pocket Book).

(2) See p.106 of this Chapter, note 5 .

(3) Peter, son of Peter Abraham, left no will. Admon. was granted to Elizabeth his widow in the following year.

several subsequent partnerships (1). According to Mortimer's Directory, Thomas Abraham made mantua and watered tabby, Lewis and a Duthoit flowered silk, and Ogier (probably Peter (2)) Vansommer and Triquet gold and silver brocade and flowered silk. None of the brothers ever had an English partner nor did they marry any English girl.

Peter Ogier the third's career is indistinguishable from that of his cousin of the same name until after the latter's death in 1754 (3). In March 1756, he became an Assistant of the Weavers Company, Renter Bailiff in 1758, Upper Bailiff in 1760 and he was a witness before the House of Commons in 1765. Thomas Abraham became free of the Company in 1741, adopted the Livery in 1744 and soon took an active part in the affairs of the Company. Thus, in 1745, he served on the Committee organising the opposition to the use and wear of printed calicoes. In 1758 he became an Assistant and served on a number of Committees with his elder brother. He was an auditor in 1760 and served on the Committee of the Company which considered the best ways of preventing French silks from being smuggled into the country. He gave evidence before the House of Commons in 1766. In the course of this evidence he said that "he used to send great quantities of silk to Berlin" before the King of Prussia prohibited its import. Thus, he (as well as Sabatier) was exporting his own goods and not simply selling to a mercer for export. He became a highly respected inhabitant of Spitalfields, since he gave evidence in 1759

- (1) He also left no will. Admon. was granted to Elizabeth his widow on January 12th, 1776.
- (2) Vestry Minutes preserved in the local collection of Stepney Central Library.

to a Commons Committee on the appalling state of the street lighting in Norton Falgate. He was a member of the Committee collecting relief for the unemployed in 1765. He died in 1776 (1).

Lewis Ogier took up his freedom of the Company in 1755. He was a witness in 1765 when he said he had large stocks unsold (i.e., he was not a bespoke weaver) and described himself as a weaver of flowered velvets. He said that at the time of his greatest prosperity, in 1761, he had had seventeen looms working for him but that now he had far fewer. He lived in Spital Square, at first having joint premises with his brother and later his own house. He took part in the affairs of his local community, he was a Governor for Life of the London Hospital from 1752 (shortly after its foundation), he attended the Vestry of Norton Falgate (2) and in 1771 he was Governor of the French Hospital. He was also a member of the 1765 Relief Committee.

The Ogiers, though they may have been richer and more influential than many of the other Huguenots in the industry, were a typical family. They stayed within their own community, engaging in family partnerships of two or three people, not necessarily lasting very long. They were active citizens, working amicably with their English colleagues in good causes of common interest. Most important of all, it is evident that they were a well-to-do family when they emigrated. They prospered in the silk industry although they had no previous experience in it, and as the family

- (1) L. S. Sutherland. "A London Merchant in the 18th Century", Appendix III, p. 139. He was among those who signed a memorial in 1756 to the Board of Trade on the unfair tariffs and lack of a warehouse in Lisbon.
- (2) pp. 37, 106, 175, 192, 202.
- (3) PCC Caesar, fol. 422, 1763.
- (4) See Appendix 2(iii); PCC Caesar, fol. 322, 1763.

prospered so its interests widened. In France they were restricted in the professions they might enter. In England they were not, faute de mieux, bound to re-invest in the silk industry. Thomas Abraham Ogier, indeed was a "Trader to Portugal" (1).

The use to which the Huguenots put their accumulated capital had, I would suggest, a profound effect upon the industry. Again, the total absence of partnership agreements, correspondence, order or account books prevents an exact assessment from being made. It is their wills which are the most revealing. Among some hundreds of prosperous weavers traced, about four shewed a concern for their businesses, Abraham Jeudwine who has already been mentioned (2), wanted Fromanteel to see "that his trade be carried on as follows in the name of Jeudwine and Comp. "for the benefit of his sons". Mary Chauvet wrote (3) that, whereas part of her estate "doth consist of money in trade and stock in trade between Isaac Jervaise (a gauze weaver, according to Mortimer) James Rowlinson and myself, now in order to enable the said (partners) to carry on the trade more successfully to themselves" ^{if} they wish to keep their share of her part in trade, they could do so, and give it to the other executors at the end of seven years, paying 5% p.a. in the meantime. If they failed to pay the interest the money was to be invested in Government Securities. Captain Peter Lekeux left money to his son for the care and management of his business. James Beuzeville, dying in 1763 (4), left his wife the option of

- (1) PCC Browne, fol. 315.
- (2) PCC Seymer, fol. 303.
- (3) See Chapter 1, p. 55-8.
- (4) PCC Edmunds, fol. 43.
- (5) Which he had insured with the Hand in Hand Insurance Company in 1739 (GH MS.8674/58, fol. 14).

deciding whether to leave his money with his "present partners in trade or in public funds". Even if she opted for public funds his partners were not to be obliged to "pay the same out of their trade until two years" after his death. James Brant, who died in 1740 (1), directed that £200 should be paid out of his stock in trade to his dear wife. His son Thomas received £250 "besides the £500 he has in trade given him before and likewise all the utensils belonging to my trade". The greater majority, even including James Leman (2), directed that their property should be valued and sold, including their stock in trade. They did not re-invest in the silk industry. They did not expand their own businesses or buy up one another. According to their critics in 1765, the master weavers spent their surplus on coaches and Livery servants - and one could add marble mantelpieces and colonnades (3). Such expenditure, however, consumed only a small part of their capital.

The greater number of weavers invested in "public funds", "government securities", "bank annuities", occasionally in the East India or South Sea Companies, and nearly all the richer masters invested in house property, both in Spitalfields and elsewhere. Isaac Dupree (who offered 12 men in 1745) was a typical weaver. He died in 1746 (4), leaving his property to his wife and two sons, John and Isaac. He left all his houses to his wife: "which are now in mortgage to me... in the Parish of St. Leonards Shoreditch" (5), and two houses in Elder Street (one of which was their home) for

- (1) ~~Guildhall MS. 8674/~~, 1752.
- (2) Guildhall MS. 8674/58, fol. 85, 1739, renewed 1746 and 1753. The policy was, strictly speaking, only for his own house, but it was valued at £1,100, and he had the usual coach-house, stables and marble mantelpieces.
- (3) Guildhall MS. 8674/65, fol. 134, 1743/4. Six policies including a public house.
- (4) See Chapter 1, p.50
- (5) See p.203
- (6) He insured various properties. Guildhall MS.8674/71 1747 (£18,000) and MS.8674/65, fol. 17, 1743, £150 (a different property).
- (7) Guildhall MS.8674/71, fol. 175, 1741; MS.8674/83, fols. 166, 167, 205, 351. His will, PCC Potter, fol. 197, was proved in 1747, her's, PCC Legard, fol. 252, in 1767.
- (8) John Chevalier, William Daintry, the Delamares, Lewis Desormeaux, George Garrett, Giles Bigot, Daniel Gwilt, Jeremiah Mather, Thomas Umfreville, John Luke Landon, Col. Peter Lekeux, Peter Marescoe, John Maze (1767), etc. etc.

the remainder of their lease. In addition, he left her two houses "lately purchased" in Flower de Luce Street and three in Elder Street, "my house in Standford Hill", and "I also give my wife my chaise with all its furniture which is at Standford Hill". His son John received freehold property at Stamford Hill, subject to a small annuity to his father-in-law. He left property in Well Street, Lombard Street, and Pelham Street in the Hamlet of Mile End New Town in trust for a married daughter. His son Isaac only inherited two leaseholds in Montague Street and a sum of money. He left some monetary bequests and £650 in trust in Government Securities for the education of his youngest son James. Isaac, one supposes, inherited the business since he signed the 1769 List of Prices in the plain, foot-figured and flowered Branches. The elder Isaac did not mention 'the tackle of his trade' in his will or any other such phrase, though he at least admitted he was a "weaver".

Others who owned or bequeathed substantial amounts in house property were ~~Samuel August, a ribbon weaver (1)~~, Benjamin Baroneau (2) (a throwster), John Bigg (3), Peter Bourdon (4), James Brant (already mentioned (5)), Thomas Bray (6), and Ann Byas. She insured £18,000 worth in 1754, a large part of it inherited from her husband Thomas (7). Most of it was in a "new intended street" between Black Eagle and Quaker Street. She had other property since she mentioned in her will "all my old houses in Spittlefields". Other property owning weavers are listed below (8). Quite a number of the properties were

- (1) PCC Stevens, fol. 2, 1773.
- (2) PCC Bellas, fol. 223, 1776.
- (3) GM.XXXVI, October 1766, p. 405 (Obituary).
- (4) PCC Rushworth, fol. 52, 1765.
- (5) PCC Bishop, fol. 12, 1787.
- (6) PCC Major, fol. 61, 1787.
- (7) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, May 15th 1765, Obituary.
- (8) PCC Trenley, fol. 242, 1742.
- (9) See p.202.
- (10) PCC Lynch, fol. 128.

in other parts of England, especially in the case of the richest, such as Peter Bigot (1). The investment property held in Spitalfields indicates that the journeymen who lived to the North and East of the better streets not only worked for the latter but also paid them rent, and ^{this} must have put them in a peculiarly dependent position with regard to their masters.

Apart from owning their houses, their shops, and their warehouses and as much investment property as they could afford, the master weavers generally seemed to acquire some country property. Daniel Gwilt (2), for instance, left the residue of his "personal estate, household furniture and pictures, linen, china, books, etc. at Icklingham that these should remain in the house for the use of my sons who may reside there or make occasional excursions ^{to} - a pleasant thought, and one which his contemporaries found equally attractive. Peter Auber (1766) retired to Cheshunt (3), Ann Byas (1767) to Stoke Newington, Abraham Deheulle (1765) to Tottenham (4), James Duthoit (1787) to St. Mary, Islington (5), (and witnesses had to appear when his will was proved to testify to his handwriting, saying that they had known him in Spitalfields). John Duthoit went to Romford (6), Daniel Messman retired to Southgate (7), his sons remaining in Spitalfields. Giles Bigot went to Upton, West Ham (8), Mary Chauvet to Tottenham (9), Daniel Vautier (1760) lived at Cheshunt (10), Abraham Jeudwine had lately purchased property at Edmonton, according to his will, which he held in addition

- (1) PCC Taverner, fol. 165.
- (2) PCC Seymer, fol. 206.
- (3) See pp.171 of this Chapter, (P.C.C. Seymer fol.206.1745).
- (4) James Brant's will see p. 203 note 1 . Daniel Gobbee, PCC Herring, fol. 327 1757.

to his town house in Basinghall Street, and his country house at Palmers Green. These are examples at random but they do at least shew the tendency. Investment property might be anywhere, but it was normal to buy a house somewhere in or near Essex to which to retire.

Few weavers wanted their real estate to be sold at their death, it was rather their stock in trade which was to be disposed of. Peter Campart the elder (1), who died in 1772, left £44,600, most of it to be invested in public funds. Such investments were made as a matter of course, especially when there were children under age to be safeguarded. The elder John Sabatier, "master silk weaver", who died in 1745 (2) left £100 in Government Securities and Parliamentary Funds to his granddaughter Ann Fontaine, ^{and} annuities to certain kinsmen; half the residue ^{went} to his son (3), while £600 to be raised on the other half, was to be invested in Government or Parliamentary Funds in trust for a daughter and her husband. Lewis Desormeaux, one of the few concerned about his journey-men, left £1,250 in 4% Annuities in trust for his son, Matthew Lewis, and many smaller legacies. He did, however, envisage his business continuing since he wrote "as to my part of the stock in trade in goods Manufactured or not Manufactured the same....such as remain since the last inventory made by me and my son Matthew Lewis.." was to be taken at that value and "what has been brought into the said stock of goods since the last balance to be appraised by two independent persons". James Brant and Daniel Gobbee left money in securities (4).

(1) PCC St. Eloy, fol. 252, 1762.

(2) See p. 205 note 1 .

(3) See pp. 91-2, 104⁻⁶ of this Chapter.

(4) The date of Garthwaite's first designs which she sold to him 5981.3a, 11, 12, 15, 15a, 19, 23.

James Godin included among his bequests £12,000 in £3.10.0. p.a. Annuities at first in trust to his widow, and then to go to his son Giles (1). When Peter Bigot died in 1773 (2), although he left his nephew Giles Godin his "best diamond ring which cost me above 100 guineas", he left most of his estate to the latter's children, "as it has pleased God to bless my nephew Giles Godin with a good fortune". It was, of course, natural for the successful men to put their money in trust in what appeared to be the safest investments of the day: house property and government securities. It is, however, worth considering that, in the first place, they had a fairly large surplus of capital not invested in the industry and, secondly, that they did very little else-industrially - with their money. There are very few exceptions to the general picture. One man who was such an exception rather points the contrast with his contemporaries. He could have put his money in Parliamentary Funds or bought a house in Cheshunt, they could have invested their money as he did.

The exception was John Baker, whose career in the Weavers Company has already been discussed (3). His father had been a weaver, although apprenticed to a tallow chandler; his brother, Henry, was also a weaver and followed him to the Court of Assistants and on to most of the Committees on which he served. John Baker was making flowered silks at least as early as 1742 (4) and was still making them twenty years later according to Mortimer's Directory. He lived to

(1) GM.LIII, Part 1, p. 453, 1783.

"In Princes Street, Spitalfields in his 90th year, John Baker, Esq. a gentleman who, having acquired a genteel fortune by his unwearied assiduity and his elegant taste at the head of a considerable branch of the silk manufactory, had for a long series of years enjoyed the reward of his labours in the bosom of his family retired from business. He had the happiness to be universally respected and esteemed by a most extensive acquaintance and to be most sincerely beloved by those who were more nearly connected with him in the intercourses of life. His loyalty to His late Majesty and his truly patriotic zeal in the service of his country were eminently displayed during the Rebellion in the year 1745 when he trained to arms and daily exercised a numerous body of his own and other workmen, who held themselves in readiness (with other good citizens) to oppose any insurrections of the Pretender's friends and to preserve the public tranquillity. But the most peculiar circumstance in the life of this worthy man was his executing the delicate and important trust of guardian to several orphan children....Many of these are now living who owe the improvement of their fortunes and a virtuous education which laid the foundations of their prosperity to his unremitting attention to their welfare. After this it is scarcely necessary to add that in his last long illness he was an example of Christian fortitude and resignation to the Will of God".

(2) GH MS.8674/62 1742 two policies £500 together.

/63 1743, fol. 349-50 five policies £1,275 together.

/65 1743, fols. 87,217 six policies with his brother Henry £1,225.

/66 1744/5, fols. 327-8 four policies with his brother Henry, £700 and one with Timothy Rutter £450.

/70 1746, fol. 151 three policies the first with Timothy Rutter £600.

/71 1747, with Timothy Rutter, one policy £200.

/75 1750, five policies £1,275.

None of these policies were renewals of the same policy.

The 1760's have not been checked. Henry Baker also insured property independently of his brother.

(3) PCC Cornwallis, fol. 284.

(4) I am much indebted to Messrs. Truman & Hanbury Ltd. who permitted me to visit them and to examine this book for myself.

be ninety, dying in 1783 (1), and until the last few years was active, both in the Company and the industry. Both he and his brother, sometimes singly and sometimes jointly were owners of extensive property in Spitalfields (2) and they did not apparently possess a country house. He left his wife £20,000 in 3% Consolidated Bank Annuities and if he had not a sufficient sum in these, his executors were to make it up from his other securities (3). Thus far he conformed to the pattern, but among his properties were included a number of ale-houses, and in his will he mentioned his "joint stock in the brewing trade in partnership with Sir Benjamin Truman". The Stock Rest Book of Truman & Hanbury Ltd. (4) for the period 1767-1775 (the year when Baker drew up his will) has been preserved. In 1767 Truman had 12/18ths invested £66,000, and Baker £33,000, or 6/18ths. In 1768 of £105.032 John Baker had £35,010.15.8½d. invested. In 1775 the total assets were £164,042 of which John Baker's share was £54,680.15.0d. In 1776 Benjamin Truman had 18/18ths of the capital, so presumably Baker had withdrawn his. This must have been a very profitable subsidiary activity, especially in the second half of the century. One strange little bequest in his will was £300 to "Thomas Mortimer, author of 'Everyman his own Stockbroker'", from which it can be deduced that John Baker had tried out some of his lessons successfully. He is, however, the only weaver so far discovered with such interests and, moreover, one of the few rich English silk weavers. He was interested in trade and in making money, though not even he re-invested in the silk industry.

- (1) See Spitalfields Survey, Ison & Bezodis, op. cit.
- (2) John Cousmaker (obit. 1742 GM) and Thomas Excelby, for example.
- (3) The Trust is among the documents held at the French Church in Soho Square. I am much indebted to the Rev. Dubois and Miss W. Turner for permission to examine their material.
- (4) Guildhall MS.8674/28.
- (5) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 28, p. 385, 31st January, 1759.

The master weavers formed a very distinct group within their community and it is possible to build up a general picture of their habits and interests. It may be said almost without qualification that the master silk weavers were admirable citizens. Their personal interests, including the charities they supported, are very largely known from their wills.

A number of weavers were trustees under the Norton Falgate Act (1), several from the days of Col. Lekeux onwards, were J.Ps. (2). Their fortunate loyalty to the Crown in 1745 has been reiterated throughout this study. The Huguenots were active within their own community. Two weavers and a pattern drawer signed the Trust for the French Church in 1743 (3), the Turquands distributed the Royal Bounty to the Huguenots, Daniel Gobbee took out an insurance policy for the French Chapel in Crispin Street in 1723 (4). They also took an active share in local government. When Thomas Abraham Ogier gave evidence in 1759 on a petition for the paving of the streets of Norton Falgate (5), the evidence was confirmed by Zachariah Agace and James Payton, a black silk and gauze weaver and a shag weaver respectively.

The Vestry Minutes of Norton Falgate are unfortunately fragmentary. They shew the Ogiers and John Luke Landon fining repeatedly for various offences which they would no doubt have avoided if they could have done so. The legal duties were a rather different matter. Commissioners for the Court of Conscience of the Tower Hamlets nominated at

(1) Three volumes of the Vestry Minutes have survived for this period and are preserved in the local collection of Stepney Public Library. 1673-1710, 1710-1729, 1743-1766 (and later).

(2) See Chapter 1, p.30-1

at the Court House in Norton Falgate on April 9th, 1751, included James Godin, Peter and Thomas Abraham Ogier who were both elected. Among the other seven nominated were Obadiah Agace and Daniel Messman. Commissioners nominated for the Court of Request for the Tower Hamlets on April 17th, 1759 included Lewis Ogier, John Batchelor, Zachariah Agace and John Vansommer (three weavers of flowered silks and one of black silks). In 1766 the Commissioners were James Payton (shag weaver), Lewis and Thomas Abraham Ogier, Henry Guinand and Stevens Totton (a silk broker). These were the principal inhabitants of Spital Square and White Lion Street.

The Vestry Minutes of Christ Church, Spitalfields, of which two volumes have survived for this period, shew the weavers of Princes Street and Church Street etc. at work (1). From 1697, a number of people known in the silk industry attended Vestry meetings (even before the formation of the parish). By 1707, those attending regularly included Major (later Colonel) Lekeux, John Gobbee, Daniel Booth, John and Alexander Garrett. From 1709-1719, the pattern drawer Christopher Baudouin attended regularly, together with some of the Livery of the Weavers Company, Raphael Dubois and Humphrey Burroughs, for example (2). Abraham Deheulle first attended in 1710, George Bloodworth from 1712, having first fined for all offices. By 1714, Peter Campart was serving as an Overseer of the Poor and Daniel Gobbee as a Headborough. Gradually the number of weavers attending the Vestry increases. It

- (1) The Bakers, Benjamin Champion, John Rondeau, Simon Julian, Peter Abraham Ogier, George Reynolds, Daniel Gobbee, Daniel Messman, Joseph Harris, etc.
- (2) Mr. Snee, Mr. Crush, Mr. Jervis, Capt. Garrett, Mr. Lardant, Daniel Filon, Captain Gilbert, Peter Campart, John Ouvry, Peter Abraham Ogier, Peter Duthoit, John Allen. The others were Samuel Worrall, the builder and five otherwise unknown.

is interesting to see that they included a large number of the Huguenot population, such as Mathurin Gastineau, one of the Poitevin contingent, whose family belonged to the La Patente Church, Isaac Lefèvre, the scarlet dyer, and Daniel Messman, were regular in attending to choose officers, settle the payments to the poor or for similar reasons. At a Town Meeting of April 3rd, 1727 to choose officers, about 14 of the 75 attending were Huguenots. The same group of weavers and others in the industry who regularly attended the Common Halls of the Weavers Company also appeared in their parish Vestry meetings (1). In February 1729 the Vestry decided that there should be no select Vestry but "every inhabitant that is or have fined for the office of Overseer shall have the right to come to every town meeting or Vestry and give his vote as he now doth". A committee to manage the affairs of the workhouse was to include two weavers (though Daniel Gobbee asked to be excused).

When the Minutes begin again in 1743 there is an overwhelming majority of the industry present and active on Committees. The three auditors in 1743/4 were James Lardant, Peter Abraham Ogier and Captain John Baker, all silk weavers and possibly all flowered silk weavers. A Committee formed to consider removing the steps from the North side of Christ Church was composed of sixteen people, twelve of them in the industry (2). Robert and John Turner took office in this period. All but two of twelve auditors in 1745 were

- (1) 16th April 1745. Elected: John Peck, Isaac Lefèvre, James Lardant, Captain George Garrett, (Thomas Clark), Thomas Turner, (David Pain), Daniel Pilon, Alexander Garrett. Among the other candidates but not chosen were Peter Nouaille and Leonard Snee.
- (2) 4th April 1746. They included many of those chosen in 1745 and also Robert Turner, James Johnson, Peter Campart, Thomas Jervis, Isaac Roberdeau.
- (3) 11th August, 1747.
- (4) 17th April, 1750. Those elected were George Garrett, Thomas Turner (dyer ?), Peter Campart, Robert Turner (worsted ?), Major Lewis Gilbert, John Crush, Thomas Jervis, John Russell (throwster), Isaac Delamare (throwster), Nicholas Jourdain, Abraham Deheulle, James Johnson, John Sabatier, John Baker, Esq., James Ouvry, Isaac Roberdeau, Peter Nouaille (throwster).

weavers (1). John Peck, the dyer, was deputed by the Vestry to see George Bloodworth's executors in May 1745 about a provision in the latter's will for the parish to look after his mad-granddaughter. In 1746 all the auditors elected were in the silk industry (and all but one of the rejected candidates as well (2). A Committee formed in November 1746 to arrange for the recasting of the cracked tenor bell included the Rector, John Peck (the dyer), Robert Turner (worsteders), Capt. Baker, Mr. Mazy (i.e. John, a weaver), Mr. (Peter) Campart, Mr. Jarvis (probably the weaver), Thomas Turner (either the dyer or Robert's son) and Captain George Garrett (weaver). In August 1747, they paid for the bell, and "decided to put the chimes in order with two tunes for ten guineas". The Committee, slightly changed, were again all weavers (3). A Vestry was held in 1750 to choose Commissioners for "the speedy recovery of small debts according to the Direction of the Act of Parliament passed last Assizes" and 29 out of 42 nominations were silk weavers (4) and others in the industry. Only four of those finally elected were not connected with the industry. All the auditors in 1751 were silk people and in 1752, John Sabatier succeeded Peter Campart as Treasurer of the Watch and Lamps. When Spitalfields decided to have a workhouse on the model of that in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, it was George Garrett who made the most generous contribution towards building it. John Sabatier was apparently Secretary of the Committee formed to organise its building, since he reported progress to the Vestry from time to time. Before any work could start

- (1) I am most grateful to the authorities of the London Hospital for permitting me to borrow these lists, printed following the annual sermon delivered each year to commemorate its foundation.
- (2) General State of the London Hospital, printed in 1850, p. 27, lists the legacies from 1743 and then the Donations. Daniel Carbonel gave £10. 10. 0. in 1743, for example, Nicholas Hebert £21 in 1756.

the Committee had to ensure that their petition for a workhouse was presented to Parliament and a Bill introduced and converted into an Act. The first Governors of the new workhouse included a number of silk weavers. The Vestry Minutes of the '60's seem to shew fewer silk people attending, but the Clerk has not entered attendances, elections and the like in the same detail, and sometimes there is hardly a clear record at all of what took place. Nevertheless it is still evident that a substantial number of the older men from the silk industry continued to serve as auditors and in similar positions.

The chimes of the bells of Spitalfields parish church may seem a little remote from the industry, but the duties the master weavers and throwsters performed in the parish were time-consuming if not expensive. They probably did not carry any great social prestige, but a man who was chosen to audit the books of his parish must surely have commanded some respect in the district. The weavers evidently had the leisure to attend these, and the Weavers Company meetings and, like John Peck, to negotiate with other bodies. Their sense of social responsibility is also illustrated in the charities they supported. From 1747-1774, a large group of silk weavers and throwsters appear among the printed lists of the Governors for Life of the London Hospital (1). In 1752 the Treasurer was Daniel Booth, and from 1757-60 James Godin. They left legacies to the Hospital in their wills and gave donations in their lifetimes (2). They served as Stewards

- (1) Agnew, op. cit. 1871 edition, Vol. I, p. 76.
- (2) A list of such bequests exists among the records of the French Church in Soho Square.
- (3) It was mentioned in the wills of Stephen Cazalet, Lewis Desormeaux, Peter Maillard, Giles Bigot, Daniel Gobbee and James Maze.
- (4) Obadiah Agace, Stephen Cazalet, Abraham Dehculle, James Godin, etc.
- (5) Col. Lekeux, etc.
- (6) PCC Bedford, fol. 182.
- (7) The lists of contributors at various coffee houses were printed in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser throughout the spring of 1765. A list of benefactors printed on April 12th included John Baker 5 gns., Peter Lekeux 2 gns., Thomas Triquet 2 gns., Mrs. (i.e. Mary Magdalen) Alavoine 5 gns., Mr. Peter Alavoine 10 gns. (her son), Messrs. Lewis Chauvet & Co. 10 gns. These were among the first to contribute. A long list of others followed.
- (8) There was a report of the final meeting held by the Relief Committee on May 15th in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser. £1,572. 10. 7d. had been collected and 9,790 men, women and children relieved. They had also helped to distribute 100 sacks of coal given by an unknown person. An unemployed weaver and his wife and a silk thrower or winder unemployed each received 5/3d., children received 1/- each. A letter on May 23rd said that this would have relieved them for a week at the most and that they should have been put to work instead with the money collected.

at the Anniversary Feasts, which they also attended. Several weavers mentioned the "five hospitals of London" in their wills (John Baker among them). James Godin, for example, bequeathed £100 to the French Hospital, and £50 each to St. Thomas's and the London Hospital. The Huguenots supported their own charities most faithfully. Sixty-four of the Governors of the French Hospital from 1718-94 listed by Agnew (1) can be identified in the silk industry. Specific bequests were usually made for their Schools (for instance by James Auber in 1761 (2)); for the Charity "La Soupe" in Brown's Lane (3); the poor of the French Church at Threadneedle Street (4); and the Walloon Church at Canterbury (5); and occasionally for special Protestant causes. David Bosanquet (silk importer and merchant to the Crown), left money for the restoration of Protestantism in France in 1732 (6). Mary Chauvet left £15 per annum in perpetuity for the Incorporated Society of Dublin for the Promoting of English Protestant Schools in Dublin, and a large part of the residue of her estate to the Society of Xanilouye (?) and Angoumois established in London, for the use of their poor. Few of the notable weavers or throwsters failed to contribute to the relief committee during the distress of 1765 (7), even if the 5/3d. allowed for an adult weaver was rather inadequate (8).

They were possibly typical of the prosperous London tradesmen of the period. It does, however, become apparent that, apart from the ardent Protestants hoping one day to

(1) See pp. 146 of this Chapter, ^{and 147} note 4.

(2) Mr. Walter Saunders Taylor, a member of the Huguenot Society, enclosed the following letter in reply to our request for information about his family:
"Copy of a letter written by James Louis Desormeaux in 1776.
To the Right Honourable Mr. Justice Ashton,

My Lord,

It is with the greatest submission and respect that I presume to address your Lordship on the following subjects: I am the prosicutor of John Davis, who was convicted before your Lordship of breaking into an Outhouse belonging to me and stealing thereout a quantity of silk. On my personal application to Mr. Recorder, the day preceding his making the report to His Majesty of the unfortunate convict, I assured him that I was well convinced that Davis, though convicted, was the least offender of the whole concerned in the felony. Mr. Recorder listened with attention and after maturly hearing the matter as represented by me, I was in hopes he would have done all in his power to save the unhappy convict's life. I rested satisfied my earnest request would have been granted, but on reading the newspaper on Saturday last I beheld with the deepest concern His Majesty's Royal Order for his execution on the 17th inst. Struck with horror at his approaching fate, and being desirous that his life may be saved, emboldens me in an humble manner to address your Lordship (though in so high and exalted a station) praying you will condescend so far to interpose in his behalf, that the sentence of the Law pronounced against him may be reversed to banishment for any time His Majesty, in his Royal wisdom shall seem meet.

Should this, my earnest request be granted, your Lordship may be assured I shall retain a due sense of the obligation conferred on,

Right Honourable Sir,

Your dutiful and obedient servant,
J. L. Desormeaux.

Great Pearl Street, Spitalfields, January 1776."

The request was answered and there is a letter among Mr. Taylor's papers from the family of John Davis thanking Desormeaux for saving his life.

There was a remarkable change in attitude in the Gentleman's Magazine between 1740 and the 1760's on the fit punishment of criminals. The cases in which young boys are hanged for trivial offences decrease rapidly and the comments made become increasingly humanitarian.

(3) Mr. Dandridge and James Leman.

return to France, the silk weavers conformed to a fairly rigid, if unwritten code, of behaviour with few deviations. They did not, for instance, support the Foundling Hospital (about which the Gentleman's Magazine had several heated and controversial articles at the time of its foundation). Few left bequests for the special hospitals: the fever, lying-in or smallpox hospitals. The Pecks were the only family who wanted to apprentice poor children (1). They served on 'paving' committees, but did not leave money for the general improvement of Spitalfields. It is possibly an anachronism to expect them to have supported such causes. One family record (2) has preserved a rare case of individual humanitarianism in which mercy was shewn to a thief who stole some silk, but there was no general interest in such causes. It is probably dangerous to generalise too far in the absence of any personal correspondence or diaries, but the general impression is that this was an intensely orthodox community, intelligent, skilled, and enlightened within limits, but on the whole greatly anxious to be accepted as "gentlemen", so often the appellation in the wills of those weavers who survived into the 60's and 70's.

A very little is known about their personal interests. The designers had collections of bottled specimens (3) and, in addition, James Leman bequeathed "paintings, drawings (his own?) and all my collections of medals and coins and several odd things...." to his family. Several others mentioned their

(1) Peter Campart, Lewis Desormeaux, Anna Maria Garthwaite.

(2) PCC Bishop, fol. 12.

(3) See Chapter 3, pp. 248, 268, 329, 331, on the nature of these inventions.

(4) The detailed and accurate family trees retained in the Grellier Ogier-Ward and Cazalet families illustrate this tendency clearly.

(5) The Turquands entered in the second half of the century, but they were exceptional. Most of the firms listed in the Directories of 1770 had already entered the industry by the middle of the century. As the senior partners died or retired they were not replaced by their sons. The Directories for the 1790's contain only a handful of names of Huguenot origin among the silk weavers. The point is more fully discussed in the article prepared with my colleague, Mr. Thornton in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society for 1960.

books (1), and James Duthoit bequeathed his spinet and organ (2). An important little group became members of the Royal Society of Arts (Peter Alavoine, Peter Auber Junior, Thomas Bray, Lewis Chauvet, John and Isaac Delamare, Daniel Giles Junior (a silkman, the father had been a weaver), Giles Godin the son of James, John Gwilt, Abraham Jeudwine, John Landon (son of John Luke Landon and a practising weaver), Nicholas Peter Pilon, James Rondeau and Peter Triquet. A very few - really very few considering the size of the industry and its technical problems - patented inventions in the period: John Gastineau and William Mons in 1730, George Garrett in 1744, John Batchelor in 1750 and John Crumpler in 1764 were the only ones to do so (3). Daniel Gwilt's weekend house was perhaps closer to their hearts. Significantly, Peter Bigot "reflected on the Extravagance and Luxury of the present generation which inevitably occasions great fluctuations in estates and being desirous that my copyhold and freehold estates should continue in the family for a series of years, I have therefore intailed them....." A Poitevin immigrant of the second generation only, he wished to found a family of landed gentry in England. The third generation became merchants in the city, stock-brokers, East India Company men. They entered the liberal professions (4). Transition to the Church of England involved no great doctrinal difficulties. Only a few Huguenots entered the silk industry in the second half of the century (5) - among them the Courtaulds - but as the majority withdrew they took

- (1) See Appendix 2(i) and LC.9 288 (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts) 1731. Bill No. 4. Matthew Vernon, mercer, received payment for "26 yards 1/2 white English satin at 8/6d.... £11. 5. 3d. Messrs. Collinsons were asked by James Menander of New York on an invoice of November 20th 1738 to include in their next consignment "2 ps. Green English Silk Damask 1/2 yard wide about 28 yds. long patterns" (attached to document). (New York Public Library).

- (2) 1765 Report op. cit., p. 209.

with them their capital. The English who succeeded them were hardly comparable in social standing or in wealth, nor had they the same experience in the design and production of flowered silks.

The Mercers.

Although about ninety firms have been traced in the period with addresses in Ludgate Hill, Covent Garden, or scattered in the City, it is far more difficult to assemble information about them, since they were almost all of English descent with fairly common names. Moreover, only a very few are known quite certainly to have bought and sold English silks (1). According to Peter Ogier (2) all but the "ten capital houses" who had signed the Mercers' petition to the House of Commons in 1765 dealt in English silks. This may have been true, but there is no way of finding out. Certainly at least two of the "capital houses", Carr & Co. and Thomas & William Hinchcliffe, also dealt in English silks.

Ancker, writing in 1776, after the crisis of 1764-6, and after the fashion for silk had passed its zenith, ascribed the initiative for all the operations in the industry to the master weaver, who himself took no part in the actual weaving. He said 'they accepted orders from both English and foreign mercers; they supply the weavers with patterns; they agree with the journeymen weavers on the price to be paid for the work; they weigh out the silk for them; they receive the

- (1) Stephen Paris said that he was "mostly in the bespoke way". John Allen, although he said he preferred a bespoke trade did not say, in fact, that he worked entirely for any particular firms of mercers. He stressed the advantage of not having goods left on his hands.
- (2) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 210.
- (3) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 208.

finished cloth from the weavers and examine it, and pay for the work. They then pass the silk to the dealers, whereupon they enjoy the full payment....They regulate the whole industry since no weaver can work without their help'. This may have been true of the richest weavers in the earlier period, for these men would correspond to the weavers in the wholesale way described as a matter of course in "The General Description of all Trades" in 1747. It conflicts, however, with some of the evidence given to the Select Committees of 1765 and 6, which implied that the mercer gave the patterns to the weaver. The accepting of orders is an ambiguous phrase. Did the mercer choose from a season's patterns submitted to him by the weaver and then order so many lengths of what he required, or did he, on the other hand, give an order to a master weaver for say, a flowered lustring, four pieces of so many yards per piece, giving him the pattern but leaving him to commission the draftsman, buy the silk etc.? Did the weavers work entirely on a speculative basis? All three methods of trade seem to have been practised. One thing is clear, only a very few mercers in fact controlled the production of particular weavers. Conversely, only a small proportion of the weavers were "confined to particular shops" (1). As Mr. Ashburner, the mercer, said (2), "The mercers cannot establish Weavers, because in the Fancy Way they must support them, which he had tried and lost money by it". James Johnson, a weaver (3), said "That all silks are sold by the Weavers Wholesale". John Peregal's evidence implied that two relationships were

(1) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 209.

(2) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 209.

(3) Francis Rybot, Weaver and Mercer, At the Cat in Raven Row, the further end of Smock Alley, Spitalfields, London. (Trade Card, B.M.). Makes and sells....rich brocaded silks, Dutch, Genoa and English velvets,

rich damasks

armozeens

Mantuas.

padusoys

ducapes

strip'd tobines and cloud.

Flowd. Water^d &

rich sattins

lustrings.

unwater^d tabby's

Pelings

black silks.

Brocaded striped and plain messinets, Norwich crapes.

(there follow a series of half silks and worsted materials).

At the foot of the trade card is a note that "merchants supplied for the foreign trade".

(4) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 210.

(5) So far untraced.

possible "he employs more hands than he used to do and is fully employed, but that owing to the nature of his trade, which is not to keep a Stock of Goods by him for a general market but to work for particular shops, whose patterns cannot be made for others". He added, however, "that this method of trade which he calls a bespoke trade is a great confinement" (1). He thought he would make more silks and more cheaply if not thus restricted. It can be assumed from the warehouses kept by the Ogiers, the Brays and the Bigots that they indeed "kept a stock of goods" by them "for a general market" and that they had the capital to do so. Ashburner said there was an increasing tendency towards the bespoke trade "whereas formerly all the weavers kept a large stock of goods".

Peregal also said that the "general credit to the mercer is 12 months (2) and the weaver abates one yard and a quarter in every 20 yards and a quarter" (just as the journeyman and master weaver measured a variable number of inches to the yard).

A very few men, such as Francis Rybot (3), advertised themselves as "weaver and mercer", which John Pritchard claimed to be (4) in 1765. He said he was driven to this because "the mercers are now put to such difficulty to get their orders executed that he has been obliged to carry on the Weaving as well as the Mercery business, one of his partners being a pattern drawer (5); and that persons having pattern drawers may easily find weavers to execute their designs". He

(1) A letter of May 26th, 1731 to Palerne their deputy in Paris, from the Lyon Chambre de Commerce, explained to him that although silks were sealed in Lyon with the name and address of the weaver the merchants who had "des commissions des Pays Étrangers" always took off these seals. "Si une fois les noms des bonnes fabriques sont connues chez les étrangers ils commettrons eux mêmes adroiture leur marchandises dont ils auront besoin et nos commissionnaires seront frustrés par la du Bénéfice qu'ils ont à présent". They argued that the "marchand fabricant.....n'auraient pas le même confiance" with the foreign dealers as the established exporters had. This would seem a rather strange argument in view of the fact that the foreign customer was supposed to be tempted by the seals to approach the "bonnes fabriques" in the first place.

(2) A typical trade card dated 15th July, 1757 at the London Museum is that of "Mason, Lucas and Higgons, Mercers at the Lamb, Chandos Street.... (who sold)

"Genoa & Dutch Velvets	Sattins	Strip'd & Plain Lustrings	Strip'd & Plain Irish Stuffs
Brocades	Tabbies		
Damasks	Armozeens	Sarsnets	Furniture and other Stuff
Paduasoyes	Ducapes	Persians	Damasks
Rasdemores	Sergedusoyes	Poplins	Camblets & Callimancoes
	Mantuas	Broglies	

Norwich Crapes; for mourning of particularly good mixtures
Black and White Bombazeen Rich figured and other silks for
gent's wear".

At the back of the card is a bill for 9 yds. grey lutsg.
(lustring).....5/6d. £2. 9. 6d.

Many of these materials were silk and worsted (see next Chapter)
but the fourth column were pure worsted.

(3) James and Peter Ferry of London and Bath" at the last house on the North Parade near the Grand Parade" (Bath) advertised "fresh parcels and new patterns....every week...from their own looms in London" in 1752, quoted p. 30 Marjorie Williams: "Lady Luxborough goes to Bath", 1946. Peter Ferry was a contributor to the '45 List, see Appendix 2(iii); Peter Ferry the elder died in 1746 (PCC Edmunds, fol. 177). His will - which is exceedingly brief - begins "I Peter Ferry, the elder, weaver and mercer, of the Parish of St. Mary le Strand...."

continued by saying "that the ten capital mercers' houses were almost all that were in the flowered way; that others dealt very largely but in plain silks". Since many of the one hundred other mercers had quite small firms, and many of the weavers were very prosperous it may be that the weavers of plain silks remained very largely independent. The weavers of figured silks, who stood the greater risk, were perhaps sharply divided by the end of this period into those who could afford (as John Baker) to commission designs and those who were forced into a bespoke trade. Again, there is a contrast with the Lyon industry. The divisions between *compagnon*, *maître ouvrier*, *maître fabriquant*, and *maître marchand* were always clear. John Sabatier could not have exported his own silks to Ireland nor Thomas Abraham Ogier his to Berlin. The *maîtres marchands* - the equivalent of the wholesale weaver and mercer - took active steps to prevent the Lyon weavers from exporting their own goods (1). The fluidity of English practice stands out all the more by contrast.

The London mercers sold the silks retail from the shops in which they usually lived, either offering a stock to their customers or placing special commissions. Normally it was the mercer rather than the weaver who organised the export of silks to other parts of the country and abroad. The mercers usually handled fine woollen and worsted goods as well as silks (2). A somewhat untypical firm, Peter and James Ferry, had a shop in the Strand, wove silks in Spitalfields and also advertised in Bath (3). A series of accounts survive of the

- (1) Their address in Kent's Directory of 1759.
- (2) The accounts are preserved in New York Public Library, where they were seen by the late Mr. Peter Floud. I am much indebted to him for obtaining a photostat of them which he lent me for this research.
- (3) See Appendix 4(i).
- (4) Callimancoes were a highly glazed worsted material with a satin weave. They were used for clothing (men's waistcoats, for example) and furnishings. Their colours were bright, the quality good, and they were comparatively expensive. They were chiefly made in Norwich but also in London, and they were exported to many countries abroad. Very few made-up callimancoes have survived since they received hard and continuous use and were susceptible to attack by moth, but fortunately their character can be determined in this period from samples dated 1719 and 1764. Some large pieces have been found in America and there are one or two in Museum collections in Northern Germany - the other great market for English textiles.
- (5) Two pattern books of Norwich callimancoes and similar materials "the counterpart of those sent to Portugal" belonging to a manufacturer named Kelly and dated 1764 belong to the Victoria and Albert Museum. All the samples in the books are named and priced (and often translated into Portuguese) so that the agent abroad could have ordered from them as Menander ordered his silks from New York.
- (6) Persian was a lightweight lining material. It is mentioned in the Fancy Branch of the 1769 List of Prices before the rates for Sarcenets. It could evidently have some small pattern since "spots" were mentioned among the items requiring extra payment. In the trade card quoted on p.220 note 2, it also appears with sarcenet.
- (7) Lyon. Archives Départementales. Série B. Papiers de Commerçants. Carret et Cie. Négociant en tissus. Correspondence c. 1760-1780. There are 23 large bundles of miscellaneous correspondence of which the first 20 or so are sorted into alphabetical bundles and then grouped under the place of origin "Dunkerque" "Londres", etc. Many samples of the actual silks ordered or discussed in the letters are attached to them. It is to be regretted that no French student or archivist has thought their own silk industry sufficiently interesting to work systematically through these and other similar collections among the Papiers de Commerçants.

exports made to New York by the firm Peter and James Collinson, mercers of Gracechurch Street (1) to James Menander (2). The Customs figures shew that this was one of the chief markets for British silks (3) and thus the accounts are particularly valuable. These accounts are for the years 1735-1760. The Collinsons handled callimancoes (4) and half silks as well as silk goods. It cannot, of course, be certainly determined that the silks they exported were English. The nature of the silks will be discussed in the next section but both the quantities bought and the method of sale are relevant here. Only once, (see p. note) did Menander specify "2 pieces English silk damask". In other respects the order was typical: the quantity was small - four dress lengths if each piece was 28 yards - and he ordered from patterns possibly the counterpart of some Collinsons had sent him (5). "50 yards of narrow white Persian" (6) were about the largest quantity he ordered. Mostly he asked for one piece of this or that coloured satin, two or three at the most. He often mentioned the length of the piece - the longest being 40 - 50 yards. Yet for each Spring and Fall Menander ordered a large number of such items. The method of ordering is precisely the same as that of a French négociant by the name of Carret who travelled Northern Europe with sample books (7). From his sample books he sent orders back to his partner in Lyon. The scale of his business was much larger than that between Menander and the Collinsons, but it was carried on in the same way with a large number of

- (1) In the 'fall of 1738 Menander asked the Collinsons to send him "some remnants of brocade silk for shoes, in all about 8 yds. a remnant may be of 1 or 2 yds. less or more". In 1770 Carret received an order from Dunkerque for assorted "droguets" de differents couleurs vert, bleu, petit gris, couleur de rose, moiré doray (sic).....brodez en ors et brodez en argent....surtout point de rebus de magazin...." for "des souliers de droguet en soie".
- (2) Carret wrote a long and reproachful letter to his partner in Lyon in 1766, who was apparently not supplying the goods which Carret had promised to his customers. He emphasised that a particular order was to be woven "bien promptement" and he enclosed a sample, an excellent Gros de Tours made in Holland which was being sold everywhere. His partner was to have it copied but not to tell the fabriquant the price at which it was selling in Holland.
- (3) Genoa velvet retained its reputation until late in the century. The article on "velours" in Diderot commented throughout on its quality. Moreover, Robert Carr who supplied much "Genoa velvet" to the Great Wardrobe made a particular point in his evidence in 1765 that it was greatly superior to the English.
- (4) See p. 217 note 1.

small orders. Some of the items such as remnants for shoes are almost identical (1). It is, however, evident from the correspondence between Carret and his partner that the goods were mostly to be woven according to the samples, and they were not goods in stock (2). This fact is not so clear from Menander's invoices. When, in 1737, he ordered "12 pieces silk camblets, newest fashion, good colours and glossy at different colours" he presumably left it to the Collinson's discretion to choose from their stock. "One piece of plain middling blue lustring 18 yards long $\frac{1}{2}$ ell wide colour as pattern (attached)", ordered in 1736 might possibly have to be specially woven unless the Collinsons sent out new pattern books of goods in stock for each season. Goods were always ordered for the season ahead. On June 7th, 1737 Menander sent an "invoice of goods requested....of Messrs. Collinsons in the Fall of 1737". Allowing for the length of two sea voyages to America - about six weeks each - there would hardly have been time to commission the weaving of such orders. The quantities sold to the Great Wardrobe by those mercers with Royal appointments contrast significantly with these piecemeal orders. There were generally two or three mercers supplying silks in any year and quantities were very large - sometimes 230 yards at a time. The velvet facings for Liveries may well have been imported (3), but many of the other silks were presumably English, and once or twice it was specifically stated that they were (4).

- (1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.
- (2) See Chapter 1, p. 36.
- (3) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser.
- (4) They rather underestimated him since he lived until 1791.
- (5) 26 Geo. II, Cap. 21. An Act for encouraging the silk manufactures of this Kingdom and for securing the Duties payable upon the importations of velvets, wrought silks, and silks mixed with other materials not manufactured in Great Britain.
- (6) 9th April 1755, 12th July 1758, for example. Weavers Company Court Books.
- (7) His official position was described as "Examiner, Searcher and Stamper of Foreign Silks at the Custom House" (1765 Report, op. cit. pp. 208-9). His name occurs throughout the period especially when the seizures were important.

Although the mercers necessarily handled the weavers' goods they were looked upon with increasing suspicion as the chief importers of foreign silks. As Mr. Carr admitted (1), "he did not think it in the power of the trade to give preference to French and English patterns as they thought fit". Carr's attitude, it may be remembered, cost him 134 panes of glass (2). On May 23rd 1765 the firm published a public denial (3) "Whereas it has been reported by some evil-minded person that we John Ibbetson, John Bigge, William Pickard and William Gibson, mercers and partners with Mr. Robert Carr of Ludgate Hill have silk looms in France, with many other insinuations equally false..." (they denied having any looms)"either in France or any other foreign country whatsoever; and that the few French goods we have had or now have, have been regularly entered at the Customs House and paid the legal duty, and these deponents verily believe that the said Robert Carr who is now near death (4)....would have joined with the deponents in the above deposition.... Sworn and signed at the Mansion House in the presence of the Lord Mayor". Ever since the Act of 1753 (5), the Weavers Company had been re-imbursing Customs Officers who had seized silks alleged to be smuggled in the shops of certain mercers (6). On September 9th, 1761, after some seizures made by Robert Trott (7), the Court of Assistants held a long discussion on the subject and passed resolutions to support the Customs Officers making such seizures. They

i.e.:

- (1) Thomas and William Hinchliff at the Hen and Chickens, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.
- (2) Court Books, September 30th, 1761.
- (3) Eighteen of Garthwaite's designs between 1724 and 1749 were sold to various weavers "bespoke" to "Mr. Carr". Two designs of 1745 were bespoke by the Hinchliffs...and one for Mr. Swan (a cut and uncut velvet to be woven by Mr. (Peter) Lekeux)). In 1742 she drew a design "for Mr. Ogier, Spittle Square" which was bespoke by "Mr. Swan & Buck". Welch appears once, in 1752, on a design for "a sing (le) comb (er) damask patt (ern)" to be made by Mr. Maze. (This would be a large design, repeating once in the width of the material - see Chapter 3, p.266). Welch described himself as "of Ludgate Street, mercer" when he insured a house in Cheshunt in his own possession in 1754. Guildhall MS.8674/83, fol. 111.

also appointed a Committee to "manage and direct all proceedings relating thereto". This was empowered to undertake prosecutions and to dispose of the penalties if the case was won. The first occasion on which the Committee were called into action was a seizure of some silks at Messrs. Hinchcliffe (1), and the Clerk was ordered to write to them "to offer a meeting with the Committee to examine the proofs they had to shew the silks seized were of Foreign Manufacture in order to settle the matter in a friendly way if they were disposed....." (2). On June 30th, 1762 John Baker reported to the Court that "he had accommodated the Affair of the late seizure at Messrs. Hinchcliffs in the best manner he could and paid them £12 for their damages and £12.12s. for their charges in their suit against Robert Trott....." The mercers had won the first round. In June 1762 the Company were engaged in prosecuting Messrs. Welch and Swan (separate cases). It is interesting that all three firms, and they are the only ones mentioned by name in the Court Books of the Company, were also commissioning English silks, since they are mentioned on the Garthwaite designs. Swan was also a customer of de Brissac (3).

Robert Trott, who had seized a particularly important book of French patterns in the summer of 1764, said categorically to the House of Commons Select Committee in the following year "that the Mercers have imported French silks as Italian....and that two judgements have been obtained

- (1) See Chapter 1, p. 35 note 2.
- (2) See Appendix 6.
- (3) The weavers who wove designs to Carr's orders were Mr. Gobee (Daniel ?) from 1742, Mr. Gregory (John ?) from 1744, Mr. Vautier (Daniel ?) from 1744, Cap. (John) Baker from 1745, Mr. (Peter) Lekeux from 1745, Mr. (John ?) Batchelor from 1745, Mr. John ? "Sabiteir" from 1747, Mr. (William) Grinsell in 1749. Vautier and Sabatier were Garthwaite's chief customers.
- (4) There are bill-heads at the B.M. for 1733 and 1739 and at the London Museum for 1749, 1751, 1757 and 1758, at the Guildhall for 1760, at the British Museum for 1761 and the Victoria and Albert Museum for 1767.
- (5) 1750-1751 may serve as an example. The firm supplied £62. 5. 4d. of silks to the master of the Robes in 1750 and £57. 5. 0d. worth in 1751. These materials ranged from crimson velvet at 29/- a yard to sergedesoy at 7/- and green narrow paduasoy at 12/- and some "yellow ground silver and colours at 60/-" in 1751. In the same year the firm supplied silks used at the funeral of Frederick, Prince of Wales, £429. 10. 9d. in all, including crimson and white Florence taffeta (9/9d. per yard), Genoa velvet at 27/4d. to be used for a canopy to carry over the body at the funeral, and Dutch velvet to cover the harness for the horses at 21/-. The difference in price of the two velvets may be one of quality, but since that supplied to the Master of the Robes did not specify "Genoa" it may, perhaps, have been English. To the Great Wardrobe the firm supplied in these two years £1,066. 2. 3d. worth of silk in five separate bills. Much of this was "crimson Genoa damask" both for the furnishing of the Tubbs Yacht and the Carolina Yacht. One item was for 91 yards ½ ell sarsnet for two quilts in all £18. 4s. (LC. 9, 291 Bills 1750, No. 2, 17, 26; and 1751, 21, 38).
- (6) Trade Card B.M. dated 1733.
- (7) I am much indebted to Mr. Shelton, Archivist of Glyn Mills Bank for the facilities he made available for consulting these documents. Robert Carr married a Glyn, and hence the agreements passed to this family. The first partnership agreement is dated 20th January 1739 (i.e. 1740?).

for £200 on seizures of foreign wrought silks illegally imported found in the Hands of the Mercers; since when he has made some seizures in the shops of mercers...."

It would be interesting to know what proofs Hinchcliffs had produced to confound Robert Trott when he seized their silks in 1761.

The one firm about which some details are known is that of Robert Carr & Co. They seem to have been one of the most important in the period: they supplied goods to the Crown on a large scale, and Robert Carr had fashionable customers (1). They were importers of raw silk on their own account (2), suspected smugglers - the only firm whose shop was attacked in the summer of 1765 - customers of Garthwaite's chief weavers (3) and therefore dealers in flowered silks, one of the "capital" houses whose partners gave evidence in 1765. Trade cards exist for the firm from 1733 until the 60's (4). Taking the trade cards with the Victoria and Albert designs, it can be seen that the firm handled every variety of luxury silk. The royal orders, which averaged two or three a year, were worth several hundred pounds to the firm (5). Robert Carr's earliest partner was a Joseph Stanfield (6), and he later went into partnership with Ebenezer and Samuel Ibbetson (7). Their capital was £7,000, of which Ebenezer Ibbetson had the largest share, £3,062. 10s. Od. Ebenezer Ibbetson subsequently retired and the partnership was renewed in 1747 by Robert Carr, now senior partner (£7,000), Samuel Ibbetson (£3,500), Thomas Bigge (£3,000) and John Ibbetson (£2,500), a

- (1) Their address on the trade card of 1739 at the British Museum.
- (2) Partnership agreement of 21.7.1764.
- (3) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.
- (4) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.
- (5) G.M. XVII, p. 392, September 1748, for instance. The firm contributed 10 gns. "to relieve the sufferers in Cornhill 25th March last". This was to help those who had suffered in a very large fire in which several people had been killed and others made homeless and a number of shops were burnt out. The list was headed by the Prince of Wales and Princess Amelia and was mostly made up of city financiers such as Mendes da Costa, etc.

total capital of £16,000. Carr's first wife, Grace Bigge, was presumably a relative of Thomas Bigge. The partnership was renewed in 1752, and, at the end of 1757, Samuel Ibbetson withdrew. In 1764 the firm's capital stood at £30,000. Apart from the Queen's Head, their original premises (1), their capital was also "in the two other shops lately purchased of Mr. Gilbert" (2). Carr's share was then £8,000, John Ibbetson's the same, William Pickard (the 1765 witness) £5,500, John Bigge £4,500 and William Gibson's £4,000. In 1765 Robert Carr told the Select Committee (3) that he had imported from Italy "plain velvets, furniture damasks and mantuas" and he made some derogatory remarks about English velvets and furniture damasks, which were hotly denied by Jeudwine and Gibson the laceman (4). Carr had, in fact, in the 1740's, commissioned a number of damasks from Baker and Vautier, and a cut and uncut velvet from Peter Lekeux, probably not isolated purchases. Had the quality fallen off since then, or had he been consistently disappointed in the results - or was he, as the weavers rather implied, inventing excuses to import French goods?

It would be interesting to know more about Carr himself. He had social pretensions and assumed the title Sir Robert Carr. He was a conspicuous contributor to public charity (5). Even a mercer of his standing, however, did not attempt to invest any of his capital in the industry itself. When Samuel Ibbetson withdrew from the partnership in 1757, a list of debtors to the firm was made. Those who can be identified

- (1) A customer of the Lemans from 1706-8. He signed a petition on the import of Italian silk in 1694 (Hof L. MSS. R. Csn. H MS New series, Vol. I, p. 321). He insured a number of house properties (none his own) in 1719. He banked with Child's and an account exists for 1727-29/30 when the balance of £2,000 was paid to his widow Alice Sandys.
- (2) PCC Abbott, fol. 351.
- (3) PCC Derby, fol. 69.
- (4) It got into great financial difficulties and its affairs were investigated by a Parliamentary Committee. The report survives among the printed Parliamentary Papers (at University College).

were financiers such as Lethulier or Verelst. None are recognisable as silk weavers. Moreover, the capital he put into his mercer's shop hardly compares with that John Baker invested in his sideline - the Truman brewery.

If the silk weavers wanted to settle as country gentry rather than build up large businesses in the City, such social aspirations seem to have been even more pronounced in the few mercers whose careers have been traced. Windsor Sandys (1), who died in 1729, described himself as "gentleman" and had retired to Gloucester (2). He left much house property, both in the city and in the country and his monetary bequests included a sum of money to buy his youngest son chambers in the Temple. Henry Shelley was another mercer who supplied large quantities of silks to the Crown between the Coronation of George II and 1736, when he died (3). He left estates in Lewes, including his "mansion or dwelling house", Cuffield, Sussex; and country properties elsewhere, together with property in Westminster and Southampton Street, Covent Garden. He had a town house in Cavill Street in the Strand, whose contents he left to his wife - the plate, pictures, furniture and "chariots, harnesses and appurtenances.....like-wise all my coach horses", while he left a large brilliant diamond ring to his son. He left large sums of money to his children, and £1,000 each to two sisters, together with annuities from Funds in the York Building Society (an unusual investment) (4). Despite all this, he also left to "all the menservants who shall at my death be living in my shop.... at the King's Arms and Seven Stars in Bedford Street, Covent

- (1) There are two complete bills at the London Museum for 1750 and 1756, both apparently for dress materials.
- (2) They supplied the Master of the Robes in 1751 (LC.9.3) with "8½ yds. w gold and colours brocade.....at 60/- and 10 yds. broad sergedesoy.....at 6/-."
- (3) Country Life: CXVII 1955, March 31st, p. 857. Article on Woburn Abbey. The damask was for the State Dressing Room or small drawing room.
- (4) PCC Bogg, fol. 396.

Garden, £10 a piece for mourning" and £20 to the porter. He left money to the poor of several parishes and then, surely, a significant bequest? His eldest, or surviving eldest son at the age of eight, was "to be put to ^a Eton or Westminster School from thence at the proper time to Oxford and after to one of the Inns of Court for the study of the law, my father and grandfather having been of that profession...." He did not even consider apprenticing a younger son in his own profession.

The mercers of a slightly later period shewed very similar characteristics. Robert Swan and Robert Buck almost certainly handled English silks regularly, even if they were prosecuted on one occasion for handling foreign ones. Their trade cards and bills survive for a variety of silks (1) from 1730 onwards. They were first established in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, and later moved to the Wheatsheaf in King Street. They supplied the Crown on at least one occasion (2) and sold £500 worth of damask to the Duke of Bedford in 1756 (3). William Ashburner, who gave evidence in 1765, was a junior partner. Others were William Barlow and Richard Ellison. Swan died in 1769, and Buck in 1770. They left satisfactory bequests to their friends and Swan (4) £5 each for mourning to his "own servants" and "to all the servants living in the shop". He supported the usual charities: St. George's Hospital, the Charity School at Covent Garden, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the Middlesex, and (more unusual) the Lying-In Hospital in Brownlow Street. Together with £15,000

- (1) PCC Bogg, fol. 367.
- (2) PCC Alexander, fol. 421.
- (3) See p.216.
- (4) In February 1735/6 two mercers appeared to witness the handwriting of Henry Shelley's will. They had been "well acquainted....for more than 12 years". They were James Everard of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and Thomas Wroughton of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The latter had at least one commission from the Great Wardrobe in the spring of 1737. Two silk mercers witnessed the handwriting of Robert Buck in 1769. George Nelthorpe of King Street, Covent Garden, mercer, was appointed an executor and was bequeathed Robert Buck's "own gold watch and case" by a third codicil to the will. Swan left his partner, William Ashburner £500. Each of the other partners Buck, Barlow and Ellison were left £200.
- (5) Daniel Defoe: "Complete English Tradesman" 1726. Letter XXII, p.304 et seq. 'Of the Dignity of Trade in England' and see Chapter 1, p. 35 note 6.

he left his "real and leasehold estate" to his sister.

Robert Buck left a rather fuller will (1). He mentioned his own picture several times, asking for it "to be kept among the family pictures". He left large bequests and much country property "in Dover, Folkestone, and the County of Kent" over which he had had a furious family row with the father of his late wife's niece, since it involved her estate. This dispute took up much of the will, his mercer's business very little. William Hinchcliffe (one of the partners in Messrs. Hinchcliff's, who died in 1775 (2), like the others, left large sums of money. He particularly wanted his wife to have his pictures, prints and china, but his shop and business were to be sold. He and his brother Thomas were members of the Royal Society of Arts, together with another mercer, James Hebert, but they were outnumbered by the weavers (3).

Such were the mercers. They had for the most part large capital which they did not risk in the industry. They bought real estate instead, and the silk industry thus remained independent of them. They consorted with their fellow mercers (4), and lived as Daniel Defoe said, more like princes than tradesmen (5).

(1) This is implicit in one of the criticisms made by "Veritas" of the "proper regulations" proposed by "Simplex" (February 27th Gazette and New Daily Advertiser). "Simplex" proposed that the journeymen should bring their finished silk to the Hall of the Weavers Company to be stamped, measured, etc. In the opinion of "Veritas" this would be "next to impossible", partly because of the expense in paying a staff of stampers, and partly because of the "hardship" to the journeymen, to make them "dance to the Hall to have their piece measured and stamped, there perhaps they must wait two or three hours for their turn and therefore lose half a day's work".

Ancker's report is not explicit on this point, but the general sense would seem to be the same. In the 4th section he explained that the master weavers (who took no part in the actual weaving) "received the finished cloth from the weavers and examine it, and pay for the work". It is assumed in both cases that the journeyman will carry the silk to and fro.

5. Financial Organisation.

It may perhaps be useful to sum up the general financial structure of the industry - as far as it is known. Raw silk was imported, according to its origin, in exchange for bartered goods, for exported goods, or for cash. This trade was conducted on very long credit, and the silk was sold on very long credit, either by the individual merchants or through brokers, and, again, either at public auctions or by individual sales. It will be remembered that Bosanquet had worked out that it took four years before he saw a return on his goods.

According to Ancker, the next operations were all financed by the weaver who had the silk thrown and lent his journeymen money to cover expenses while throwing and later weaving. He also hired or lent out looms and other equipment. This was probably an over-simplification, but the normal relationship of weaver to throwster is unknown. The journeyman weaver was paid by the yard (and, according to the specific quality of the silk he was making) for work which he collected and delivered himself to the Master (1). There was a discount per yard which stood either in his favour or his master's, according to the source one prefers to believe. The master weavers worked for the most part independently, sometimes forming partnerships with one or two fellow weavers, often their relatives. After the extinction of the Royal Lustring Company there were no further experiments with joint stock companies in the industry in this period. The master

- (1) John Perrigal (1765 Report op. cit.) said "that the general credit to the mercer is 12 months" (p. 209). "Veritas" in his letter to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser of February 14th said in defence of English silks, that the mercers were not giving as good prices as they had formerly done and "how can silks be made as good....as when the mercers paid us in 6 months whereas now it is 16 or 18 months before their notes and bills are due....." (This was about the length of time of the "Bills and Promissory Notes" mentioned in the Bosanquet Account Book).
The mercers argued that the unrestricted credit was one of their reasons for preferring French silks. William Pickart, one of the junior partners of Carr & Co. said (p. 210, 1765 Report, op. cit.) "That the terms of buying goods in France are upon such credit as the mercers please to take, or if ready money is paid, the French allow a discount of 6%". Germaine Lavie, who followed him, said "that the Allowance in France is £.5% for short measure, and 12 months credit, or 6% for ready money".
- (2) In 1729 the Lyon Chambre de Commerce complained in one of its letters to its Deputy in Paris that the Paris merchants were abusing the system of long credit. This, they said, was always dangerous for them because "la diversité du goût et de dessein augmente souvent de beaucoup la façon des ouvriers, et que le prix des matières premières varie si souvent...." that prices could neither be reduced nor fixed (as had been proposed).
- (3) The Kelly pattern books have been already mentioned (p. 221). In the Bibliothèque Forney in Paris, Vol. Reserve .677.064 M is a collection "Manifattura di Francia, Inghilterra ed Olanda. Mostre raccolte viaggiando dal Signor Moccasi mercante di panni e nel suo ritorno verso il 1760 presentate al conte Bogino". Although these are, strictly speaking, not the samples of one manufacturer, they are their equivalent, since they are named and priced and their widths etc. given. The only pattern book in which silks are included in any quantity which is a genuine order book - the London equivalent to the Norwich ones - is in the Berch Collection in the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm. A page from this book is illustrated : plate 58, No. 70. I have been unable to examine this book myself but I am most grateful to my colleagues in the Nordiska Museum for sending precise technical descriptions of the silks.
- (4) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 211.
- (5) See p. 220-2 of this Chapter.

weavers might receive individual commissions from any of the mercers but their total production was seldom controlled by them. The mercers came to the weavers to place their orders. Although there was an increasing tendency towards the bespoke system towards the end of this period, very few weavers and mercers formed partnerships. The weaver was paid by the mercer also on credit. Opinion in 1765 (1) held that credit had got longer, had extended from six to eighteen months. This was deplored, but it was an equally sore point in Lyon (2). The greater master weavers (as opposed to those who only had a few looms), kept a stock of goods in their warehouses, from which the mercers bought. The latter also placed commissions when the silk was still on the loom. All the evidence, except the Royal accounts, suggests that very small orders were normally placed. This, again, was deplored by the weavers. There were two main seasons for which different goods were produced, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The mercers (or their "shopmen") either sold goods over the counter, or acted as agents for special commissions. Trade outside London or abroad was carried on by means of patternbooks despatched to the customer, of which a very few have survived (3). The Court Books of the Weavers Company mention seizures of French pattern books in 1759, 1761 and 1764, and John Allen (4) told the 1765 Select Committee that "patterns are sent from France in hopes of orders". The Collinson evidence (5) suggests that the

- (1) An advertisement in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser for January 5th, 1765 for a sale at the New York, Cape Breton and Quebec Coffee House was for goods "Fit for the Portugal Trade" and these included "60 pieces sattins, modes, linings, persians, sarsnets, mantuas, etc....silk hose, silk and worsted waistcoat and breeches pieces". Stephen Paris (1765 Report, op. cit. p. 210) although he had never exported any silks himself had sold for export. The case of John Sabatier has been discussed already, p.171:173. A document dated 1764, in the Archives Nationales in Paris (F. 12. 644 Trade with Portugal) includes a list of English woollen and worsted goods exported to Portugal (together with a most useful translation into French and Portuguese), and also a note on their uses. Samples (now missing) were attached. If certain worsted goods were recognised at home and abroad as "fit for the Portugal trade", it seems reasonable to argue that their equivalent in silk was equally recognisable.

patterns were of goods in stock, as there would not have been time between June 7th, 1737 and "the fall", to place commissions with weavers. On the other hand, the French wove to order according to the patterns - if the Carret correspondence was typical of their general practice. This may be an important difference between the two countries or the accidental difference in practice between the two firms.

There is no record of the method by which the foreign or colonial customers of English silks paid for them. Since Carret arranged payment for his silks in bills of exchange on various continental bankers it can be assumed that English exports were paid for in much the same way. Some few weavers exported directly, not through a mercer and others may have produced for particular markets (1). The organisation was flexible and reasonably efficient. How far the length of credit really inhibited the expansion of the industry will be discussed in the conclusion of this study.

(1) 1766 Report, op. cit., p. 726.

(2) 1766 Report, op. cit., p. 726.

C H A P T E R 3

THE SILKS

Two witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons which reported on the Silk Industry in 1766 were asked whether they could distinguish English from foreign silks. John Harris, mercer, said (1): "Foreign lutestrings", were "crisper and are not so glossy as the English, but that it is impossible to say whether these distinctions may not be evaded, though he thought in general they might be distinguished and that figured goods may easily be distinguished". Germaine Lavie, mercer, (2), said that although he could distinguish French silks and Italian damasks from English ones he could not distinguish Italian plain silks from English, "but", he added modestly, "he did not think himself so good a judge in this matter as some people".

This is indeed one of the central problems. The silks which survive are "documents" in the French sense; but unless it is possible to distinguish the English from the Continental silks, it is impossible to bridge the gap between the stylistic judgments and technical data which accompany the silks on the one hand, and the historical information from documentary sources on the other. The latter include the List of Prices, the Royal and private accounts and inventories, the trade cards, and literary sources. Without the silks, much of the information accumulated verges upon a pedantic exercise in

- (1) This is literally so. There are no French silk designs surviving from the period of the earliest Leman designs (1706), and none which form a connected series until the late 1720's. The earliest designs so far discovered are those in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale series Lh.44.

historicism for its own sake. It would not be very much use, for instance, to tabulate the lists of the names of the silks made and sold, unless some attempt can be made to say what they are. The means for relating these two types of evidence lie partly in a close study of the techniques, a study with again two aspects: the silks themselves, and the technology which produced them, for which there are several good sources of information. The other source which helps to bridge the gap between the silks and the documents (in the English sense) is the incomparable series (1) of dated designs belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum and Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. These give a stylistic sequence which will be discussed in due course. In addition they provide factual information, some of which has already been quoted. The identification of a brocaded lustring woven from a Garthwaite design by Mr. Vautier in 1747 is, for instance, one of the best pieces of evidence that can be mustered about the nature of lustrings. It is quite clear that these were an important category of dress silks and the prices paid for them are known. A technical examination of the lustring itself provides data useful in assessing both its own quality and that of other silks more or less expensive, according to the bills. One certainly identified lustring carries with it a number of very similar silks which are then also likely to be lustrings.

Although many kind remarks were made about English plain silks it is, as Germaine Lavie pointed out, impossible to distinguish

- (1) One collection of samples of silks of the period exists in the Berch Collection of the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm. It is evidently the pattern book of an exporter of English silks (there is no name on it). A few other miscellaneous samples of named plain silks have survived in various other documents to which reference will be made in the course of this chapter.

them from Continental counterparts, and thus it is almost purely on documentary evidence that any discussion of these is based (1). It is hoped in this chapter to strike a balance not too uneasily between stylistic and technical information on the one hand, and documentary fact on the other.

The sequence of the previous chapter will be followed to some extent. The problems relating to raw and thrown silks will be considered first. Some discussion will follow of the techniques of throwing, dyeing, and setting up a loom for plain silks. The techniques of drawloom woven silks must be considered separately from the plain. An attempt will be made to relate the contemporary divisions detailed in the previous chapter to the uses of the silks as furnishings and dress materials. Any perceptible changes in these uses will be discussed when there is sufficient evidence to do so. The special importance of the flowered silks in this period will be argued, and an account of their stylistic development will follow the sections on their techniques and uses. It will be suggested that the ability of the English industry to keep abreast of its competitors, both in the legitimate markets abroad, and in the face of the clandestine import of French silks into this country, depended very largely on its ability to keep in fashion. Much of the best evidence in support of the latter case is purely visual. Contemporary praise and criticism will be considered in relation to the silks themselves, and still more to the designs. The difficulties with which the industry had to contend will be discussed in a later chapter, but the design of

- (1) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 23. p. 612, 23rd January, 1740/1.
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 20. p. 749, 21st February, 1726/7.
- (3) Parliamentary Papers Vol. 59, 1749-50. Reasons for the Encouragement of making Raw Silk in America (in University College).

its silks was a matter over which it had complete control.

Raw Silk.

The quality of silk was determined by several factors, the length of the filament, the natural colour, the fineness, and the lustre of the natural silk. Only certain grades were fit for certain purposes, and thus the industry could not import the cheapest silk from the most convenient market. The problem of obtaining supplies will be discussed in the fifth chapter of this study, but whenever the industry found itself in difficulties on this score, its spokesmen told Parliamentary Committees of the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations why silk of certain kinds had to be used. Between 1713 and 1766, the same arguments were reiterated. Italian silk for the warp was essential unless a substitute of equal quality could be found. Spanish silk was one alternative. Daniel Booth, in 1741, said he was "very well acquainted with the quality of Spanish silk which in its nature is a fine glossy silk and greatly improves the manufactures here" (1). There were different grades among the Italian silks, since the Throwsters' Petition of 1727 sought to "prevent the import of the several sorts of foreign thrown silks coarser than third Bologna and Second Orsoy and all trams into this kingdom" (2). The paper of 1749/50 on the growth of raw silk in America (3) explained that the supply of Italian silk was so essential for the warps that if it were cut off then the Turkish and Persian silks for the wefts would stay in the warehouses and the Turkish trade would be lost.

The Bosanquet accounts demonstrate the different qualities imported from Turkey and their distinction

385

(1) The Account Book dating 1758-65, includes sums received for bales of Turkey "raw Ardass", Byass, Cadamus, Mount Lebanon, various kinds of Antioch; "cafroni of a fine wiry thread but yellowish colour", "fine mountain silk of ye Art^{ns} clean wiry thread", "do. not quite so stout a thread", "true Tripoli scaled", etc. and "very good Byass superior" seems from its price to have been one of the best qualities he imported. In one set of bills for April 1758 a bale of Byass = £193. 14s. Cadamus sold for £187. 17s., two bales of Aleppo seems to have been of a fairly uniform size and weight judging from the fact that most of the prices are within the range £185 - £195, but what this standard was is not quite clear. The earlier accounts which cost bales of Italian silk c. 1735 mention the "usual weight" but calculate it in a hieroglyph which seems to stand for some local Italian unit not the English lb. or cwt. etc.

I am deeply indebted to Lady Bosanquet of Dingestow Court Monmouth, for permission to work through and to quote from the Bosanquet MSS.

(2) House of Lords MSS. Vol. X, 1712-14 (1953), p. 126.

(3) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, 1718-22, (1925). p. 121, Evidence of Thomas Miller.

(4) See Appendix 4, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.

by price (1). Colonel Lekeux, in his "Paper on Trade with Italy and Portugal" of 1713 (2), did not mention Italian raw silk but argued that the raw silk which the merchants brought back in return for the English woollen goods exported mostly came from Turkey and this was used with Italian thrown silks in the industry. While Lombe's mills did away with the necessity for importing thrown Italian silks, the two sources of supply did not change, although the coarsest grades from the Levant apparently dropped out of use after the first ten or fifteen years of the century. The Throwsters Company told the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations in 1719 that very little Ardass silk was imported (3), which is confirmed in King's British Merchant of 1721, when the author described this grade as "coarse Persian silk" and said that "grogram yarns" were being imported instead. He mentioned "Belladine" or "white Turkey silk", which the trade cards and the Bosanquet accounts shew to have been a standard import and "sherbassee" of Persia with which Bosanquet was so disappointed in 1767. King also made an assessment of the different amounts imported: 600 bales of Turkish silk p.a. to 1200 bales of Piedmont and Bergama silk and 400 of East India silk (4). The proportions can be verified against the Customs figures - there was little incentive to smuggle raw silk and, since London was the chief home market, the figures may be fairly reliable (5).

Two of the witnesses before the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1749/50 gave the clearest account of what the distinctions in quality meant. Nathaniel Patterson said that

- (1) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 996.
"Engines" in this context would indicate organzine mills.
- (2) G.M. IV, 1734. July. p. 388.

"our manufacturers are supplied with short raw silk chiefly from Italy; that the China silk is not fine enough in common for the warp; but that he has had some as fine as any Italian; that the Turkey silk is in general too coarse to be used for the warp; and that China silk some years was imported as bad as the Turkey...." Samuel Lloyd said that "the supply of fine short raw silk proper to be worked by Engines (1) has been chiefly from Italy, some from Spain, and a small quantity from China, likewise a small quantity from the southern parts of France....the price of Italian and China silk has been of late years nearly the same; but there is some difference in the quality....." In 1734 there was a "trial in the Court of the Exchequer between the King and John Boddington Esq., a Turkey merchant upon an information for importing short silk or Catapan under the name of Silk Nubs and Husks. Several of the silk throwsters endeavouring to prove it was short silk and greatly detrimental to them in their waste", which they however failed to do (2). Even the lowest qualities were precious and raw silk was always expensive. The precise effect of these differences in quality are not described, and the French sources on this aspect of the industry do not greatly help. As their supply of raw silk came either from Italy or from their own country, they were largely independent of the substitutes employed by the English throwsters.

(1) J. Loir: *Théorie du Tissage des Étoffes de Soie*, Lyon 1923-28, 3 vols.

F. Guicherd: *Cours de Théorie de Tissage*, Lyon 1946.

(2) J. Savary des Bruslons: *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, 1723. Article on "Soie", p.1580^{et seq.} Vol. II.

(3) Denis Diderot: *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, Paris 1751-7. Neuchâtel, 1765. Tome XV, pp. 268-306. Plates Vol. XI (158).

(4) Paris, Academy of Science. *Descriptions des Arts et Métiers*. Tome IX.

M. Paulet. *L'Art du Fabricant d'Étoffes de Soie*, 1779. Neuchâtel edition. (Patent Office contains the first 6 parts. The French Revolution cut short his work, and the 7th part, which contains the chapters relevant to figured and patterned silks made on the drawloom, was much abbreviated. A copy containing the first part of the 7th section exists in the Library of the Musée des Tissus at Lyon. The complete 7th section exists in a copy in the Library of the École de Tissage at Lyon, who were generous enough to lend their copy to the Victoria and Albert Museum for one year. A photo-copy was made and deposited in the Library of this Museum. There may be one other copy in the United States. Paulet, a practising designer and fabricant of Nîmes, was highly critical of the *Encyclopaedia*, which he corrects frequently. His work, despite its detail and its length, is the most lucid and informative of the 18th century sources on this subject.

(5) Diderot, p. 268.

(6) The terms used in the Customs Port Books.

(7) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 214.

(8) Customs (Records at Kingsbeam House, not PRO). Opinions from Counsel 1745-65, No. 51. Bounties on Silk Ferrets, these are "made with the refuse or worst part of the Raw Silk....not worth more than 20s. a pound weight...." The case turned on the question of whether such inferior goods were entitled to a bounty on export as other silks were.

(9) Two examples may serve:

i. E.195-1943 (V. & A. Museum). Bill dated 1750 for "Thomas Kynaston, Haberdasher of small wares at the Bird in Hand and Star, against Old Round Court in the Strand, sells all sorts of Belladine Silks for Embroidery, shades of snail, silk purses and twist for purses, canvas for working, cottons for knitting or French quiltings, ribbons, gauzes and silk handkerchiefs, shades of fine worsteds & sleeve silks & all haberdashery wares, whole-sale or retail at reasonable rates". Dated 1750 on the back, which is a bill for tape, etc.

ii. 12853.3. John Hall "at the Golden Fleece in New Street, Covent Garden selleth all sorts of Haberdashery Wares: as Thread, Tapes, Laces, Ribbons, Pins, Also all sorts of Silk and Mohaire and shades of silks for working of petticoats...braids, Gollunes (Galloons?) Ferritt Ribbons & etc....." (Undated).

Silk Throwing, Dyeing and the Basic Equipment

for Making Plain Silks

The preparation of raw silk for weaving has not changed very greatly for several hundred years, although the processes have, of course, been mechanised and refinements introduced. Two of the most useful modern accounts (1) can be used to supplement and check the descriptions given by Savary (2), Diderot (3) and Paulet (4), without even any great difficulties of vocabulary. Such a continuity in the basic technology of an industry must be rather remarkable. The 1765 House of Commons Report contains some valuable information on this as on most other topics affecting the industry.

The preliminary processes were not carried out in this country. The cultivated cocoons were collected in due season (and very little wild silk was used) and the larvae killed in a heating chamber. The cocoons were then placed in hot water and anything from 7 - 16 reeled off together (5). The waste silk, whose filaments were too short to reel and subsequently to throw, was collected and exported as "husks and nubs" (6) etc. intended for spinning. Mr. Blackstone, a throwster, in 1765 (7) believed "there were from 12 - 15,000 people....employed in working up the waste which is made into ferrets (8), stockings, knee garters, fringes and sewing silk". These are the goods sold by the haberdashers (9).

The filaments reeled together were without any twist, and known then and now as "grège" in French (for which the

(1) The term "raw silk" has been used for the silk before it has been reeled and also for the untwisted but reeled threads. "Singles" seem more often to mean "boil", i.e. twisted but not doubled together as in tram and organzine. The difficulties in terminology continue until the present day. Usually the context makes the meaning sufficiently clear, but not always. Since the French terms were and are finite they have been used for convenience. The Centre Internationale des Études des Tissus Anciens has compiled a vocabulary in several languages but the terms are mainly known to textile historians and are not in any sense a glossary of terms used in the past.

(1) In the List of Prices of 1769 the use of "single silk" was forbidden except for certain very limited categories
(2) such as 'persians' and some other slight silks.

(3) See Bibliography. The Whole Art of Dyeing, published in 1705 and T. Packer, The Dyer's Guide of 1816, have much in common despite the improvements which Packer acknowledged had been made by Hellot, Macquer and Bertholet.

English "raw silk" is ambiguous (1).) At this stage the silk might be degummed by boiling in hot water and certain varieties of soap and, when dry, exported in bales. It is clear from the Customs figures that much partly processed or completely thrown silk was imported from Italy. More often it seems that the de-gumming took place in this country - before the silk was dyed. The qualities of silk would be determined at this stage, even when the silk came from the same crop. The better quality was reserved for different uses to the inferior. A light twist was usually given to the "grège" to turn it into "poil", a quality often used in mediaeval fabrics as it stood, and often not de-gummed before dyeing in order to preserve the strength imparted by the gum sericin. It was, however, seldom used in the manufacture of 18th century silks and the article in Diderot's Encyclopaedia deplored its use.⁽²⁾ If the silk was to be dyed in the hank it could be done after throwing so that the threads did not become entangled together (Diderot). Ancker said in his report that the cleaning and de-gumming of silk was done in this country, after which the silk was dyed and then thrown. Perhaps he is correct since he is specifically describing the London industry and its methods.

Silk was very much easier to dye than cotton or linen though probably not as easy as wool and worsted. There were standard recipes for the different colours whose composition seems to have been fairly well-known (3) since a number of treatises were written on the subject. Many subtle shades

- (1) Chapter 3 on silk dyeing and p. 15 on re-dyeing cotton furniture.
- (2) Among the accounts of the Master of the Robes (L.C. 9.3) there is a bill for 1739 from Mr. Croft, mercer, for various items including 10 yards scarlet brocaded sergedesoy....at 6/6d. per yard, and six yards of white ditto at 5/6d. In January 1745, the same mercer supplied "richest green Genoa sattin" at 14/- and scarlet at 16/- a yard. In the accounts of the Great Wardrobe (L.C. 9. 288, for example) 1733, bill No. 60 John Bell, mercer, supplied crimson taffeta for a banner at 8/6 and blue taffeta at 7/6. Two bills for 1728-9 (L.C.9 288 Nos. 15 and 16) contain velvets, the first includes crimson Genoa velvet sold by David Bosanquet to cover a stool for the Lord Chancellor at 30/9d., the second from Henry Shelley included green Genoa velvet for the Speaker's Chair at 28/8d. per yard. The same differences between crimson and the other colours continue throughout the period and are true for every material which was used, sarcenet and mantua (the linings), damask, and even mohair.
- (3) G.M. XXXV, December 1765, p. 588 Hist. Chron. It carried a report from the Society of Arts on dyeing. A German in England had produced a transparent dye made "from a common English weed" which would dye "silk etc. either a most beautiful purple or crimson ingrain, without the assistance of cochineal or indigo". The process was claimed to be cheap, to resist sunlight and "not even (to) be discharged by boiling lemon juice".
- (4) According to Packer, alum had always to be added when cold or it would spoil the lustre of the silk. It was used for the yellows and for dyeing crimson.
- (5) 1765 Report op. cit., p. 208. "That the Waste of every Pound of Raw Silk, of 24 ounces is 4 in Winding, 5 in boiling and 2 in manufacturing in all 11 ounces. That in thrown silk, of 16 ounces to the Pound, it is six, viz., 4 by Boiling, and two in Manufacturing".

were possible and dyes were usually constant though not necessarily fast. According to Thomas Packer, writing in the early 19th century, shades of colour could be repeated at will (1). The greatest danger in handling an expensive raw material was the risk of losing the lustre of the silk, either by using the wrong chemicals or too great a heat. Moreover, the silk could be damaged by allowing it to come into contact with certain metal surfaces. It was for these reasons a highly skilled process. The most expensive dye-stuff was cochineal for the scarlet dyes and the price of the silks reflected its use (2). An account of an attempt to find a substitute was published in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1764 (3), but it would have been difficult to produce from other natural dyes the particularly fine scarlet obtainable from cochineal. Madder was also used for different shades. For some colours it was necessary to use a mordant such as alum, which created its own problems (4), but for most colours the processes were fairly straightforward. If the silk were naturally yellowish or naturally pure white, it might be more suitable for one colour than another. It was dangerous to boil off too much of the gum sericin before dyeing since the silk would be too greatly weakened, but equally bad to boil it insufficiently since the dyes could not take on the gum. Packer stated that the silk would normally lose between 25-28% of its weight when it was boiled and this is confirmed by James Johnson in the 1765 Report (5).

The dyers in the first half of the 18th century may not

- (1) T. Packer, op cit., Introduction.
- (2) Macquer, p. 147. (Neûchatêl edition of Paulet).
 "Ce qu'il y a de plus essentiel à observer sur la teinture noire, c'est qu'en général elle altere et énerve beaucoup les étoffes; ensorte que celles qui sont teintées en noir, sont toujours beaucoup plus tôt usées, toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, que celles qui sont teintées en d'autres couleurs..." This he attributed chiefly to the "acide vitriolique de la couperose" which did not combine sufficiently with the iron. The latter when combined with vegetable "astringents" was less harmful and he hoped further experiments would be made. I am not competent to judge of the scientific truth of his diagnosis.
- (3) T. Packer: p. 83-4.
- (4) This is a process for dyeing silk in the piece. The ingredients were:

"Wove silk sarcenet twilled, 150 yards
 1 bushel and $\frac{1}{2}$ alder bark
 14 lbs. logwood
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. iron filings".

The fire was then damped and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. sulphate of copper or blue vitriol melted and added to the copper and the silk (which had been thoroughly wetted first). The silk was to be stirred in four times and then taken out. 3 lbs. of "copperas" were then added to the vat and the silk received "two more wets", and 4-5 more dippings the next day, and left in to soak the following night. It had to be kept covered while in the dye vat or the silk would be marked. This is mentioned in a number of the recipes. Macquer, whose treatise is included in Paulet's, explained that the exposure to the air between the dippings greatly improved the colour of the black (p. 148).

- (5) B.M. 432. d.18. W. Lewis. *Commercium Philosophica Technicum*, 1763. Chapter VI, pp. 315-441 On Black. Section VIII Silk. pp. 422-428. He experimented with the standard recipes such as Macquer's and then saw what happened when he tried removing each ingredient in turn. He found that the gum and its gloss washed out in water.

have been as highly specialised as they were in the 19th (1) but certain of them practised in distinct branches. The scarlet dyers formed one group of whom the Pecks were an example, the dyers of black silks were another.

The dyeing of black silks was by rather different methods than those used for other colours, and all the processes used were inherently destructive of the material (2). Hence, very few black silks have survived. Although certain fancy refinements could be added, the basic process seems to have been that which Packer described for "Genoa black" (3). The silk was de-gummed by boiling for four hours with a quarter of its weight of white Marseilles soap which was then well washed out. For every 100 lbs. of silk, 20 lbs. of Aleppo galls were pounded to a powder and boiled for one hour. The galls added very much to its weight but a certain addition was recognised as legitimate. It was then, however, boiled in a witches brew of 2 lbs. of "copperas or sulphate of iron", 12 lbs. of iron filings and 20 lbs. of gum. Packer described this process as "very simple". Other recipes added vitriol, verdigris, antimony and "litharge of lead" or, in the most fanciful, of gold or silver. Packer also described a more elaborate version which he called "black for silk - London process".(4). The gall and the iron chiefly produced the black, while the other ingredients either improved the shade or enabled it to take on the silk. The gum arabic or substitute made up, at least superficially, for the gum sericin lost in the repeated boilings. It imparted a fine gloss but it also washed out of the silk in water (5). It

(1) B.M. 981.h.1. G.B. de Beunie. Memoria su la tintura in nera. in C. Amoretti & F. Soave. Opuscoli Scelti sulle scienze e sulle Arte. 1778, Milan, pp. 203-211 (a translation into Italian from the Flemish original). The author discusses the problem in general and continued "trovar in buon nero, e perfettamente durevole pel cotone è cosa si difficile, che la Società Inglese per l'Incoraggiamento delle arti e delle manifatture ha promesse delle somme considerevoli a chi riuscisse in trovare si questo colore, che il rosso, e sinora niuno le ha ancor meritate io mi Insingo di poterviaspirare....."

(2) The standards, including the "denier" of recent years, have changed too frequently since the 18th century to quote the actual measurement. The qualities were however known and recognised as they are today.

(3) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 213.

(4) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.

must be assumed therefore that most black silks would have been very liable to shew spotty marks after rain. It was also complained that the black had a tendency to rub off on shirts and lace cravats. It seems a little surprising that when most countries forbade the use of iron filings in the dyeing of wool that its use in silk should have been tolerated. Satisfactory blacks for linen and cotton were even more difficult to discover and premiums were offered by the Royal Society of Arts for them in the second half of the century (1).

After dyeing, the silk would either be thrown or the throwing completed. Organzine was the most commonly used thread for the warp in this period. Two to four ends of "poil" were first each spun separately quite hard. Two was the most normal number, three are occasionally found. The number of twists per unit of measurement (2) often determined the quality. The two threads were then doubled together and thrown in the opposite direction at about a tenth of the previous twist, according to Diderot's article. Nathaniel Patterson (3) said in 1765 "that organzine silk is first spun in a single thread on particular mills which was never practised till Sir Thomas Lombe's invention, and when spun it is doubled and thrown hard two threads together, whereas Tram which is only fit for Shute (i.e. the weft) often being wound double is slack thrown". Lombe's machine was able to make both threads, and moreover with a uniform tension which was highly desirable. As Legrew said, (4) "both English trams and organzines when they are of the same size and Number of Threads are evener, cleaner, more of a size

and preferable to foreign". The direction of the twist is always clearly visible with a linen counter, but a balance had to be struck between the strength necessary for its tension on the loom and the preservation of its natural lustre. The "richer" the silk the better the quality of its warp and the greater the lustre. In the case of the lustrings the lustre was artificially increased by stretching and heating the warp before weaving (and in some cases alternatively treating the woven silk).

The weft was not subjected to the same tension as the warp, and hence it was more lightly thrown. As Legrew put it in his evidence, "the difference betwixt tram and warp is that the former is not so hard thrown". "Poil" was used in some materials but more often the weft was made from one of the qualities of "tram". (The latter term was used continuously by James Legrew, a Spitalfields weaver, possibly the senior partner in the firm of Legrew and Son who signed the List of Prices in the Black Branch in 1769). The term has not thus changed its meaning, which is most helpful. Tram was two or more threads of "geège" or "singles" lightly thrown together, so lightly indeed that it is often impossible to determine the direction of the twist with a hand microscope. The weft for the ground of the fabric might be thin and insubstantial. The pattern and brocaded wefts would be of quite a different quality - very thick, perhaps several together in one shoot and highly lustrous. In most silks they produced the chief decorative

- (1) See p.259-60 and the difficulties that Samuel Wilson, a silk weaver of the early 19th century, met when trying in a certain pattern to make the wefts forming the design cover the ground of the fabric.
- (2) Diderot, Vol. III, pp. 294-5. Chenille was given the name "parcequen effet il est velu comme l'insect de ce nom" and the entry describes its manufacture and that it is used "pour broder & executer les ornements sur des vestes, des robes, des chasubles..."
- (3) The term was used both by Leman and Garthwaite, E.4483-1909, for example, and 5985.10. Carried out in metal thread this weft produced a sparkling surface which was highly decorative when used with restraint. See Plates 38 & 39.
- (4) The portee was (and is) a certain number of threads, a unit of measurement for reckoning the warp. Paulet, Chapter 3, p. 199 (Nêuchatêl edition) defined it as follows:
 "887. La quantité de fils dont on forme une chaîne se divise en portées & en musettes"
 "888. Communément parlant, chaque portée est composée de quatre-vingt fils, & on nomme musette la moitié d'une portée. Ce nombre déterminé de quatre-vingt fils ne regarde directement que le fabricant, qui doit savoir de combien de portées la chaîne de telle étoffe ou de tel poil (a supplementary warp) doit être composée. À Paris & dans quelques autres villes, la portée n'est composée que de quarante fils; mais comme les villes où les fabriques sont les plus fortes & le mieux entendues ont adopté la portée de 80 fils, j'entendrai toujours ce nombre, quand je parlerai de portées."
 Unfortunately the List of Prices said nothing about the portée in London practice. It may well have followed French practice but there is no source of information.
- (5) E.4478-1909. A design by James Leman in 1720 had the portées noted on the back of the design:

"Portees
 8....colour
 8....white
 2....colour
 36....white
 2....colour
 8....white
 16....colour
 8....white
 2....colour
 36....white
 2....colour
 8....white
 8....colour 144 in all."

The colours are indicated on the lower part of the design.
 (Illustrated Plate 72 in James Leman by Frank Lewis).

effects and might often alternate with one or two shoots of the ground weft. They had therefore to "cover" adequately the silk between (1).

Specially plied threads might be made for the outer cords on the selvages which took the greatest strain during the weaving of the silk. During the 18th century a number of decorative wefts were also made; chenille (2) was, ^{one} though it was used perhaps less often in England until the second half of the century than it was in France. Another was the silk equivalent of "frost" (3) silver or gold, in which one component thread of a weft was twisted much more than its pair so that one thread curled around the other. This produced a textured surface in the woven silk often used for some details of the pattern.

From this point the weaver could take over the operations. He had to buy precisely the quantity he needed for a given piece of silk and to prepare the bobbins for the shuttles. Even for the making of a plain silk this would involve some mathematical skill. A piece of taffeta 24 yards long with so many shoots per square inch might take up more silk than a light satin in which the threads intersected less often. In a heavy satin, however, he would have to reckon on more warp threads to the inch. Hence, a working designer like James Leman, gave such meticulous instructions for the number of portees (4) on his designs and how they were to be distributed (5). While the weft was wound on to bobbins, and

- (1) See Plate 70, No. 85. Briefly, on the mill the warp is distributed according to the number of threads required in the width of the textile and enough wound on for the desired length of the piece. A cross in the warp is also arranged so that alternate threads are raised or lowered. This helps in the entering of the loom and forms a basis for weaving.
- (2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 214.
- (3) September 9th, 1718, No. 422. Patent Office. Woodcraft Abridgments.

stored ready for use in the shuttles, the warp was prepared on a warping mill (1).

The necessary equipment for all these operations was highly developed by the 18th century. Silk was de-gummed, for instance, in special copper cauldrons which were expensive to manufacture. They were mentioned in one of the reports on the possibility of growing raw silk in the American colonies since, without such cauldrons, the raw silk might be spoilt. A detailed knowledge of the rest of the tools and machinery necessary for these operations is only obtainable from the standard French sources, Diderot's Encyclopaedia and Paulet. All the operations described had to take place, and it is known that people were employed doing them, but the type and cost of equipment and any special hazards are all unknown. Nathaniel Patterson said in 1765 (2) "that he is about 5 weeks organizing 150 lbs. weight of silk, going through the whole process of it..."

There were not many attempts to perfect the silk throwers' operations in the period, apart from Sir Thomas Lombe's. His first patent, taken out in 1718, was brief. It stated that he had found out and brought to perfection three sorts of engines "one to wind the finest raw silk, another to spin, and the other to twist the finest Italian raw silk into organzine in great perfection, which was never done before in this kingdom" (3). When the patent was renewed in 1732, the Gentleman's Magazine (and other periodicals) carried the following description of his mills: "This machine, erected about anno 1714 at Derby, contains 26,586 wheels, and 97,746 Movements, which work 73,726 yards

- (1) G.M. Vol. II, p. 719.
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 21, p. 795.
- (3) December 15th 1725, No. 482. Patent Office Woodcraft Abridgments.
- (4) September 30th 1730, No. 519. Patent Office Woodcraft Abridgments.

of silk thread, every time the water wheel goes round, which is thrice in one minute; one water wheel gives motion to all the rest of the wheels and movements of which any one may be dropped separately, one Fire engine conveys warm air to every individual part of the machine and one Regulator governs the whole work" (1). This, unfortunately, does not give very much idea of how it actually worked and there is no diagram. There would have been no intrinsic difficulty in mechanising the hand processes, but Captain Peter Lekeux told the Committee investigating the patent in 1732 "that the making of such organzine silk had not been brought to perfection by Sir Thomas Lombe above a year or two, at most, he himself having often before that time found it defective and complained thereof to Sir Thomas Lombe; and that without the said Organzine Silk, the silk weavers can't make any Piece of Silk" (2). There were two other patents between Lombe's original one and its renewal, which were registered by other throwsters. The first patent was taken out in 1725 by a London throwster, James Teeton (of the Upper End of Artillery Lane, Spitalfields, in the 1736-8 Directories), and he described his invention as "An engine or machine" called "by the name of a Straiter, for the better and more easy perfectioning the throwing and manufacture of all sorts of fine single and double raw silk....which invention is entirely new and hath not been used by any other person beside the petitioner..." (3). The second was registered by a Richard Wilder in 1730 (4) "for improving the art of throwing raw silk".

- (1) May 25th, 1770, No. 960, Patent Office Woodcraft Abridgments. According to Agnew: Protestant Exiles from France, Vol. I, p. 31 (1871 edition) Peter Nouaille had introduced Bologna crapes. Agnew quoted an account which declared that "By his own ingenuity he discovered the process of their manufacture and soon rivalled them (i.e. the Bolognese) in his manner of preparing them". Oddly enough, the patent refers only to a method of crossing the silk when throwing. It was John Crumpler who patented an invention for making crape or tiffany in 1772 (April 15th, No. 1013).

Both patents were equally vague about the practical details, deliberately so one supposes. Wilder did, however, claim that his invention was to replace hand labour (which rather confirms the impression that it was still used), and that it included a machine for doubling raw silk on the spindle. There may have been certain defects in Lombe's actual machinery, but it could also be that certain operations on the 1718 mills had still to be performed by hand, and that this perhaps created some bottleneck in the production - but this can only be speculation. There was not another patent for silk throwing for forty years, until that registered by Peter Nouaille on May 25th, 1770 (1). During the years between there were some dozens for wool and cotton, including a number of Kay's inventions (not only the flying shuttle), Arkwright's, and others less famous. Many of these inventions, it is true, mechanised the subsidiary processes of carding wool and cotton, or dressing the finished fabric, which were irrelevant to a long filament yarn such as silk. There are a number of possible explanations. It may have been that the processes of throwing were indeed perfected by the middle of the 18th century and that further developments had to wait for the progress in the actual mechanisation - for the change from water to steam power. It can be argued, on the other hand, that supply was more than meeting demand and that there was no stimulus to develop existing methods any further. Some discussion of these questions is reserved for the conclusions of this study.

- (1) Paris Archives Nationales, F.12. 1432 a (Misc. Silk, 18th Century).
- (2) B.M. 1480, bb.27, Universal Library of Trade and Business (1753) pp. 60-61, Exchange rates.

Much more information is available about the 18th century silk loom and, partly for that reason it is not proposed to describe it in detail. Savary, Diderot and especially Paulet were quite explicit, and there can have been few differences between the French and the English versions. In appearance the hand loom has not changed very greatly from that time to this. There would have to have been a wooden frame, shafts and heddles, treadles which worked the shafts, a front and back beam and moveable rollers to take the warp at the back of the loom and the finished cloth in front. There would be reeds of different sizes for the different counts of warp threads, and a batten to beat up each shoot of the weft. The weaver would have a bench and sundry accessories, shuttles for the wefts and bobbins which could be changed when necessary. The chief difference between a loom making plain silks and its counterpart for woollen or worsted materials would be the fineness of the reed and the greater number of heddles on the shafts. The undated but mid-18th century document in the Archives Nationales compiled by an anonymous "ouvrier en soie" adds some useful details (1). "Le métier peut durer sans aucune réparation sauf le remisse que l'on changes tous les 5-6 ans, le reste peut durer 60-80 années". He put the value of a loom for plain silks at 110 livres 14s., of which the harness of silk he valued at 44 livres and the wooden frame at 30, other parts of the loom making up the balance. 40 livres, it was calculated, were very roughly £3. (2) Thus it is possible to compare his list with the catalogue of Mr. Mires, the shag

(1) P.R.O. (Chancery Masters Exhibits) C.107/159.

weaver, who had the misfortune to go bankrupt in 1763 (1). In this "2 looms and a frame of a loom" were only valued at £2. 10. 0. together. The Charpente at 30 livres works out at £2. 15. 0., but perhaps those of Mr. Mires were battered, and the Frenchman was reckoning the cost of replacement to himself. "A silk mounture 400 table with cane reeds and 13 odd cane reeds to ditto," which is probably a fairer comparison, was valued at £1. 16. 0. The "new silk mounture for quilting" was valued at £2. It is then instructive to look at the value of "A flowered shag mounture 252 Table, Great Harness, Little Harness, Comber Board, a Simple Complete, count 400", which was only valued at 10/-. We do not of course know what its condition was, but it obviously had all the necessary equipment. If an unemployed weaver could just manage to live on 5/3d. a week in 1765, two weeks' wages at subsistence level for a flowered shag mounture seems very little. The drawloom for making silks with a free design will be discussed rather later in this chapter. The Frenchman valued a loom for making "taffeta façonné" at 279 livres, about $2\frac{1}{4}$ the amount of the plain silk loom. This is one reason why it has been insisted that the weavers of flowered silks had to be men of some capital. Discussion of the loom is, however, reserved, for it is impossible to describe the drawloom without entering into its operations.

The production per day of even plain silks was very small. The *ouvrier en soie* reckoned on 3 ells (French). A Lyon ell was 3.976 English feet, and thus not far off the ell of 46"

(1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 209.

(2) Pariset, op. cit. pp. 173-200. The most important reglements in this period were in 1736 and 1744.

(3) It has often been suggested that the selvage with green and white stripes which is found on many silks thought to be English from other evidence is their hallmark. This selvage is, however, found on many silks known to be French or Italian, and, conversely, many silks which could equally well be English on stylistic grounds have selvages of other colours. The presence or absence of outer cords has proved equally misleading. These cords were necessary or not, according to the nature of the weave and the quality of the silk. There were no regulations in England, and if, for instance, a manufacturer chose to imitate the selvages common on certain French silks, he was perfectly free to do so. It was of no particular advantage to him to distinguish his silks as English in any way.

stipulated in the 1769 List of Prices. James Lawrence in 1765 (1) said that 12 French inches equalled $12\frac{1}{4}$ English, and that 44 French inches made an ell. These differences made some trouble in the various foreign markets and set a very tricky problem for negociants like Carret (who also had among his papers a table of standard measurements from different countries), but they do not affect the main issue, namely, that it would take the most industrious weaver (together with his assistants) $3\frac{1}{2}$ days to weave a dress length of 14 yards of plain material. It took the weaver two days to enter the loom and the ouvrier commented that he might then spend another day adjusting it. It is hardly surprising that the journeymen weavers in the Tower Hamlets ran up small debts with their masters.

The widths and qualities of silks were governed in Lyon by the reglements (2), each type having its own peculiar selvage. In England there was no such uniformity (3). The average English silk which is known as such, or can be recognised on stylistic grounds, was about 21 inches wide. The List of Prices of 1769 recognised the following as standard widths: $\frac{1}{2}$ ell wide - which the majority of the silks of the period which survive seem to be, $\frac{3}{4}$ and yard wide goods. "Mercator" wrote to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on February 5th, 1765, "on the breadth of their goods", (i.e. of the silk manufacturers) "which are in general only $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches - 21 inches, yet they sell them for $\frac{1}{2}$ ell, that is $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The lustrings too (except those that are in imitation of the Italians) are only from $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches - 24 inches which they call $\frac{3}{4}$, that is, 27 inches".

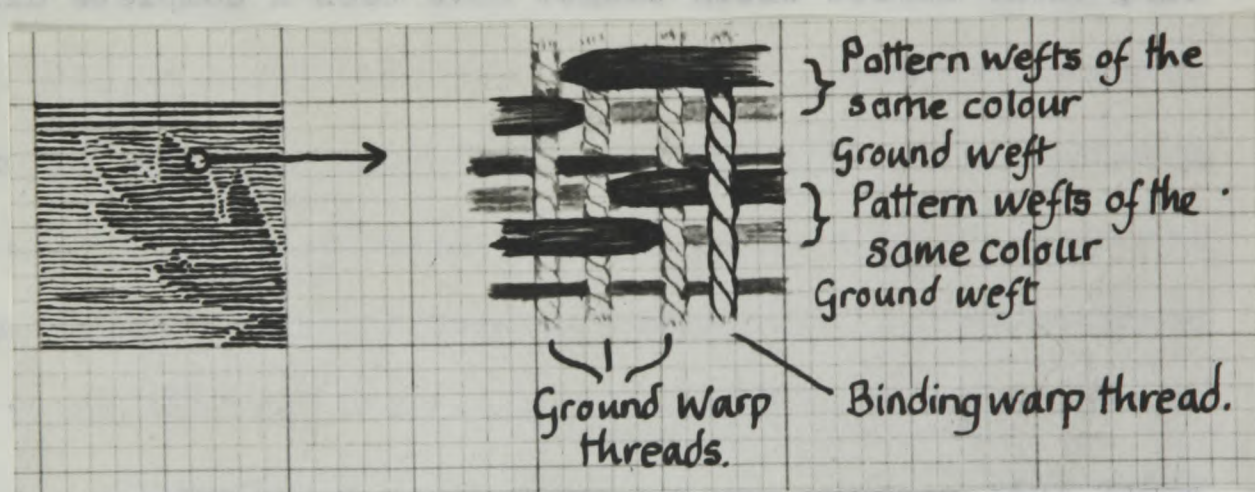
- (1) Carret frequently exhorted his partner in Lyon to imitate this or that feature of certain foreign silks.
- (2) March 4th, "Sericiarius et Philalethes".
- (3) Silks were still among the goods which could be included in a ransom, as they had been in the Middle Ages. The G.M. in 1734, reported that included in a ransom to be sent to the Dey of Algiers for 100 English captives, were 2 pieces of brocade, 2 of silver tabby and one of green tabby.

He continued by saying that he was "a great sufferer in this case and do sustain a heavy loss in 16 pieces of watered tabbies that I exported to one of our islands, the sole impediment to their sale being the narrowness of their breadths". It is perhaps unfair to interject at this point the evidence of John Harris in 1766 (mercator) who said that orders were sent to Italy for lustrings to imitate the breadth of English lustrings. If this was indeed true, and it seems very likely (1), their narrow width cannot have been a complete disability in every market. "Mercator" wanted a fixed standard for the breadths within the selvage and thought "the present practice injurious to the public and a manifest disgrace to the British manufacture". The theme appeared in later correspondence (2) when it was argued that "Masters should make all their work their full breadth and not impoverish the counts".

The Technique of Drawloom Woven Silks

The contemporary divisions in the industry were based upon technical distinctions in the finished product. The processes required to produce them, however, were variations on a theme rather than fundamentally different. The distinctions arising from the use of different types of machinery cannot be compared with those of the 19th century. There are no goods produced on a power loom for a cheaper market (3). Yet it would be misleading to ignore the "branches" referred to by

- (1) Between 1812-1820, a MS treatise on Weaving was compiled by a silk weaver named Samuel Wilson. This now belongs to Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd., who most generously lent it to the Victoria and Albert Museum for a considerable period for research and photography. Wilson experimented with a number of difficult technical points. The last samples in the book are for tissues which he says can only be made on a Jacquard loom. All the other silks in the book are technically the same as those current in the 18th century - or even earlier. This continuity is extremely useful since Wilson's work can be used to throw light upon technical problems a hundred years before he wrote.
- (2) For instance, the technique of "Byzantine twill" in which a silk with what would appear to be an incised effect is produced by using two pattern wefts of the same colour, the design being formed in outline where the two meet: (as in the vestments of Pope Clement II, 1046-7 at Bamberg).



(In the 11th century this effect was obtained from a different technical structure, the compound twill; in the 18th century this effect is used on tissues).

the industry itself simply because they do not fall into the 19th or 20th century idea of what such technological distinctions should be. Inventions were few - Kay's flying shuttle was, as far as is known, never used in the industry - and the silk loom was fundamentally unchanged since the 15th century; hence the silks which it could make remained the same (1). Yet it was in no sense a primitive piece of machinery. On the contrary, it was complex in its parts, difficult to set up and to use successfully, slow in operation and easily damaged. The technological achievement of the 18th century was to bring almost to perfection the silks which could be made on this machine. The mastery of its techniques is revealed in the many different kinds of silk surviving from the period. Almost every type of weave used in the previous 400-500 years was employed alone or combined with another (2) to produce a series of textiles of such dazzling quality that they can be compared with the other applied arts of the period, the porcelain, the silver, the furniture. Woven silks were nevertheless a commercial product - although they were then and now admired for their intrinsic beauty - they, more than the other applied arts, were designed for use, as a foil to the personality of their wearer or the furnishings of his home. The extreme vulnerability of textiles has very largely diminished their status. They are only a few perfect specimens surviving: most are faded, many dirty, some torn, restoration has been brutal rather than effective. With only a few exceptions, they

(1) In a late 18th century pattern book of silks belonging to Messrs. Warners & Co. are certain samples which are striped, either in satin (a warp faced weave) and a contrasting weft faced weave, or by using stripes in which the silk threads of the warp have been thrown to different degrees, which thus reflect the light differently.

(2) In a number of tissues the binding warp is combined with the ground weft to give an effect additional to the ground, which is probably satin, and the pattern, which is probably a weft-faced twill made with the pattern weft or wefts. Sometimes the wefts in alternate passes alternate in colour, and are used together in parts of the design to give a speckled effect or a third colour depending on the fineness of the weave. These are only two of many devices used to increase the decorative effects of the silk without increasing the costs of production.

cannot be seen as their original purchasers saw them and in this they suffer by comparison with the silver or the porcelain of the 18th century.

The variations in texture, the exploitation of the lustrous quality of the silk itself reflecting from different planes (1), the subtlety of colouring achieved by a combination of different colours by different means (2), the skill with which silks from the simplest spotted material to the most elaborate and expensive tissues were woven, all reflect a mastery of technique which had not hitherto been equalled.

The standard to which English silks had to conform in order to be sold was the highest it had probably ever been. I would suggest that it was the division into "branches" which enabled the industry to achieve this level. A very high degree of specialisation enabled the fullest possible use to be made of every feasible variation in a rigid and intractable technical process. An appreciation of these processes helps to give an understanding of the silks on the one hand and the industry on the other.

The technical limitations which the design of woven silks imposed upon the artist were severe. The visual effects were the result of a complete understanding and unity of purpose between all those concerned in the making of the silks. The size of the design was, for instance, rigidly controlled by the width of the textile. The average size of an English silk was, we have seen, between 19½ and 21½ inches wide.

(1) Joubert, p. 74. on Making a Fabric Double the Normal Width, "lorsqu'on en a mis deux à travailler à la fois, la main d'oeuvre n'a pas été égal".

(2) These silks, composed of fantastic and naturalistic shapes juxtaposed without regard to their individual scale, were some of the most extraordinary in the history of woven silks and have aroused much controversy about the origins of their designs.

V. Slomann. Bizarre Designs in Silks, Copenhagen 1954, published a large collection of them. John Irwin reviewed this book in Burlington Magazine XCVII, 1955, pp. 153-4, and emphatically rejected their Indian origin. Further correspondence followed p. 324-5 in the same volume of the Burlington Magazine. P. K. Thornton, The Bizarre Silks, August 1958, Burlington Magazine, pp. 265-270, published some of the early Leman designs shewing their European origin and related them to production in France.

(3) The comber board is illustrated on Plate 75, No. 90:91

(4) Smith, op. cit. p. 45.

(5) Paulet, Vol. VII, Part II, Chapter III, pp. 884-898. Some of these are illustrated in Plate 74, No. 92, and Plate 75, No. 93.

(6) E.4444-1909, for example, which has the inscription "this patterne for a lustring ground brocaded with plain and frost gold and cold. s. (coloured silks). 450 cords No. 8 & 10 - 116 dezines in 4 simples. To be made by Wells for Mr. Alexander and Comp. June 6th 1719. This alteration was made about Aug. 15th 1719 after there was one piece done to begin the 2nd. The first pce. was a white and silver with colrs. the 2nd is to be a white and gold wth. cols." Some of the flowers in the design have been cut away and new flowers painted on patches of paper stuck over the holes.

(7) 1762 Mr. Tuvin, for example, "March 23rd. To drawing over again on the R.P. a Flowered Mantua wth. Alterations.....225 cords". On May 27th of the same year he sold Mr. Tuvin another design for a flowered mantua for a guinea; on June 3rd he supplied the "R.P." of "one of the above flowered mantuas" for 6/6d. On July 1st he made an entry, "to altering a section in one of the above flowered mantuas", for which he did not charge. On October 29th he made an entry "to drawing over again a foot tobine (i.e., made by treadles and shafts and not on a drawloom) Accasion'd by the Enterer's fault". Again he did not charge for the alteration.

Without a flying shuttle greater widths would have meant the employment of two weavers, one at each side of the loom. This was tried (1) and proved a failure as the two men beat up the weft with a slightly different pressure. The group of silks current from the late 17th century to the late 'teens known as the "bizarre" (2) by the nature of their pattern, could extend very considerably in length. Most others had to be roughly of a length proportionate to the width of 21 inches. Moreover, if the loom was divided into two or more units of the comber board (3), the design was correspondingly decreased in size and therefore also in the scope of design the artist could allow himself. The designer worked, moreover, with only a limited number of units in his hand. The cords of a large design might vary from 400 to 800 (4). (James Leman usually specified 450) but, whatever the precise number, the motifs had to be broken down in width to these 400 - 800 units. Then the design had to repeat well, and the designer had to understand the effect of comber and point repeats, drops and half-drops (5). The master weaver had to be equally aware when he saw the design on paper what its effect in the woven silk would be, and hence we see the altered designs of Leman (6), the complaints made by the author of the article in Smith on Silk Designing about the poor artist being made to alter details, and the frequent entry in de Brissac's accounts for altering designs (7).

The designer had to understand completely the purpose of the design, or it would not work, and he also had to know

(1) Joubert, pp. 20-21 warns the potential designer of the practical limitations to any float of silk. If longer or wider than the maximum the woven silk will buckle. Paulet, p. 901 & pl. 96, fig. 5 discussed the practical limitation of any float "afin qu'il ne s'accroche pas si facilement lorsque l'étoffe est employée." The silk illustrated on Plate 47, No. 56 which is probably English, is a good example of a well-designed silk which has buckled when removed from the loom, the brocaded floats pulling the ground fabric.

(2) Joubert, c. VII, p. 29.

(3) Joubert, c. XIV, pp. 56-71.

the type of silk for which it was intended. It was not purely for reference that Garthwaite put on her designs the silks for which they were made. In a light brocaded taffeta the wefts forming the pattern are not bound by a binding warp, but float on the surface of the textile within the limits of the motif. The design for such a silk imposes a greater limitation upon the artist than that of the more elaborate tissue(1). The latter has a second warp which binds the pattern wefts so that the masses of colour can be as large as the designer pleases. Metal threads had to be economised and displayed to their fullest advantage; velvet patterns had to be designed to allow a sufficient "découpure" (2) between each motif; a moiré silk necessarily imposed the use of a certain kind of repeat and not another (3).

The designer had to understand the working of the loom and how the design would be transferred to it. Certain qualities of silk materials entailed a certain number of warp threads which, divided by the number of repeats, gave the designer the number he actually had to work with. He was limited by the silks and dyes available, by the structure of the loom, and above all in this country, by the cost of the finished product.

These points were emphasised in contemporary writings. The major development in the making of patterns, the Jacquard loom, did not become fully effective till the second decade of the 19th century. Thus, for the previous hundred years

- (1) The date of the first edition. The "nouvelle" edition of 1774 has been used in this study. (In the Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum).
- (2) Laboratory, or School of Arts (1756 edn.), op. cit. pp. 40-42 "Of the various kinds of flowered silks".
- (3) Paulet, p. 885. Joubert, p. XXIII of his Preface, said: "Comme il y a plusieurs genres à traiter dans la fabrique, et qu'ils sont fort opposés entre eux, un Dessinateur ne peut pas tout embrasser; il faut donc qu'il se décide pour un seul, et qu'il fasse en sorte de le traiter toute sa vie, si les circonstances le lui permettent".

it is possible to look at the evidence not necessarily in strict chronological order. The French sources do much to help in an understanding of the problems facing the English weavers. Joubert, who wrote in 1764 (1), gave much relevant incidental information but he stressed very much the need for a designer to specialise and to study the loom for at least a year. Smith (2) distinguished the types of silks and, as has already been mentioned, commented on the "ingenious Mr. Lemon" who knew both sides of the industry. Paulet expanded, but in a way contradicted, the ideas of the other two. Although his work was cut short, in the section that he had time to do thoroughly, he gave the warp and weft distinctions of the various types of silk. He repeated Joubert's remarks on specialisation "chaque dessinateur a son genre d'étoffe favori, c'est à dire, dans lequel il excelle, tandis que s'il dessinait un genre qui ne lui fût pas familier il n'y feussit que faiblement" (3). This may, indeed, have been a weakness of the English designers, although Garthwaite was especially skilful at one very important type of design, as will be seen. On the other hand, in England we have evidence of the manufacturers specialising. There cannot have been much that Simon Julian (Julins), for instance, did not know about the making of damasks by 1763. Paulet expanded the brief account given by Smith of how the design reached the loom, so that the hazards at each stage are abundantly clear.

(1) p. 895.

(2) p. 898.

Joubert and Paulet demonstrate the admirable clarity and logic of the 18th century treatise. Their information can, however, be tested against less logical sources such as the Victoria & Albert designs. The repeats which Garthwaite often specified are explained in Paulet. Paulet explains rather more clearly than Diderot the counts of the ruled paper and their significance. The Leman designs shew the practical application of this knowledge. Moreover, Leman was fully aware of the very difficulties which Paulet discussed half a century later than the surviving designs. He wrote at the side of one design of 1719, "I was going to finish this pattern upon 8 & 10 paper and then it would have fallen 100 Dezines long, but I thought 10 & 10 would be better because 8 & 10 commonly falls too long". Paulet, (himself a designer and manufacturer), even said that "tel compte de papier est propre pour une étoffe ne vaut rien pour une autre" (1). The theoretical treatises explain what, in fact, the Leman and Garthwaite designs are: the preliminary "esquisses" from which a tracing was taken on to varnished ruled paper. The varnished surface made it possible for the design to be traced and then painted and for mistakes to be removed and alterations made without spoiling the rest of the design. Paulet remarked (2), "On m'a assuré que le papier dont on se sert à Londres, est supérieur à celui de Lyon, tant par sa beauté, que par le genre de vernis qu'on y donne". In the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum are two MS. treatises, one of the late 18th and the other of the early 19th

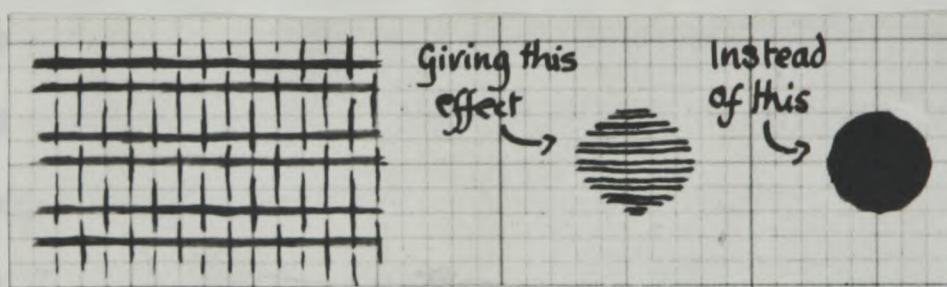
- (1) Joubert, Preface XVI, Chapter V, pp. 16-17, Chapter XIII, pp. 50-54, esp. pp. 51-52, in which he defines the different types of metal thread and their special uses. Paulet, p. 901, remarked "Quant aux dorures, non seulement le Dessinateur doit les distribuer sur son dessin, de manière à leur faire rendre des effets agréables & riches; mais il faut qu'il donne à l'ouvrier la manière dont il doit les lier au corps de l'Étoffe, afin qu'elles y rendent tous les effets qu'on doit en attendre. Il est de l'habileté d'un Dessinateur de distribuer les dorures de sorte que peu paraissent beaucoup".

century, compiled by practising silk weavers, both French. These provide a further link between the documentary evidence and the silks. Both contain samples of "foot-figured" silks. None of the silks they contain are mentioned on the English trade cards but many are their equivalent. They provide, in addition, information about the grounds of more elaborately patterned silks. A further source is the treatise, again with samples of silk, compiled by Samuel Wilson just before the Jacquard loom came into widespread use, which has already been mentioned. The problems he tackles demonstrate the consummate mastery of his predecessors. He illustrated the adjustments in design it was possible to make on a drawloom (shooting several lines of the pattern twice), which could not be made on a Jacquard, but also the devastating effect of a design where the weave of the ground and pattern failed to correspond. He tried one shawl border four times, changing first the weft, then the binding and the number of cords. Samples of each attempt he stuck into his book and his anxiety can be seen to have been fully justified. Even when he succeeded by changing the ground weft to get the "figure to lay about right", he found that the ground of the textile shewed through the pattern, and he had to make a further adjustment. Both Joubert and Paulet insisted on special treatment for metal threads (1), and Samuel Wilson tried his best with different supporting wefts to get the most telling effects. He even worked out for himself a few golden rules about squared paper which bore

- (1) For instance, "all figured 50 dents (of the reed) to the inch cut by single reeds two shoots to a lash on square paper, except 2 colour satins then add one shoot in a design (i.e. *dezine*)". The same "cut by half reeds one shoot to a lash on square paper". The phrases "single reeds" and "half reeds" refer to the number of mails into which the threads from one dent in the reed are distributed.

Paulet, p. 886 "Un Dessinateur doit connaitre....sur quel compte de peigne elle doit être exécutée; si la dente découpe entière, par deux, par trois ou par quatre, c'est à dire, si tous les fils de la dente d'un peigne sont contenus dans un seul maillon, la découpe est d'une dent entière; s'ils sont contenus dans deux la découpe est d'une demi-dent; s'ils sont contenus dans trois, elle est d'un tiers..... C'est en raison de ces découpages qu'il doit étendre son dessin en largeur". Wilson's precautions were to ensure that the design when woven turned out in the same proportion as it did on paper - which, as he found, was by no means inevitable. The point is perhaps easier to explain with a diagram. See Plate 76 No. 92 .

- (2) Sample 141 in Wilson's treatise was a tissue whose pattern wefts were unintentionally paired thus:



He explained "the reason of the tissue being divided every two shoots is entirely owing to both the binding lams rising at once for two shoots together". In subsequent examples of the same silk he worked out a more satisfactory way of combining the ground weave and that of the pattern.

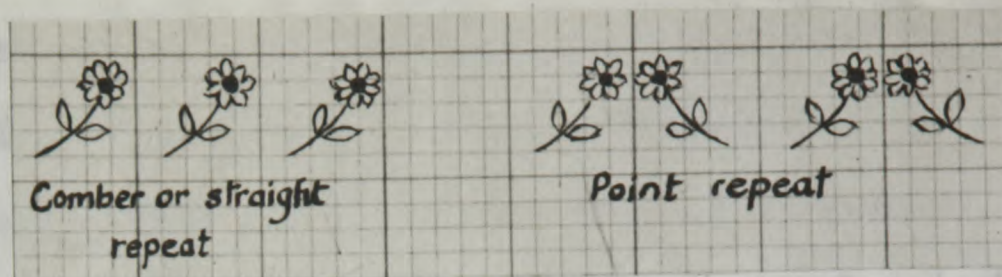
- (3) These omissions from his account are perhaps still further proof that the article was indeed written by an independent designer not actually in association with any weaver and therefore possibly Garthwaite herself.
- (4) See Chapter 2, p. 163 note 2

out the remarks of the treatises (1). Joubert and Paulet warned their readers about the mistakes which could ruin a good design, while Samuel Wilson illustrated and commented on what these were and why they occurred. The faulty binding of a pattern is, for instance, one which continuously recurred. (2). Samuel Wilson was not an amateur, one of his commissions, indeed, was for silk for chair seats for Windsor Castle, and his treatise includes pages of payments to a number of workmen. If Wilson ran into serious difficulties with his designs it was not through his own incompetence - far from it - but because of the intrinsic difficulty of the technique. The silks of the period of this study were on the whole so successful that the difficulty of making them is only too easily overlooked.

The processes of designing are described systematically only in the French sources. Although Smith described designs suitable for different kinds of silk and briefly (p. 45) how the design was transferred on to the loom, he skipped fairly lightly over the different stages (3). The technical section at the end of his article has already been quoted in part (4), but he left out several important factors: i), the comber board and its effect on the number and type of repeat, ii) the reed and its effect on the proportions of the design in the woven silk, iii) the vital fact that while each of the vertical lines of small squares on the ruled paper represented one cord, the cords themselves could control not one but a number of warp threads and usually did. The "découpures", that is, the

number of threads working together had a considerable effect on the appearance of the finished silk. If the silk woven by Vautier in 1747 (Plate 43, No. 50) is compared with the design for it (Plate 41, No. 48), it will be seen that the stems of the flowers, particularly, are rather jerky and uncertain, and this could be advanced as a criticism of English manufacture. The operations described by Paulet were the following: first, a preliminary series of sketches were made by the designer and the best then inked in (1). Then this was either traced on to varnished paper or on to thick blue or some other coloured paper, using carbon paper, which was then inked in and painted. Garthwaite possessed a number of French designs which are obviously immaculate tracings of this description which had been painted or coloured. At this stage Leman often altered his designs, even cutting pieces out and sticking in new motifs. He also squared up the paper for the designs and wrote his instructions beneath or on the back for the draft. A typical example is illustrated on Plate 15, No. 15. The design was then traced on to squared paper with the appropriate number of squares, but not sub-divided. After this it was transferred on to the ruled paper correct in size for that particular type of cloth and design. De Brissac almost invariably sold the "R.P." with his designs for which he often charged as much (2). Paulet stressed that the designer had to know certain facts when designing, the width of the cloth was one such fact. Leman, as a designer-manufacturer, usually specified the width of the silk to be woven, and de Brissac

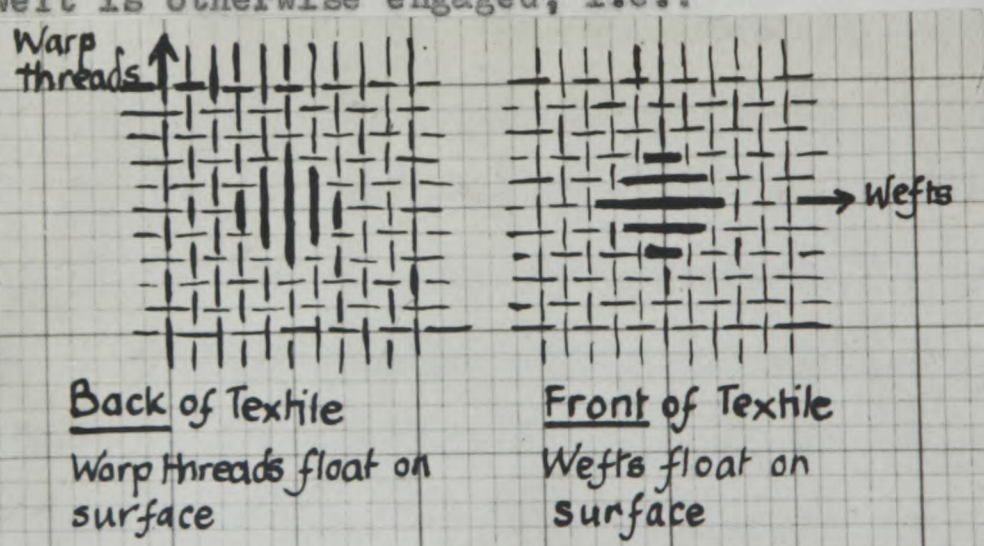
(1)



The effect is achieved by the order in which the cords are entered through the comber board. See Plate 75, No. 91 & 90.

(2) A "poil" or warp introduced solely for some effect additional to the basic structure of the ground weave. The tobine illustrated in Plate 35, No. 40 would have its design made by a flushing warp whose threads were delicately shaded in the colours of the design.

(3) The ground weft has as its main function to combine with the ground warp to form the basic weave of the textile. If the weave is broken so that the ground weft is used for some decorative effect (as in many of the "foot-figured" silks) the ground warp threads will float in the areas where the ground weft is otherwise engaged, i.e.:



(Tabby ground with a spot formed by floats of ground weft).

A pattern weft is used throughout this study in the sense accepted by C.I.E.T.A. of a "trame lancée" which is carried by the shuttle from selvage to selvage.

A brocaded weft is only used for the width of the motif in the design and turns back at the edge of this motif.

A pattern weft thus uses more silk, which will be wasted on the back of the textile unless the designer ensures an even distribution of his pattern to cover most of the ground, as in the tissues illustrated (Plates 4, No. 4. Plate 9, No. 9).

A brocaded weft saves precious silk and metal thread (the Lekeux silk on Plates 39 & 38 is brocaded), but takes more time to weave, and if the number of colours is excessive will greatly increase the labour costs. The three-quarter lutestring brocades in the List of Prices (12) on "Two Comber brocaded only on one side," to advance for every Brocade shuttle extra.....ld." had a provision

occasionally mentions it. Garthwaite, an independent designer, was hardly concerned with this stage. Paulet also said that the designer must know the number of comber units, "chemins", and therefore the number of repeats for which the loom is mounted, and the type, whether it is comber (or straight), or point (1). Garthwaite usually specified this, and so did de Brissac. Again, the designer had to know the number of cords on the loom and all the English designers gave the number of cords. Paulet also said that the designer had to know the count of the reed, without which he could not construct a design proportionate to his cloth. Paulet assumes, here, that the designer is at least the partner of a manufacturer if not one himself. Only Leman, who was a manufacturer, mentioned this on one design. In England it would be the manufacturer who had to decide this. Smith complained that the manufacturers employed ignorant and idle journeymen who "mangle and spoil the best design, tho' ever so well executed by the pattern drawer". The failure of the designer to see eye to eye with the manufacturer was almost inherent in a system where the designer had no control over the design once it was sold. Finally, Paulet laid great emphasis on the designer knowing how his effects were to be achieved: whether by flushing warps (2), by the ground wefts, the pattern wefts or brocaded wefts (3), or all three, and what kind of wefts, for chenille or metal thread would take up more space and demand special treatment. The designer had to draw motifs which could be bound, and understand how the binding was to work.

E.4457-1909.

- (1) Similar instructions also occur on E.4499-1909 and other designs. Paulet, writing some 50 years later, suggested that the designer should place the motifs at a sufficient distance from one another so that two colours could be painted in one lash. "Cette méthode abrège le lisage & accélère la fabrication de l'étoffe" pp. 922, 923.
- (2) See Plates 71, No. 85, and 73, No. 88.
- (3) Because the reader took up or left the threads according to whether a square on the ruled (or graph) paper was painted or not. He would have to trust that the draughtsman had done his part correctly.

He must understand the ruled paper and which count was suitable for the type of design. As Smith put it, he (or she ?) had observed "one great and material mismanagement in the flower'd silk manufactory, which is the employing too often such hands in copying good designs on the rule paper as were never brought up to it or know little or nothing of the art of drawing. This is a grievance I have often complained of; but instead of being commended I have been blamed for my care". James Leman attended to all these points. When it was possible to save some labour he did so. In the design already referred to (Plate 14), he gave some very precise instructions to the draughtsman "the yallow to be painted just as in the modell, the purple and green edging to be joined together and painted one colour. The same to be done with ye pail red and blue"; after a series of such details he ended "according to the direction above there will need but four colours in the pattern" (1).

The reader had then to "read in" the design either on to the simple directly or, as Smith and Paulet described it, on to a false simple, which was then tied to the cords of the loom (2). If the draughtsman had made any mistake it would be automatically transferred by the reader on to the loom (3). When the reader-in had tied a thread line by line of the design on to a simple, real or false, another worker had to tie the lashes. A good worker could tie up to 600-700 lashes in one day, but as there might be 2,000 or more lines in the

- (1) Justin Godart, "L'Ouvrier en Soie", Lyon, 1899. Chapter III, pp. 70-71 quoted the following case. "En 1763 un maître ouvrier, le sieur Solary, ayant eu une contestation avec son marchand, fournit au Consulat une note des dépenses qu'il avait faites pour monter un métier en vélours et dorures. Le dessin était de 223 dizaines et la liseuse, payée 4 sols la dizaine soit 441.12s., mit vingt-cinq jours à lire son dessin "during which time she had also to be fed and the tier of the lashes also paid and fed.
- (2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, March 14th, 1765.
- (3) See Plate 76, No. 93.

design this in itself would be several days' work.

The time taken by all these operations was a source of bitter comment. The maximum may have been about three weeks for a very complicated design (1), although according to "C", in answer to "B"'s queries, "before his loom is ready to weave in, it will be 3, 4 or 6 weeks before it will be mounted, in all of which time he earns nothing but has the additional hardship of keeping his drawboys in pay and victuals". (2). While the pattern might be changed every few weeks if the type of silk was also changed, the manufacturer might have to put in a different reed and enter the loom freshly. Specialisation by the London Manufacturers probably did reduce to the minimum the number of times this was necessary. Since Leman gave such instructions as, "to be made in the satin tissues harness", one assumes that he had a number of looms prepared for different types and counts of material. The entering of the warp on a drawloom was slow and difficult, and demanded great concentration on the part of the weaver. He had not only to enter his threadsthrough the heddles of a series of shafts which would control the weave of the ground and the binding warp (if there was one), but also to enter the same threads, or, in certain cases, a proportion of them, through the mails of the cords on the figure harness (3). This double operation can be eliminated on the Jacquard loom. It is not easy to preserve the correct order of the warp threads when entering a loom far less fine than a silk loom. On the latter it was a matter of great skill. A mistake in entering

- (1) The lingoos are the weights hung on the ends of the cords of the figure harness. They are essential for the correct tension on the latter. See Plate No. 74, 90. (The lingoos are marked 6 in the illustration), Plate 75, Nos. 91 and 92.
- (2) This presumably refers to the tying of the cords. Several cords (as many as there were repeats in the design) would be tied together at the neck (See Plate 75, No. 91) above the comber board.
- (3) Single comber means one repeat only in the width of the silk (as in the Lekeux silk, Plates 39 & 37).
- (4) Such a silk would have two or more repeats in its width, and normally each brocaded colour would need a separate lash - unless the devices specified by Leman and recommenced by Paulet were employed. Six different colours in each pass could thus mean six lashes.
- (5) Running works, since they are in apposition to brocaded ones, presumably refer to designs made with pattern wefts. These would be more trouble to tie than a brocaded lash, since the reader would have to work right across the textile, but once his part was done, and that of the journeyman who had to tie the lashes, weaving would be much faster than in a brocaded silk, as has already been pointed out.
- (6) Murphy's Art of Weaving (1827), although specifically referring to cotton and using both technical jargon and examples from the textile industries of the North of England and Scotland, has a useful account of the construction of the drawloom, pp. 306-325, before he proceeds to a description of "the French Draw Loom" i.e., the Jacquard loom. The winding out of the lash may be the operation described on pp. 310-311 (see diagram on pl. 75, No. 91) the cords above the mails - the actual figure harness in fact - had all to be of carefully graduated lengths, possibly a tricky operation. On the other hand, "lashes" are the lengths of cord pulled by the drawboy to form each line of the pattern which suggests that "lash" should be the cord from which the individual lengths are cut. Since they would be of a standard convenient size it is difficult to see why winding them out should be costed as a separate operation.
- (7) Murphy describes this operation on p. 305. "The tail (See Plate 74, the thrds from 'H' - 'T') extends from the knots at the neck to the tail-stick by means of which it is fastened to the roof or ceiling of the shop. From the tail descend the simple cords....down to the floor where they are fastened.....It is on this part of the draw loom that the pattern is read from the design....The lashes....are necessary for separating the simples (i.e., cords of the simple) of any shed which is to be opened from those that remain stationary: * * * are the heads (see Plate 73) to which the lashes are attached, and which are made with a noose to run on the gut cord, at pleasure. The gut cord commonly extends from the roof of the shop to the floor, parallel to the simple: are the bridles, which being connected to the lashes, at equal distances, draw them down in succession as they are wanted by the draw-boy". Each "head" thus constitutes one line of the design and drops to the bottom of the simple when the draw-boy has pulled the lashes attached to it. Although the groups of lashes are fixed

(7) cont'd:

in position by the "bridling" on to the "gut cord", the latter must have been moveable, on some kind of pulley, so that when the drawboy had pulled all the cords of the repeat he could haul the lashes up from the foot of the simple to the top to begin all over again for the next repeat.

- (8) This is, one supposes, the minimum rate for drawing on the ruled paper and not the fee paid to the original designer. De Brissac was normally paid about double this - allowing on an average about 50 dezines to a simple.

would shew in the woven silk but could be rectified.

An extra half-day or more in weaving sample pieces and adjusting the loom was usually necessary, and it was a laborious procedure to single out one faulty thread and re-enter it correctly. The 1769 List of Prices did not cost all the operations involved, possibly because only certain of them were in dispute. The Flowered Branch prices ended thus:

"The Mounting is to be paid as follows, viz:

For hanging lingoes per hundred	1/-	(1)
For necking and tying up ditto per 100	6d.	(2)
For making Lashes on a <u>single Comber</u> , brocaded		
ditto, per 100.....	4d.	(3)
For ditto on Brocade, 2 or more Combers,		
ditto, per 100.....	3d.	(4)
For ditto on <u>Running Works</u> of all kind, ditto		
per 100	4d.	(5)
For winding out Lash, ditto per pound.....	4d.	(6)
For making Heads and bridling them, ditto		
per 100.....	1½d.	(7)
For Drawing of Figures in general per simple.....	1/-	(8)
On single Combers, to advance, on account of		
Mounture, on all silks per yard.....	3d.	

These were all manual operations. As Smith said (in 1756), "it frequently happens, that when a pattern is fixed upon by the mercer, the weaver, after great expense in mounting the

- (1) "C's" answers, Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, March 14th.
- (2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 209.
- (3) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 210.
- (4) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 210. Evidence of Mr. Ashburner.
- (5) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, February 27th, 1765.

- (1) For hanging ligatures per hundred
- (2) For necking and tying up ditto per 100
- (3) For making ladders on a single derrick, per 100
- (4) For ditto on masts, 3 or more derrick, ditto, per 100
- (5) For ditto on English King of all kinds, ditto per 100
- (6) For winding out land, ditto per pound
- (7) For making bands and binding lines, ditto per 100
- (8) For breaking of rigging in general per ship

These were all annual operations. As before said (in 1756),
 "It frequently happens, that when a vessel is fixed upon
 by the enemy, the vessel, after great expense in repairing the

loom, is, perhaps, ordered to put it down before he has delivered one or two pieces". In 1765, it was alleged, (1) "This new mounting of the loom is very frequent for as often as a lady wants to buy a gauze she expects a choice of 20 new patterns which she has never seen at her milliners or haberdashers". Several of the 1765 Parliamentary witnesses spoke on this subject. John Peregal said the reason why silks were dearer in the bespoke trade, was that so few pieces were taken from the same pattern, "in rich brocades only four....which is a very heavy expense, for the charge to the Master on every loom is £20, and when the figure is changed the whole is changed, whereas as one set of harness would make from 18-20 Pieces, if he might be permitted to make that quantity instead of four, the Expense of £20 for the loom would fall upon the greater instead of the lesser number" (2). John Allen repeated, "in fine goods seldom more than four pieces are made of one pattern in the flowered way" (3). The mercers put up several arguments in opposition but on this point they rested their case on the fact that "the ladies did not like to buy patterns which were to be found in all houses" (4).

These arguments illuminate the strong objection made by "Veritas" (5) to the proposal of "Simplex" that silks should be measured and stamped at the Weavers Hall. "If this scheme was to take place", he wrote, "every master's new figure would be exposed to public view before the Spring trade begins or he has a sufficient quantity to shew the mercer". The men

- (1) The regulations of 1737 in Lyon contained the following provisions:

CXIII provided for the stamping of silks by the maîtres gardes: CXIV stipulated that the previous regulation was not to apply to "brocards et généralement....toutes sortes d'autres étoffes brodées, façonnées et à fleurs: elles seront visitées séparément dans une chambre particulière et ce par l'envers des pièces qui seront consués pour conserver le secret des dessins. Les maîtres gardes qui seront proposer à visiter desdites étoffes.....ne pourront estre dessinateurs", and there was a fine of 100 livres for any maître garde who was in fact a designer and undertook such duties.

appointed to measure, "whether by bribery or out of friendship"may shew one master's figure to another....who, if it is a pretty figure and he is rogue enough, may make a quantity of goods of his neighbour's pattern and bring them to market as soon as the inventor, who had been at great trouble and expense to put his new figure to work". These very same complaints were made in France, where there were such regulations, and this indeed happened (1). The setting up of a design was too expensive a process to risk the loss of "copyright" - even if the weaver was a man of capital, like John Baker, the time lost would have been disastrous. The treatises do prove that there was a very large measure of truth in the opinion of "Veritas".

In view of this, it is remarkable that there is only one patent in this period directly concerned with the simplifying of these operations. The others are mainly concerned with particular types of material, and will be considered in due course. The solitary offering was registered by John Batchelor (February 6th, 1750, No. 652) and, although it was described as "an invention for making or weaving brocades or tissues in gold, silver and silk....or silk only", it was in fact a simplification of the drafting on ruled paper, rather than any invention affecting the actual loom. Its provisions are deliberately a little mysterious, but it was apparently a method very similar to that of Leman already quoted, in which colours widely separated could be painted together on the draft.

(1) C. Rodon Y Font. L'Histoire du Métier pour la Fabrication des Étoffes façonnées, 1934. Liège, discusses several inventions of the period, such as those of Vaucanson and Regnier.

(2) p. 932

(3) p. 866. The cylinder could, however, only take 3-4 dozen lines of the design and then it had to be changed for the next one. It anticipated the Jacquard loom to a certain degree, since it worked on the principle of needles attached to the cords of the loom, which were in turn controlled by the holes punched in the cylinder. It was described in Diderot's Encyclopædia, but it was cumbersome to operate and failed to become established. Paulet was ahead of his time in his approval of the idea.

(4) L'État des Arts en Angleterre, 1755. p. 114.

John Batchelor was presumably the senior partner of Batchelor, Ham and Peregal. While in France a series of abortive attempts to simplify the making of patterns were made throughout the period (1), in England, where inventions in the cotton and woollen industries were greatly cheapening and speeding up the processes of manufacture, the silk weavers did not attempt to improve their drawloom. The probable reasons for this lack of enterprise will be discussed in the conclusions to this study.

Even if the pattern had been transferred successfully to the loom, the actual weaving was extremely slow. Paulet, recommending the 'métier à bouton' (2), mentioned that a damask weaver could make four (French) ells on an ordinary drawloom in one day, but six of the same design and materials on the métier à bouton. A brocaded silk with several colours might thus take even longer to make. Paulet's anxiety about the length of time that the weaving of a figured silk took led him to support enthusiastically Regnier's cylinder which eliminated the drawboy (3). The saving of the costs of production was jointly the problem of both the weaver and the designer. It was one of the criticisms of English silks made by Rouquet (4) that the manufacturers did not know how to save on their production costs. He said it was an unpardonable error "de commerce et d'intérêt. Il enrichit mal à propos de matière une étoffe déjà trop chère par la façon; il prodigue la soie dans des ouvrages qui ne sont déjà que trop lourds". He elaborated this point at some length, and finished his chapter on English

- (1) Préface, p. XV.
- (2) The reverse of a satin of eight (the usual satin of the period), that is, its weft face, can look very like a coarse tabby, or gros de tours. The reverse of a damask weave, however, need only be a weave feasible on the same number of shafts and thus, in some cases, the reverse or weft face really would be a gros de tours. The principles of damask weaving are explained in E. Guichard, Notes Techniques, Lyon 1957. (Only in the Victoria & Albert Museum Library as published for members of an international seminar on the techniques of historic woven textiles, organised by C.I.E.T.A.), pp. 31-34. Damask weaving is also described in Loir (Vol III pp.225-290.) but Guichard's account is preferable since he was describing historic techniques and not current production.
- (3) Luther Hooper, Handloom Weaving, 1910, described the "Drawboy Machine", pp. 238-248. Murphy, Art of Weaving, 1827 (p. 321), attributed the invention to the 'late' James Cross of Paisley, especially for use in the weaving of shawls.

silks with the words "c'est sur la fabrique, & non sur le matière, qu'un manufacturier doit établir son gain, particulièrement quand cette matière est aussi précieuse qu'elle est la soie".

Joubert was explicit on this point. On the binding of metal threads he said that, "ce qui fait qu'un dessin est trop lourd à la tire et en rend l'exécution difficile et couteuse" was to be avoided (1). If, in a damask, the reverse or "gros de tours" (2) was not evenly distributed, if it was "trop chargé dans des endroits" the drawboy would have difficulty in pulling the cords. The weaver would also work more slowly and mistakes would be made, as the drawboy would not be able to pull evenly, and a few cords would be left behind. The "mechanical drawboy", which came into use late in the 18th century, at least eliminated this difficulty (3). Nearly all the types of silk it was possible to make were limited by their costs of production. The length of time it took to make a chiné silk limited its perfection as a material - each colour involved a separate dyeing for each section of the warp. In the 1765 Report it was argued that "mclouded" silks, i.e., chiné silks, were one of the few types which could be profitably imported from France, despite the duties. Smith, Joubert and Paulet, while passionately recommending a study of nature to the designer did so, in Joubert's words, "autant qu'on peut la concilier avec les règles austères de la mécanique".

There was an almost unlimited list of mistakes by which the designer and the master weaver between them could add to

(1) Smith, p. 41.

(2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 210, Stephen Paris said he made silks from 7/- to £3 a yard.

the costs of production, but it is, perhaps, worth lingering on the question of metal threads. It is one in which theory can be tested in practice, since in 1742 Anna Maria Garthwaite designed the silver lustring which was woven by Captain Lekeux in three types of silver thread: *filé* or "plain", *frisé* or "frost", and silver strip or "plate". Joubert was very concerned about the loss of gold or silver thread on the back of the textile if the design was badly drawn. The areas of gold should either touch or be so far removed as to permit the weaver to brocade them. If this is not done then much precious metal - and "false" gold was universally suspect - would be wasted on the back of the textile. The cost of the fabric would then be prohibitive to the customer. The design is brocaded in Garthwaite's lustring, and the decorative appeal of the silk rests upon the contrast between the different kinds of metal thread. She has, however, followed Joubert's dictum - or rather anticipated it - since the very minimum of thread is wasted on the back of the textile. Smith said that in patterns for gold and silver brocades, "the pattern drawer is under some restraint; on the one hand to save the waste of silver on the wrong side of the silk; and on the other hand to keep the number of shuttles, or the workmanship, as low as possibly he can except it be in very rich stuffs, where the price of workmanship is not minded whether it be two or three shillings per yard more or less" (1). (A rich silk could cost 60/- a yard (2) to the customer, and prices up to £9 occur earlier in the century).

- (1) Chapter V, Tissu Or & Argent & Broché, p. 16.
- (2) Vanners & Fennell, Series No. II.
- (3) i.e. the threads of the binding warp.
- (4) See the Lekeux silk especially (Plates 36-38) and also the details in metal thread on Plates 52 and 53.
- (5) Joubert, p. 51, Chapter XIII. "Le frisé (i.e. "frost") d'abord, cette poudre d'or dont vous devez user sobrement pour éviter la surdité dans l'étoffe".

Joubert reminded the designer that the warp of the textile had to be white or golden in colour, according to whether the silk was to be made with silver or gold (1).

In the instructions on a design of 1711 (2) James Leman noted "The following direction is to warp the satin and the binders (3) of this fig. note that in the stripes where the gold or silver is it must be warped with gold colr. or white...." In the Lekeux silk the ground is blue and the binding inconspicuous. The designs for gold and silver thread were of a different type from those in which the effects were to be made in silk. Despite the advocacy of naturalism in the treatises there were no gold and silver flowers, and thus the metal threads in the designs, particularly in the 1740's and 50's (4), form an abstract meander while the flower trails are treated naturalistically. When metal threads were used together with silk they immediately created a technical problem in binding the pattern so that the weave of the ground was not distorted. Such metal threads were usually introduced in every two or three passes, not every shoot. The "plain" shoots were often paired, the "frost" single. Leman obeyed Joubert's dictum to use the latter sparingly (5). Paulet spent the best part of 40 pages of his treatise discussing the binding of certain silks containing gold and silver threads, noting in the course of his argument which weaves were unsuitable for combining with metal threads because they would detract from the appearance of the metal. Even a "soie d'accompagnement" might

(1) In the Foot Figured and Flowered Branches No. 6 Flowered Garment Satins were to be paid as follows:

"Reeds 1000	Five threads	60 lines,	per yard	1. 4d.
1100	"	"	"	1. 5d.
1200	"	"	"	1. 6d.

All counts under 1000 to be paid as 1000.

And to advance for every 100 above 12002d."

It then dealt with 6 thread, 7, 8, and 10 thread flowered garment satins whose labour costs were correspondingly more. The number of threads are those in each dent of the reed. The basic distinction could also be from the number of wefts and their type. In half ell or three-quarter alamodes, No. 5 in the Black Branch, and plain yard-wide 4 thread alamodes, No. 15. "If more than 75 shoots are required to an inch, then the Work is to be paid for as a Lutestring", which surely implies that the latter was a heavier or stronger silk than the alamode?

not help. This was a supporting weft in the same shoot as the metal thread used to enhance its appearance and to cover the ground. A yellow silk supporting weft was often used with silver thread to give the appearance of silver-gilt. Joubert compared the designing of rich silks with gold and silver to the task of an engraver. The latter would not have been so rigidly controlled by his technique, but the comparison is a fair one, particularly if it is made with the rich silks of the 1720's whose designs are almost entirely composed of metal threads. The texture of these silks became almost a third dimension - a quality an engraving could not exploit. The three illustrations (Plates 18, 19 and 20) are included mainly to give some idea of the effect of these silks. The man in the portrait was probably not wearing an English silk, the Torah Mantle is unlikely to be English, but the design by Leman certainly is, and shews the degree to which an English designer and manufacturer was able to produce the most luxurious and fashionable silks of his day.

Lists of the categories of silks made, can be compiled from Smith, Joubert, the 1769 List of Prices, the trade cards, and, within their own field, the Victoria & Albert designs. One of the most fundamental distinctions is underlined in the List of Prices. The different kinds of work to be paid for at different rates are based on a greater or lesser number of warp threads (1). When named examples, (all too rare), are examined it can be seen that this distinction was not

- (1) A typical list of goods appears on E.228-1943, a trade card in the Victoria and Albert Museum, for "Ryder, Nicklin & Wells, Mercers at the Indian Queen opposite the Church on Ludgate Hill, London, sell All Sorts of Rich Brocaded Silks, Dutch, Genoa and English velvets,

Rich Damasks

Paduasoy	Armozeens	Pelongs	Stripe and Tobine
			Lustrings
Flower'd and	Rasdemores	Ducapes	Black Silks
plain Tabbys	Rich Satins	Mantuas	Sergedusoy
	Norwich Crape and Bombazines		
Broglios	Silverets	Scotch Plads	Camblets
Dresdens	Poplins	Furniture	Callimancoes
Missinets	Grograms	damasks	and Russels."

A trade card in the British Museum (Print Room) for their successors, Wells & Hancox, included

Rich Damasks	Armozeens	Peelongs	Strip'd and Tobine
Peruvian &	Rasdemores	Ducapes	Lustrings
Royal Tishuas	Rich Satins	Mantuas	Black Silks.

Plain Flower'd and Watered Tabbies and Sergedusoy (i.e. paduasoy have been dropped and Peruvian and Royal Tissues introduced).

Some mercers, such as Thomas Robinson, emphasised their lines in suitings for men, (B.M. trade card mid-18th century), William Dare and Joseph Paitfield, as well as the usual selection, advertised "variety of slight silks, goods made of silk and inkle..." etc. (Guildhall Trade Card).

- (2) Mantuas, for example, occur as black silks and as coloured silks, and are used for both dress and furnishings. Taffetas were used, in the Royal Accounts especially, for draw-up window curtains and they were, of course, a standard dress material. Sarcenet, was used as a lining for both dress and furnishings. Even lustrings were used occasionally as furnishing materials for certain purposes, but they were primarily a dress silk.
- (3) Half silks and Mourning silks are dealt with at the end of this chapter. There were also the "narrow goods" which ranged from ephemeral commemorative ribbons and favours to the heavy silk "orris" lace used to trim upholstery. The industry evidently achieved a high standard in the manufacture of ribbons. Carret wrote to his partner in Lyon in 1766 "Voyez ces échantillons Rubans anglais comme ils sont faits, s'il nous parvenir à les imiter....nous en aurions des demandes très considérables". Unfortunately, the samples he attached to shew his partner are now missing from the letter. Handkerchiefs formed an independent category of which none (as far as is known) have survived.

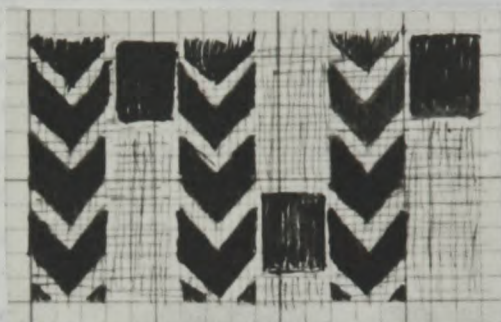
- (4) See p. 298 of this Chapter, notes 1, 4, 5. p.

arbitrary, but continued throughout the period. "Strong" silks have many more warp threads to the inch than "slight" silks. Since such materials also differed in their uses, the quality used for their warps might also differ. The number of different wefts in the pass might be another factor to be taken into account, (whether ground, pattern or brocaded). The silks listed on the trade cards (1), although they were sometimes given ephemeral names, continued for the most part throughout the period, and often represented a highly individual type of silk made for some specific use. They are treated a little later in this section, and fall into two broad divisions: furnishing and dress. These were cut across by some all-purpose materials (2) and there were the branches outside the main divisions (3).

The fundamental weaves from which most others are constructed, tabby, twill and satin, were used with different qualities of silk according to their purpose, but the lustrous quality of silk naturally lends itself most readily to satin, which was an important material throughout the period. Plain twill, on the other hand, a very useful weave for woollen materials, was more often used for lining materials, rather than as a material in its own right. Tabby, then as now, was universally made for a variety of purposes, and many of the trade card silks were varieties of tabby: ducales, armozeens, and mantuas, for example (4). The Strong Plain Branch of the List of Prices was, in fact, limited to varieties of tabby

(1) P. 678 et. seq., a sub-division of Cirsakas. He warns the reader, however, "Il faut seulement examiner le rapport qu'on les étoffes entr'elles par leur tissu, & non par le nom qu'on leur donne".

(2) Victoria & Albert Museum Library, L. 406. The samples in this late 18th century pattern book or treatise have a tabby ground on four shafts, a flushing warp (cannelé) on 4, and another "poil" (or second flushing warp) on 6. The designs are roughly:



of which quite a number have survived from the period.

(mantua, ducape and tabby). The Fancy Branch included Persians, Sarcenets and about a dozen varieties of satin. Both Persians and Sarcenets were widely advertised as linings. These are light in weight, and wages for weaving them were low. The only samples of Sarcenets so far traced are both twills. The date of these is 1820, and thus rather late. Both the technical possibilities, however, and the natural properties of its weave suggest that Sarcenet had also been a twill, when so widely used as linings some 50-80 years previously.

Most of the other varieties on the trade cards belong to the "Foot-Figured and Flowered" Branches: that is, they are silks with some kind of a woven pattern. Paulet distinguished a number of the French varieties of "foot-figured" silks, i.e.: made with shafts and not on a drawloom, and from his descriptions it is possible to suggest that a certain type of pattern, a certain quality of silk, and a given weave were all three necessary properties. His "Egytiennes" (1) do correspond with silks in the MS. pattern books we possess of the period (2). Unfortunately, there is no similar source to define the English foot-figured silks, except in the case of the half silks, of which a number were foot-figured. These will be considered at the end of this section. Since some silks such as "mantuas" occur as plain, foot-figured and flowered silks, it seems evident that the quality, i.e., the number of warp threads, was the most important factor. Some silks thus remain in doubt. Collinsons supplied Menander

(1) Since they occur low down on the Lists, after the lustrings and the like, but before the half silks and worsteds. They are possibly a light silk, perhaps with a distinctive pattern or colouring.

(2) A single tissue has only one pattern weft, though it may have an additional design effect formed by the ground weft, "a flush made with the ground shuttle". Most tissues which survive have satin grounds and it may be that this fact is taken for granted in 1769. The tabby tissue presumably, has a tabby ground, (a certain number of such silks have survived), and this could be the distinction between them.

in New York with "English Peelings" and Pelongs occur on most of the trade cards. They were obviously imitations of an Indian silk since pelongs are among the standard imports - legal and clandestine - from the end of the 17th century. A guess can be made of their nature (1) but there is little proof to identify them.

The flowered silks made on the drawloom account for a number of the silks on the trade cards and, with only a very few exceptions, they are identifiable since the drawloom, unlike the Jacquard, could only produce certain varieties of silk, to which they must correspond. Smith, in 1756, distinguished 1. Gold and silver brocades; 2. "Grand Designs" for the above with the addition of silk; 3. Gold and silver tissues; 4. Paduasoyes and double ground brocades; 5. Lutestring brocades (and lutestring and lustring are interchangeable); 6. Lutestring tobines; 7. Damasks; 8. Flowered velvets. He then proceeded, as Joubert did later, to describe the types of design suitable for each one. The distinctions between them are quite precise and technical, and would of necessity demand different types of design. The List of Prices in the Flowered Branch begins with half-ell mantuas on mountures, with all the additions of which they are capable named and priced e.g.: tobines, satin stripes, etc. The journeymen then dealt with the different varieties of damasks, then flowered garment satins, two-coloured satins, half-ell flowered tabbies with satin flowers (a warp effect textile), single tissues (of which tabby tissues appear to be a variety (2)), Royal Tissues, tissue

- (1) Paduasoy was a women's dress silk mentioned in several literary sources: Mrs. Pendarves writing in 1727 to Mrs. Ann Granvill (5th October, Vol. I, p. 135), mentioned that in a box "with the linen there is mama's black poudesoy gown". In 1728 (March 3rd, p. 192) she told the same lady about clothes at a Ball at Court that "the Princess Royal had a white poudesoy embroidered with gold", suggesting that it was a material without its own woven pattern in colours. Mrs. Pendarves reported that Georgina Carteret had "a pink plain poudesoy" in her trousseau of clothes for her wedding, in February 1734, which also suggests a self-colour material, but of possibly a fairly heavy weight. Leman designed "A paduasoy or tabby tissue", E.4449-1909, which was a silk with a separate binding warp for which instructions are given. It was painted in one colour only, which would be consistent with its being a self-colour material. In the Carret correspondence there was an order given to Carret in 1770 for a "Poux de soye bleu à L'é'chon..." to be added to a packet of other silks. A sample is attached to the letter. This is a blue Gros de Tours with a self-colour flush pattern and silver thread bound in 3 & 1 twill, supported by a white weft. The sample appears to have been glazed and calendered. It was the name which probably dropped out of use, rather than the material.

in England

tobines, half-ell single tobines (with variations for double and treble tobines, and finally half-ell lutestring brocades with all the extras, backshoots, extra shuttles, tobine stripes, etc. These names were not mere jargon, for they occur on the much earlier Leman and Garthwaite designs. If the two lists are compared, some items can be easily equated, damasks and lutestring brocades, for example. Surprisingly, the journeymen left velvets out of their list. The gold and silver tissues of Smith can be classed as a variety of Royal tissues. The gold and silver brocades and those with extra coloured silks were not on the journeyman's lists, perhaps because by this date they were too small and expensive a category to be put into a trades union agreement of this kind. The lutestring tobines have their equivalent in the List of Prices, but the Paduasos and Double ground brocades remain a little obscure (1).

It may not seem a very original thought at this stage to state that the designs of these silks had to be made by the warp or the weft, but this is the basic distinction between many of them. Any classification can only be in general terms, but since it has been argued that the English were great specialists, and that these silks differed from one another technically, some attempt must be made to say what these technical distinctions were. Damasks, velvets and gauze were all weaves and, by extension, silks which demanded special looms on which to make them. To weave damasks it is necessary

- (1) Commonly known as the doup warp. The process is described in Guichard: Cours, op. cit. pp. 303-316 (illus.).

to have rising and depressing shafts operating simultaneously.

The possible weaves are governed by the number of such shafts and must be combined together in a satisfactory way, which is as much a mathematical problem as one of style.

Although other effects could be added, a damask weave would chiefly rely upon the contrasting reflections on its surface between warp and weft effects. Smith said that "damask patterns require the boldest stroke of any; the flowers and leaves should always be large, and the small work omitted as much as possible, except it be in the middle of a leaf or flower". This is a pretty fair description not only of many of the Garthwaite damask designs (see Plate 36 for example), but also of a number of silks of the period, which can be dated both on stylistic grounds and on the cut of the costume of which they form part and, indeed, in some few cases from their provenance. The designs and the silks demonstrate that the nature of this weave was fully understood and its possibilities exploited. Velvet had to be woven on a special loom with a separate bobbin to hold each warp thread as well as all the usual paraphernalia of the drawloom. The weaver inserted a wire instead of a weft at regular intervals, and in this there was a groove if the velvet was then to be cut. The cutting had to be done skilfully and quickly if the cost were not to be prohibitive. A gauze loom had to have a mechanism whereby one set of warp threads could be moved from side to side of the loom (1) through the use of a moveable shaft or shafts.

1575

(1) The difficulties of terminology are almost insuperable. The ground warp threads of a tissue (lampas, diasper, and many other names) are entered both through the heddles on the shafts, and the mails of the figure harness (see diagram, Plate 75). Normally, on the first shoot of the ground weft a regular proportion of the ground warp threads are raised across the textile. The proportion will vary according to the ground weave, whether satin, tabby, twill or some variation. On the next shoot (in the more straightforward tissues), some of the threads of the ground warp will be raised and others left, quite irregularly. The weft in this shoot will normally be a pattern weft, but could be a brocaded weft. There may be several successive shoots of different pattern wefts, according to the number of colours in the design, before the next shoot of the ground weft, when the ground warp threads once more work in unison, a regular number being raised across the textile. In many 18th century silks the proportion will be one in eight, to make a satin of eight ground. (Silks were woven the wrong side up). The conglomeration of shoots between one shoot of the ground weft and the next normally constitutes one pass. A diagram is included on Plate 72 shewing a typical tissue with two pattern wefts, on a much enlarged scale. The weave of the ground in the diagram is that of a satin of 5 - simply for convenience.

(2) An undated design in the book of Leman's designs belonging to Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd., contains the following direction: "This pattern for a 900/8 thred dam: (ask) bro: (caded) & flush - The binders taken out of the sattin and warpd. along evry 4th thred....." He added the usual directions for the number of cords and the size of the ruled paper, and added in figures the distribution of the warp across the textile, "to warp boath sattin & binders with 25 bobbins" (No. II). The combination of the weave of the ground with the binding of the pattern is a mathematical problem in this case, rather than a technological one.

(3) There are a number of examples in the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum. The meaning and usage of "tissue" in the 18th century has been worked out more fully in the C.I.E.T.A. Bulletin for January 1960 by me.

(4) See p.299-301 of this Chapter.

Most of the other silks were weft-effect silks less difficult to make. The heavier tissues had to have two warps; one of these made the ground weave of the textile and was controlled by the figure harness to make the pattern (1), the other was a binding warp used to bind the floats of the pattern or brocaded wefts. The latter were very often bound in twill. Without wishing to go too far into the technical details, it may be said that in some tissues the extra warp could be avoided by taking the necessary binding threads from the ground and so do without the additional labour and expense of warping a separate set of threads and having an extra roller on the loom to hold them. Leman often did avoid the extra warp, and noted the fact in the instructions on his designs (2). The technique of the tissue went back at least to the 14th century, and is one of the most important weave in historic textiles. It did not, however, survive the introduction of the Jacquard loom, except when revived by such a man as William Morris who admired 15th century Italian silks (3). It was a basic "flowered" material of the 18th century and occurs in some form or another on every mercer's trade card.

The flowered tabbies and satins would have had either one or more pattern wefts going from selvage to selvage, or brocaded wefts used in limited areas. Lustrings would generally have been brocaded since they were a light dress silk (4).

When Peter Cheveney was asked by the Parliamentary Committee of 1765 "Whether the Manufacturers here are capable of

(1) See p.276.

(2) Plates 42 and 53, for example, and Colour Plate 54. The ground of this silk is white, not blue, as it would appear to be. This silk is only attributed to Spitalfields on stylistic grounds, its provenance is unknown.

(3) These can be clearly seen in the Colour Plate 54. The colour plate, it is hoped, brings out the subtlety of the textured effect of these self-colour flush patterns which enhance the main coloured design.

(4) List of Prices, Foot-Figured and Flowered Branches. No. 8 Single Tissues distinguished between a flush "made with the ground shuttle" at 6d. and "an additional flush" for which the weaver was to be paid 1s. 3d. per yard. The extra charge would be necessary because in each pass there would be an additional shoot, and an additional "head" of lashes on the simple.

(5) Most decorative effects in the silks of this or any other previous period (except in the 7th-8th century China) were made by wefts of one kind or another - apart from damasks where the contrast of warp effect with weft effect forms the design. The usual contrast in texture was between a weft effect in the pattern against a warp effect in the ground. This contrast is perhaps peculiar to woven silks and forms a quality which is additional to the design or its component colours.

(6) pp.628-658 on different varieties of cannellés, ^{Paulet} and Plate 67.

executing Flowered Goods as well as they are at Lyons? He answered, "better in general; that some goods, particularly Brocades upon a white ground, were in greater perfection here than at Lyons....." These do in fact correspond to Smith's category of lutestring brocades (1) and to a number of silks known to be English (2), Many of these also had "flush" shoots (3) in the ground, which made a self-colour pattern. These were either formed by the ground weft, in an interruption of the normal binding system, or by an "additional flush" (4), an extra weft. When they appeared on the face of the textile they were not bound by any binding warp but floated for the width of the motif. Since the practicable width of such a float was limited, "flush" designs were fine in texture and gracefully subordinate to the main design. Many English "white ground brocades" were, in fact, not bound by a binding warp, a technical feature which had a profound effect upon their design and on their price.

The "Tobine" silks, or those in which there was some extra "tobine" effect, were those whose pattern was made not by the weft (5) but by an additional flushing warp, sometimes covering the whole of the textile but more often in stripes. The floats of this warp had to be bound by a weft at a convenient length. If the floats were too long, instead of reflecting the light, they would have drooped or become entangled and thus spoilt the appearance of the silk. The List of Prices mentions single, double and treble tobines which can be correlated with Paulet's description of these silks (cannellés) (6). The

(1) pp. 924-926 and Plate 99. (Paulet).

(2) p. 925.

(3) Plates 41-43 shew the effect of a brocaded tobine design when woven. Plate 35, No. 40 demonstrates the subtle effects a designer could achieve by delicately shading the flushing warp threads in several colours. On Plate 63 the central barley sugar stripe is almost certainly intended for a tobine effect, and is typical of its period.

(4) Another material which was probably a twill was the "Rasdemore", which occurs on most of the trade cards. It was also supplied to the Master of the Robes (PRO. L.C. 9. 3. Mr. Croft's Bill Oct.-Dec. 1742, included 8 yards of black rasdemore at 12/- per yard). Article XVII of the Lyon 1737 Règléments gave the specific widths, portees and weight of twills, "ras de Saint Maur" and all other "étoffes croisées". It was also illustrated in Diderot's Encyclopaedia.

(5) Plate 59.

drafting (and designing) of a warp effect design had its own rules (1) and the cords of the loom were divided into 2 - 4 "corps". It was an extremely complicated type of silk to set up, and Paulet, who was a manufacturer, said that 80% of the "readers" would bungle their task unless given a separate draft for each "corps" (2). The complications of arranging a warp-patterned design suggest a reason why tobines, although always known, did not appear to become very common until the most prosperous years of the industry, the later 1740's in England (3).

Such, very broadly, were the main technical issues, which determined the categories of silks. Precise technical details are not always possible to elucidate because of the lack of pattern books surviving - or traced. It seems reasonable that "sergedesoys" should be one of the rare varieties of twill since serge was and is twill in French (4). It is a little odd that this material, which is one of the most common suitings mentioned in the accounts of the Master of the Robes, is very seldom listed on the trade cards. Some silks were imitations of other, more expensive, varieties. Vallures and vellurets, both very common, had a weft-pile instead of a warp-pile, as in true velvet. The distinction between them would appear to be one of scale (5), but may equally well be of warp count, the velluret being the cheaper, slighter material.

Generally speaking, as the complexity of the weave increased, so did its price. The cost of labour in the industry has been discussed; it was an important factor to

- (1) When John Sabatier gave evidence to the House of Commons in 1766, (Report, op. cit. p. 725), he referred both to the "spring trade" which he said was in decline, and the "winter trade....affected by the late Mourning". There were two peaks of production in the industry with somewhat different goods.

which determined the character of the goods. The goods were not always possible to produce because of the lack of pattern books everywhere - or even. It seems reasonable that "merchandise" should be one of the main varieties of goods since there was and is still in France (2). It is a little odd that this material, which is one of the most common, is not mentioned in the accounts of the Master of the House, although mentioned in the accounts of the House of the House. It is very seldom listed on the French cards. Some like were imitations of other, more expensive, varieties. Velvets and velveteens, both very common, had a well-known kind of a warp-pleat, as in true velvet. The distinction between them would appear to be one of scale (3), but may equally well be of warp count, the velvet being the cheaper, lighter material. Generally speaking, as the complexity of the weave increased, so did the price. The cost of labour in the industry has been enormous; it was in 1800 about 100 times as much as in 1766.

be considered, together with the quantities of raw material required, when assessing a design. Very few silks were produced regardless of expense, and it is all the more surprising that so few technical innovations were introduced in the period. On the other hand, despite the complexity, there is a marked tendency for prices to decrease in the period. The gold tissue at £9 per yard used for the Coronation of Queen Anne gradually drops to £3 - still too expensive for normal use. The lighter materials become increasingly important (the lustrings, taffetas, etc.) but also the chiné or clouded materials which were not cheap, although light in weight. Changes in fashion are very intimately connected with this tendency. Indeed, it can well be argued that it was fashion rather than price which relegated the most expensive materials to the most formal uses - and fashion dictated as much by their competitors as by the purely internal development of style.

The Changes in Fashion

The broad divisions of the seasons, the "winter" and the "spring" (1) trade, would give each new pattern only a few months of active life. The newspaper advertisements emphasise the regular change. A sale on 20th October, 1763 at the Carolina and Pennsylvania Coffee House advertised: "A curious assortment of mercery goods consisting of rich tabbies, ducapes, armozeens, satins, damasks, brocades and

(1) Gazette and London Daily Advertiser (B.M. Burney Collection).

(2) Joubert, op. cit. Chapter IV. Droguets liserés, satinés, lustrinés, Péruviennes & Prussiennes, pp. 12-16. p. 15 "La Péruvienne en totale n'est qu'une modification du Droguet liseré, où il n'y a que le poil de moins". He discusses droguets and their designs fairly extensively. There are, moreover, samples of droguets in the Richelieu Collection. The latter have fairly simple patterns, often self-coloured with the design made with a flushing warp and a "flush" weft, i.e., neither bound within the width of the motif. Different diapered patterns are possible, and shading by mixing the flushing with the ground warp and weft. If the flushing warp is omitted in a Peruvian, then it becomes an all weft-effect silk. Whether, indeed, this silk is the equivalent of the English Peruvian tissue is an open question. The latter is put in apposition on some trade cards to Royal Tissues, the most expensive of their kind. On the other hand, a bill for some Peruvian tissue in the 1750's gives the price at 13/- a yard - which is about the same as a good quality plain satin, and rather too cheap for an elaborate tissue.

(3) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser. No sample of "velvidore" has been traced. It was presumably one of the silks with some kind of pile or raised effect in imitation of the effects possible with velvet (by analogy with vellures and vellurets).

(4) A "silk camblet" would appear to be a contradiction in terms unless it is a half silk, which is possible from the price.

sundry other silk goods for the winter trade" (1). A further advertisement for the same sale elaborated the stock: "150 pieces rich flowered and plain tabbies....Peruvian tissues (2) and brocades, fine Norwich crapes, plain and figured modes... likewise 20 pieces of rich Genoa velvet and 30 pieces of Italian mantuas and Peruvians etc...just landed and in good condition". The proprietors of the Queen's Head and Star of Chandos Street, advertised on June 29th, 1765, "a curious and elegant assortment of the most fashionable silks for the present season, at our usual low prices....likewise the stock-in-trade of two weavers lately bankrupt, consisting of rich tissues, velvidores (3), plain and flowered satins with great variety of lustrings for the spring trade". "A great variety of new silks for the present season" was a typical phrase or "....a neat and fresh assortment of plain, striped and flowered silks fit for the spring trade". It is interesting to note that by May and June the number of such advertisements in the newspaper diminishes; the silks were presumably in the mercers' shops and the weavers and designers planning for the season ahead.

It is also significant that the same emphasis is placed on "fresh" patterns in the advertisements in American newspapers and in the Collinson accounts. It is true that many of Menander's invoices were for woollen goods and half silks. In the 'fall of 1737 he ordered: "12 ps. (pieces) silk camblets (4), newest fashion, good colours and glossy....." and in the same order he put as a general note "I very well approve

- (1) Both are all-worsted materials, possibly made by the London worsted weavers, but the only surviving samples are in pattern books from Norwich (both in the Vittoria & Albert Museum and the Norwich Castle Museum).
- (2) Rita Susswein Gottesman. Arts and Crafts in New York, 1927, pp. 265 +. Fabrics; she quotes from the New York Gazette, especially, several such advertisements and lists, pp. 270-275, "vendors of fabrics" and the dates when their names first occur, but does not itemise the fabrics. It would be very interesting to examine these advertisements, for in New York "English" when applied to a silk was a term of praise and the American market may have reflected fairly accurately at least the middle range of silks the London mercers chose to export (See Chapter 4, pp.).
- (3) G.F. Dow. The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-75, 1927. pp. 154-172. Fabrics. p. 155, from the Boston News Letter.
- (4) G.F. Dow, op. cit. 21st June 1743. Boston Gazette.

your sending two sprigged damasks for a tryal, when any new fashioned things comes in vogue, a ps. of it may be proper for a tryal, whether such damasks will take I know not, but Cambletees and Russells which have lately come here in fashion take very well....." (1). The next year he stipulated that his Russells should "all be large new fashioned patterns". In the last order of the series of January 1760 he again noted: "If there is any New Fashion silk or silk & worsted that is wore among gentlemen in summer may send 2-3 pieces".

His orders give substance to the claims of the mercers advertising in the American newspapers,"just imported....." (2), the phrase with which they usually begin. In 1734 Thomas Trowell of Boston (3), advertised "for present money.....great pennyworths of European silks and stuffs as Rich Morello tabbies, Florence satins, a blue ground brocade, English damasks, handkerchiefs, fine Norwich mourning crapes, brilliants, superfine silk camblets, brocaded stuffs, cloth coloured paduasoyes, Italian mantuas, striped ducares, white English Pealong, Allamode, Bird's Eye.....all of the very newest fashion". Albert Dennis (4) claimed that he sold "the cream of all sorts of the best goods, just imported from London.....he imports immediately from the maker and has nothing but the choicest of goods and has fresh supplies in every ship constantly. He gives no credit.....sells black taffetys the best sorts at £22 a piece.....and all sorts of Winter and Summer goods at the same advance". Some idea of the patterns of these silks

(1) G.F. Dow, op. cit. September 26th - October 3rd, 1737.
Boston Gazette.

(2) These frequently occur both on trade cards, for instance, in the list of smuggled goods seized by the Customs House officers. It is not easy to determine how far they were a type of handkerchief and to what extent they really came from Spain.

was occasionally given. John Phillips (1) of Boston, in 1737 advertised the sale of "A New Parcel of fine Brocaded Silks with white grounds beautifully flowered with lively colours, rich gold and silver laces....wide and narrow campblets, velvet, scarlet cloth, strip'd and plain calimancoes...." By 1765 the advertisements include the full range of goods offered by their English counterparts "...just imported, yellow ground brocades, white figured tabby, brown paduasoy, green mantua silks; black, coloured, plain, flowered and spotted sattens; pelong ditto; large fringed Barcelona Handkerchiefs (2); Ballandine silks; Padusoy satin; sarcenet and figured ribbons;...." Probably they were not quite so fashionable as they claimed to be but, even if there was a certain time lag, (inevitably) the American customer was as conscious of changes in fashion as his English counterpart. The importance of the American market will be discussed in the next chapter, but if fashions had to change for the Americans, it can be argued that in the Northern European markets, where English silks were competing with the French, Italian and Dutch, changes in fashion would have been even more sensitive.

The Uses of Woven Silks

The uses to which the silks were put fall into two categories: furnishings and dress materials. These were cut across by some all-purpose materials, but even the ubiquitous

damask was of a heavier weight when used as a furnishing material. There were also branches outside the main divisions, described on p. 274 note 3.

Furnishing Silks

Furnishing fabrics were naturally among the heavier categories of silk made. They were therefore inherently more expensive, and they met the strongest possible competition both from other materials and from imported foreign silks. The Royal Accounts provide an unbroken series of bills used in the furnishings of the period. The price, the length of the material, and exact use are given in each case, together with the name of the mercer. Moreover, apart from the King's own household all the royal palaces were furnished and refurnished year by year, together with both houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey and sundry state offices. Weddings, funerals, betrothals and Coronations brought further orders. The Accounts thus have a wider significance than might at first appear. Since the names of the people whose rooms are being furnished are also given, it is possible to see what sort of people had what kind of silk. The King, his Queen, his mistresses, his Ministers and friends and all the servants, from the chief housekeeper to the necessary woman, had to have beds and bedding and a variety of other soft furnishings. The Hanoverian Court was not in the forefront of fashion,

- (1) The Dukes of Bedford bought silks fairly extensively, as Miss G. Scott Thomson has shewn. Unfortunately permission to study these accounts and bills could not be obtained.
- (2) L.C. 9. 288. 1729-1733 has a greater number of window curtains than the previous series of the Accounts. This can only be a rough guide. State occasions are irrelevant and give a slightly misleading picture, and so do State beds and the like. In 1730, Matthew Vernon (Bill 112), supplied Crimson Florence taffeta for two festoon curtains and vallances for the Prince of Wales' Drawing Room at St. James's at 8/6d. per yard. In the next bill John Bell supplied 107 yards of white Florence taffeta to line the flowered velvet window curtains for the Queen's Bedchamber at Windsor. In the next year Matthew Vernon (bill 56) supplied 910 yards of "crimson Italian Taffety" for window curtains, at 8/6d., for various Hampton Court apartments. By this date Sarah Gilbert, the upholsterer, was supplying fine broad yellow camlet for the window curtains of the Groom of H.M.'s Bedchamber. By 1733 taffeta "draw up" curtains frequently occur in the mercers' bills (but only for the most exalted personages).
- (3) Dutch velvet almost invariably graced the seats of the close-stools. While "Utrecht velvet" has been used synonymously with woollen velvet, this is not necessarily so in the mid-18th century. The samples in L.C.9. 267 of silks supplied by Edward Ingram and Robert Carr include a "Dutch velvet". It is priced at 24/- a yard instead of 27/4d. for the "Genoa velvet". Both are crimson. The quality of the Dutch sample is not quite as good as the Genoese, but it is in every way a normal silk velvet.
- (4) Vanners and Fennell series No. 55 dated 1710 "An Italian damask brocaded with silk and gold.....a 900/8 thred 10 lams..." (i.e., a 900 dent reed, 8 threads in each dent, 10 shafts and thus a satin of five). He drew another "Italian damask" in 1710, No. 71 in the Vanners & Fennell Series. There seems no doubt in these cases that Leman is indicating a type of silk. See also Plate 10, fig. 10.

which perhaps makes the Accounts a little dull at times, but this very fact ensures a fairly representative picture of possible current furnishings. As a check to these Accounts there survive miscellaneous bills for the silks acquired by leading members of the aristocracy (1), mostly scattered in a variety of printed sources in which they are usually quoted as background material, and seldom given in their complete form. In addition, a number of Conversation Pieces shew the interiors of the homes of their sitters quite well.

Silks were used for wall hangings, for bed-curtains and furniture, for upholstery, and very much less frequently for window curtains until well into the period. The Great Wardrobe probably bought more damask for these purposes than any other material; velvet was occasionally used for specific purposes (the tops of card tables and the seats of close-stools, for example); satin for bedding and for other uses; taffeta very often for the different types of window curtains when these do begin to appear in quantity (2); and certain linings (mantuas, sarcenets and persians) throughout the period. The trade cards mention "Genoa, Dutch & English velvets" (3), "Florence and English satin", "Genoa and English damask". These were all bought by the Great Wardrobe in quantity. Not all the "Genoa" velvet bought and sold was necessarily Italian - it is not always easy to tell when a prefix such as "Italian" or "Genoa" is indicating a place of origin or a quality. Leman, for instance, made "an Italian or ten lam damask" (4). On the other hand, a large proportion of these furnishing silks

(1) Victoria & Albert Museum Trade Card, 29380 C.7. for a Silk Dyer who claimed he cleaned articles to perfection. The card is undated but is probably from the middle of the century.

(2) See Plates 46, No. 54, 60, No. 71, for example. S. Pavière. The Devis Family of Painters, 1950. The Catalogue of an Exhibition at 25 Park Lane of English Conversation Pieces, 1930. A. Smart, The Life and Times of Alan Ramsay 1952, B.N. Parker & A.B. Wheeler, John Singleton Copley, 1938, all contain useful illustrations.

(3) L.C.9. 288, Bills 64 and 111 of that year.

(4) L.C.9. 288, Bill 66 (of 1732).

may well have been Italian, and the private accounts confirm this impression.

Although a silk dyer advertised that he cleaned "Genoa damask", silk and worsted, stuff do. Mohair, morine, harrateen and tapestry hangings (1)", damask hangings were not in common usage. The bare walls of the conversation pieces demonstrate the fact (2). The price effectively limited its use as a wall hanging to the Court and the richer classes of society. An order from John Johnson and Co. Mercers, in 1716 may be quoted as an instance of the price. They supplied "87 yards of crimson Genoa damask for hangings, window curtains, valances, cornishes and window cases, etc. at 21/- per yard" for the Countess of Kilmarnock's new dressing room at St. James. The price decreased a little in the period, (although crimson damask, of course, remained a shilling or two per yard more expensive). In 1730, the Great Wardrobe was paying 18/6d. per yard for crimson, and 16/6d. for yellow Genoa damask (3), but in 1740 crimson damask was again 21/- a yard; by 1754 it had decreased to 17/- per yard. It gradually becomes clear that large amounts of damask were only being bought for the Royal yachts.

A typical bed was made up by the Upholsterer, Sarah Gilbert, in 1732 (4), for the Prince of Wales at St. James's: "For making up a Green damask (16/6 from Matthew Vernon), State bed with teaster, head cloth, bases and carved vauzes, out and inside vallance and counterpoints, the outside vallances and cornishes neatly embroidered with raised work,

- (1) Vol. I of 1953 edition of "A Dictionary of English Furniture" p. 56 in article on "Beds" illustrates the Hampton Court Bed of Queen Anne, pl. 36 shews a Half -tester or "angel" bed c. 1710 from Leeds Castle, Kent., Fig. 37 another State Bed from Hampton Court c. 1715 for the Prince of Wales., Fig. 42, a bed c. 1725 from Hampton Court.
- (2) P.R.O. E.165. 30. R.R. Misc. Bks. Ser. II 30. Seizures, Hilary Term 1762, London 6th February 1762.
- (3) February 27th, 1765. Gazette and New Daily Advertiser.
- (4) P.R.O. 30/11. 281 (Cornwallis Papers). The sale catalogue of the house of a certain Captain James Jones in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden in 1759, contains a fairly detailed description of the contents of the house. Jones possessed an extensive library, a number of paintings and objets d'arts. In the drawing room he had crimson silk damask covering 4 walnut tree chairs with stuffed backs and seats, and two settees. The room also had "A crimson silk damask festoon window curtain lined with shalloon, trimmed with fringe and tassels complete". He had some more damask in the dining room, but none, for instance, in the parlour. Although his literary and artistic tastes may have been more sophisticated than those of the Royal household, his choice of furnishings was very similar.

the whole trimmed with silk arras (i.e., orris) lace and lizarding, the curtains neatly double seamed and counterpoint very handsomely laced all finished in the best manner....£35". There were damask window curtains and taffets draw-up curtains as well. Sets such as this (1) became rarer later in the century, although one or two have survived as proof that such elaborate furnishings were still used occasionally. Outside the Court, however, damask was also used for quite similar purposes. A seizure of uncustomed goods made in the winter of 1761 included "damask curtains" (2). It was even exported. In the Boston News Letter January 9th, 1746 there was an advertisement of a "Public Vendue....at the house of Charles Paxton Esq..... fashionable crimson damask furniture with counterpain and 2 sets of window curtains and vallans of the same damask, 8 walnut tree chairs covered with the same damask... 8 crimson china cases for ditto, one easy chair and cushion same damask and case for do...." In England a sale of goods of "a gentleman deceased" in 1765 (3), included "rich silk damask, silk and worsted ditto, morine, cotton and other window curtains". A number of portraits shew damask chairs as late as the 1790's, or damask draped curtains, or similar features, but it was unquestionably a luxury material for the best rooms in the house (4), and used sparingly outside the Court. It did, however, wear very well, and the crimson damask which survives, has mostly retained its colour.

(1) Vol. II of the English Connoisseur of 1766, describing Windsor Castle reported that "In the Queen's Bedchamber the Bed of State is rich flowered velvet made in Spitalfields by the order of Queen Anne...." This bed was moved later to Hampton Court where it now remains. It is illustrated in Vol. I, P. Macquoid & R. Edwards, "Dictionary of English Furniture" 1924 edition. Beds. Fig. 21, and the warrant for making it, 27th June 1714, "crimson gold and white figured velvet trimmed with a figured silk arras lace" quoted on page 40.

(2) L.C.9. 289. Bill 29. L.C.9. 291. Bill 19 (the sequence of bills begins again for each year).

(3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 24, April 1742. pp. 199 + esp. 201.

Velvet was even more expensive and it generally headed the lists of materials on the trade cards. The Genoa Velvet supplied by David Bosanquet 1718/19, for instance, varied from 31/- per yard to 32/- according to the colour, and cost 36/- for the crimson. In the Royal Accounts it is usually distinguished as 2, 3 or 4-pile Genoa velvet, a reference to the quality of the pile warp. At the beginning of the period, despite its price, it was occasionally used for bed furniture (1). Although it never became cheap, the price per yard dropped to 30/9d. in 1734, for example (2), and in 1754 was 27/4d. Here the card tables belonging to the Royal Household are very useful. It can be assumed that they had to be of the same quality each time, they wore out frequently and had to be recovered, and thus one can be fairly sure that a fall in price was not a change in quality. A further source and a very different one, which throws light upon the price and use of velvet was a furious row in the Select Vestry of St. Martin's in the Fields. This was eventually thrashed out before a Select Committee of the House of Commons (3). The Vestry were accused, (with justification as it appeared) of buying goods from among their own members at inflated prices. On April 26th, 1738, they had bought 48 yards of velvet for two palls at 27/- per yard. An undertaker was questioned about the amounts necessary, and he said, "the best and largest pall contained 20 yards, and the price of velvet was 22/- per yard, and that the common pall contained but 16 yards at 18/-". Palls were one of the standard items in the Royal Accounts, and

- (1) In 1739 (L.C. 9. 289, Bill 31 fol. 230) Sarah Gilbert and William Reason were paid "for making crimson lustring cases for two arm chairs and two settees and a man's time in going to cut them out and sewing silk used £6. 16. 6d.", for H. M.'s Audience Room, bedchamber and Supping room at Kensington. In 1746/7 L.C.9. 290, fol. 158, Bill 29, Thomas Bell supplied a typical quantity of green Florence taffeta at 8/8d. per yard for "scarves" for 6 arm chairs and 2 settees.
- (2) In 1716 Thomas Phill and Jeremiah Fletcher, upholsterers (L.C.9. 286, fol. 29, bill 54) charged £1. 12. 6d. "for taking the yellow damask covers off a couth Squabb and pillows, one dressing chair, 4 square stools and ripping the damask curtains for scouring, new dipping and callendring, 116 yards of broad yellow Genoa damask at 12dp per yard...." They also stuffed the chairs and made loose taffeta covers for them. Sarah Gilbert, upholsterer, charged in 1734, "for ripping to pieces some flowered velvet and cleaning the same..." in the Queen's Bedchamber at Kensington (L.C.9, 289, bill 39 for that year). In 1741-2 she and William Reason charged £23 "for making hangings compleat" for Princess Louisa's bedchamber at St. James', out of old crimson Genoa damask and fixing them up.... In the next bill they ripped to pieces two pairs of velvet window curtains, "cleaned the same with bread and made them up again" (L.C.9, 290, fols. 36-9, bills No. 43 and 45). In 1746-7 William Reason, no longer in partnership with Sarah Gilbert (L.C.9, 290, bill No. 40), was paid for "very carefully wripping (sic.) and taking off all the gold lace, fringe, tassels, etc. from the large crimson velvet State canopy, carved work and crowns, and dry cleaning and refreshing all the velvet in the best manner, as also cleaning and refreshing in an Extraordinary Manner all the gold lace....repairing the canopy in several places, new covering the bottom of the Crowns with fine white satin...£130." Between a third and a half of the items on the periodic upholsterers' bills paid by the Great Wardrobe are for such cleaning and repair.
- (3) L.C.9. 286. Bill No. 84 of that year, John Johnson & Co. Mercers.
- (4) L.C.9. 296. Bill No. 16 of that year.
- (5) L.C.9. 291, 1750. Bill No. 26 for Robert Carr, for example, included 6½ yards of crimson lustring at 9/9d. for window curtains for the King's Bedchamber at St. James'. In 1753 William Reason charged (Bill 19) for 33 yards crimson superfine tammy to line 2 lustring draw-up window curtains and cover the laths, brackets and plummets at 2/1½d. for the "Duke's apartment" at Newmarket, so that its use was fairly widespread.
- (6) L.C.9. 286, Bill No. 39 for that year for goods supplied by Richard Chamberlain.

it is clear the Great Wardrobe paid much more normally than the Vestry of St. Martin's in the Fields.

Despite the price, upholstery continued to be covered with damask or velvet in the most important rooms, but frequently "scarves" (1) (or antimacassars) were supplied as well, and there are numerous items in the upholsterers' bills for cleaning, patching and turning expensive silk upholstery (2).

Lighter materials were used for bedding and for certain types of curtain. Green taffeta, for instance, was used as a lining (8/6d. per yard) for some figured velvet curtains in the King's Dressing Room, and crimson taffeta to line those in his bedchamber (10/- per yard) in 1716 (3). These must have been some of the heaviest curtains used. George Binckes, in 1718, sold "47 yards rich crimson persian silk for 2 pair of window curtains, vallance and cornishes at 6/-", for "the young princesses presence chamber at St. James's" (4). Few outside the immediate family circle of the King were treated to window curtains. Draw-up window curtains of taffeta became much more frequent by the 1730's, sometimes also made of lustring (5), and very much later Venetian blinds. The latter, covered with silk, were supplied quite often in the 1750's. The King's own bedding was covered in white satin (at 14/- per yard in 1720 "for a bolster, 3 pillows and a thin quilt") which was certainly luxurious. Sarcenet is much more frequently used. In the same bill (6), 88 yards of broad white sarcenet for a pair of blankets at 5/- per yard was bought. It was sold among the slight silks by the

(1) Bill 56, 1717-18, of Richard Chamberlain & Partner, Mercers, was typical in including an item for 218 yards of crimson Genoa damask at 21/- per yard. L.C.2. 20 (i). The Coronation of George I in 1714 included some fairly lavish items. John Johnson & Comp. Mercers, supplied 166½ yards rich gold tabby at £1 "to cover the steps up to the throne" in Westminster Abbey.

mercens, and its use was not restricted to the King's entourage. The palls which caused such an uproar in St. Martin's in the Fields were lined with sarcenet at 4/6d. per yard. In 1744, the date of the Parliamentary Committee, it was said the usual price was 2/6d, and "there was no sarcenet of the value of 4/6d. per yard". Notwithstanding this statement, Thomas Bell charged 5/6d. per yard in this year to the Great Wardrobe for sarcenet for blankets for the King at St. James', and he charged 6/6d. for some crimson sarcenet in the following year, to be used in the costume of the Gentleman Portcullis Pursuivant of Arms. The Royal Accounts may thus shew prices which were a trifle inflated, but they do also give the relative value of the silks to one another.

Nevertheless, assuming that the Royal orders represent one of the most orthodox and conservative of customers in the country, with also one of the largest incomes, it is remarkable, on the whole, how little silk was bought for furnishings. Although 218 yards of damask at over a pound a yard is a striking enough order (1), it was outnumbered by numerous equally large orders for the less expensive materials.

There were some outstanding occasions on which silks were used lavishly. The wedding of Princess Royal to the Prince of Orange in 1733 brought Henry Shelley a large commission for the decorations, both of Somerset House and the French Chapel at St. James's. He supplied 26 yards of "rich gold flow'd. tissue to make roses....70/-" a yard, similar silver tissue at 63/-, rich silver plated tissue to cover the

- (1) L.C.9. 289, Bill No. 3 for that year.
- (2) L.C.9, 289, Bill No. 17 (fols. 23-24) Sarah Gilbert, Upholsterer.
- (3) Ralph Mires, the bankrupt shag weaver, had some in his workshop: see Chapter 2, pp. 176-7. The manufacturers of raw silk and mohair yarn for button-holes petitioned the Commons in 1718, Journals Vol. 18, p. 693. During the controversy (one of the many), about the monopoly of the Levant Company to import raw silk and mohair yarn, and to prevent others from bringing it into the country by way of Leghorn, the two commodities are always bracketed together: see, for instance, the petition of the Gloucester Clothiers, Commons Journals, Vol. 21, p. 313. Mohair for shag waistcoats would have been a very common use, as well as for good quality furnishings, since mohair curtains occur in the Royal Accounts.
- (4) These were a worsted material woven in extended tabby with a pronounced horizontal rib and with a watered design. A sample, dated 1764, exists in the P.R.O. C.217.70.
- (5) A worsted furnishing material. It was used throughout the period, but it lost in status. It cost, for instance, 3/9d. per yard in 1718, and was used for window curtains (L.C.9. 286. Bills 80 and 19 of the following year for Phil & Fletcher, the upholsterers). A sample was supplied c. 1755 (L.C.9. 267) by John Trotter, upholsterer, which is now missing. It cost 2/2d. per yard. A sample of low quality serge in the same document cost 3/- per yard.
- (6) A series of bills for 1740 (L.C.9. 290) illustrate this. No. 10, Henry Cookes, Mercer, supplied 3 pile blue Genoa velvet at 32/- per yard and crimson at 34/-. Matthew Vernon supplied white Florence taffeta at 8/8d., and crimson Florence satin at 14/6d. These were all for Garter Robes. Bill 26, for Sarah Gilbert and William Reason, Upholsterers, include furnishing items. For Mr. Brinks at St. James's "23 yards of fine crimson Camblet for a draw-up window curtain at 3/6d. per yard." Bill 39, Matthew Vernon supplied some green Florence taffeta for a case for a firescreen at 8/8d. In 1742 Henry Cookes (Bill 30) supplied crimson damask for a variety of furnishings at 21/-. Thomas Bell, in Bill 31, supplied mohair at 9/9d. and Florence taffeta at 8/8d. per yard, for covering a screen, but Bill 43, fol. 36, Sarah Gilbert and William Reason supplied for the Countess of Yarmouth at Kensington "fine green camblet for furniture for a four-post field bed at 3/- a yard" (57 yards of it), harrateen for window curtains at 2/6d., "ticken for umbrellas at 2/9d. and tammy (another woollen material), to line two green taffeta draw-up window curtains, at 2/2d. As the surviving samples shew that these woollen and worsted materials were of an excellent quality and colour, it seems all the more remarkable that silks continued to be used in quantity at all in view of the differences in price.
- (7) Victoria & Albert Museum. 12853.13. Joseph Sirr & William Atkinson, for example, (undated but mid-18th century); "Best London and Bristol shalloons" were advertised in the New York Gazette, May 31st - June 7th, 1736. (Gottelman. "Arts and Crafts of New York").

inside of the canopy and the outside and inside of the vallance at 60/-, 144 yards of rich silver frosted tissue for the back-cloth and to line the curtains draped in the Chapel at 63/-, rich gold tabby for the seats and floors at 19/-, silver tabby to border the gold, crimson Florence taffeta for the curtains over the organ at 8/6d. and tinsell tabby for the curtains at 10/- etc. etc., in all a bill of £1,464. 1. 10¾d. (1). The upholster's bill gives a splendid picture of the final result (2), but when the wedding was over the silks were taken down and carefully put away and used again. Such occasions occurred once every ten years or so. The wedding of the Prince of Wales in 1736 was perhaps equally sumptuous, but these two weddings stand out. The fine worsteds and woollens, which were sometimes more expensive than the cheaper silks, were used at least three times as often. Mohair was used for many high quality furnishings, imported as yarn, or raw and spun and woven in this country (3). Worsted damasks, moreens (4), harrateens (5), camblets and, in the earlier years, paragon, were used wherever silk was used in the State apartments, for bed furnishings, upholstery and the like. Their prices were proportionately less (6). These materials were also sold by the mercers, ^{and} were made in Norwich and in London in quantity ("town-made camblets" appear on several London trade cards (7)), and were surprisingly expensive, considering the lower costs both of the raw material and production.

The greatest competitors, however, with the furnishing

(1) In 1750 William Reason (L.C.9. 291, Bill 10) supplied a Mrs. Swinton with 53 yards of "fine printed cotton for Furniture to a 4 Post field bed and counterpane..." at 7/6d. per yard. It was lined with white linen and had silk and cotton garnishing. "For materials of all sorts as large brass rings, tape, threads, white buttons, looping, studs, white nails, Past, & etc. also lining and completely making with the above printed cotton a furniture to a 4 post bed all made to take off with studs and blet (?) holes.... counterpane to do....etc.....£9. 2s." Until this piece of furniture, most of the upholsterer's items concern the unripping of bed furniture in order to clean it. Something of a myth has grown up that bedding and furniture was never cleaned in the 18th century. The Great Wardrobe spent large sums every year on cleaning - cotton was therefore a great blessing.

(2) Printed Linen in 1733 was 5/- a yard on an average, striped cotton 3/6d., very fine printed linen in 1739-40 10/- per yard, fine printed cotton for window curtains in 1747 cost 9/- per yard which was rather more expensive than Wilton carpeting at 7/6d. The contrast in price therefore was not very startling whatever the convenience in use might be.

(3) L.C.9. 289. 1735. Bill No. 7, Sarah Gilbert for H.M.'s use at Hampton Court.

silks, both in terms of price and fashion, were the printed materials and wallpapers. The latter became common from the 1730's and, at about 5/- a yard for the most expensive, including the lining and the hanging and the borders, had great advantages. Moreover, it was easier and cheaper to change a wallpaper than to take down, clean, repair and re-mount a damask. For bed curtains, quilts, window curtains, etc. Indian chintzes and their English imitations came increasingly into use. Even the most fashionable and expensive Indian chintz hardly compared in price with silk. Printed linens, although their quality left much to be desired, were used from the end of the 17th century and occur frequently in the Royal Accounts from about 1728. Finally, English printed calicoes came into use, and especially so after their liberation by the "Manchester Act" of 1736. They were washable (1), light, fashionable and comparatively cheap (2). Although few chintzes earlier than the middle of the 18th century survive, it is not difficult to imagine the appearance of a room in the Royal Suite at Hampton Court, for which were bought "74 yards superfine printed linen chintz pattern (3) for a four-post bed with vauzes, two pair of window curtains and vallance with covers for an easy chair at 8/3d. per yard", lined with white calico at 5/- per yard. The total of 13/- a yard was not cheap - except when compared with its equivalent in silk. After 1736 printed cotton appears openly in the Royal Accounts. The pavilions in the garden at Hampton Court were

(1) L.C.9. 290. 1747-8. Bill No. 43 in that year.

(2) H. Kreisel. Farbiges Nymphenberg. München, 1944, contains a series of coloured illustrations of the interiors of the pavilions. These are the epitome of rococo as a style and far more elaborate than the interiors of the Hampton Court pavilions could ever have been. They were built, however, in the same period, and it is their effect that was probably sought. Ernest Law, "The History of Hampton Court", 3 vols. 1885-91 illustrates in the third volume an engraving of the four pavilions on the corners of the bowling green - but so far no view of the interiors has come to light.

a typical conceit of the time. William Reason, the upholsterer, supplied them with 306 yards Royal Chintz paper, four rooms and a closet at 2/- (with bordering at 5d. per yard). 104 yards "fine paper with two blues on a stone ground", for hangings in another room at 16d. per yard, 188 yards of fine printed cotton for furniture for a four-post field bed, draw-up window curtains, cases for two easy chairs and cushions, two arm chairs, one dressing chair, 13 backstools", "with fine Festoons of flowers in the cotton", at 8/6d. per yard. On the staircase in the pavilion were 72 yards of "mosaic paper" at 14d.; in other rooms blue and white holland check furniture (1). There was not, apparently, one square inch of silk. The pavilions have gone, but they must have been comparable in their day to those at Nymphenberg (2).

It may be argued that the evidence quoted has been for the most part from a customer who can hardly have been typical of the rest of the market, the Crown. It was the most elaborate furnishings which provoked comment in public newspapers and private diaries. Fortunately, there is enough visual evidence to confirm the impression. While possibly not as topographical in their treatment of interiors as the Dutch portraits of the 17th century, the 18th century English Conversation Picture did nevertheless give an unmistakeably honest impression of the likeness of its sitters and their surroundings. Particularly, Michael Dahl (1656-1743), Philip Mercier (1689-1760), Arthur Devis (1708-1787), Alan Ramsay (1713-1784), and John Singleton Copley (1737-1815) seem

(1) See Plates 5, 12, 17, 22*, 24, 25, 33, 46*, 51, 52, 55, 60*, 61*, 62*, 63*.

(2) This is epitomised in a portrait by Arthur Devis, painted in 1748 of John, First Lord Henniker and Anne, Lady Henniker. Plate No. 71, facing p. 12 in E. Farrer, Portraits in Thornham Hall, 1934. The contrast between the frugality of the interior and the splendour of silks worn proved too great to obtain a satisfactory photostat.

to have had an uncanny knack of accurate portraiture, combined with a very high degree of artistic taste. There is nothing inessential in the portraits, especially those by Alan Ramsay, but the materials worn by their sitters were painted with discrimination and accuracy. They painted some aristocrats, some country gentlemen and many middle class town gentlemen (1), they were not genre painters in any sense, but fortunately for this study, they painted the strata in society who bought silks. They shew some interesting details of the English interior, good but little furniture, some pictures on the walls, Chinese porcelain or tea-sets well displayed, but a conspicuous absence of soft furnishings (2). A near Eastern or Persian carpet occasionally covers the bare boards, there are seldom curtains at the windows, upholstery is restrained, and the walls are often bare painted plaster or panelling. (There were alternatives to silk even before the widespread use of wallpaper: leather, linen, woollen hangings, tapestries, either fitted to the walls or hung loose, etc., but the lady or gentleman painted in his or her new satin ensemble, did not buy them). The contrast between the austerity of the interiors and the elegance of the clothing is striking, and all the more so since such a difference between dress and setting is not so usual in the 20th century. The contrast between a satin dress reflecting different planes of light from its billowing material and the severity of the geometric doorways, windows and plain walls around, was not simply

(1) See Chapter 2, pp. 113-5 and Chapter 5, pp. 447-456 .

(2) Even the French industry accepted the superiority of Italian velvet. The Lyon Chamber of Commerce wrote to their agent in Paris in May 1729 asking for an exclusive privilege to make "velours aussi parfait que ceux de Gênes et de Hollande", and they wanted to find out the secret of this superiority. According to Jeudwine, "a good velvet depended entirely on the number of wires, that he could make as good velvet in Spitalfields as could be made in Genoa if he could get a price for them, but that of the Genoa velvet came cheaper", (1765 Report, op. cit). The article on "Velours" in Diderot's Encyclopaedia still regretted that the Italians were furnishing the whole of Europe with velvets.

(3) 5989.30, dated 1753. (It was a woven pattern on 86 cords, not a hand knotted carpet).

(4) Carret, the négociant, whose correspondence has already been quoted, wrote to his partner in Lyon in 1766, ordering some white taffeta, "il faut une qualité pareille à l'échantillon... d'Angleterre..." The sample which he attached is a good quality slightly glazed taffeta with 9 warp threads and 4 wefts to 1 mm. "Taffeta d'angleterre" like "Florence taffeta" passed into general usage, and it is hard to distinguish how far a quality rather than a place of origin is indicated. Since Carret was writing from Northern Europe it seems possible that, in this instance, he had a piece of genuine English rather than English-type taffeta. MS. F.12 - 644 in the Archives Nationales, Paris, includes a table of French products exported to Spain and Portugal (compiled in 1764), together with lists of their competitors and the uses of the textiles. Two competitors are named for taffeta made at Lyons and Nîmes. These were England and Luisance. Taffeta was said to be used for "habillements de femmes, rideaux, bourses à cheveux", etc.

an artistic device to focus attention on the sitter. I would suggest it was the visual presentation of historical fact - for the painters who painted such portraits were not members of one intimate school sharing one another's style. Briefly, they demonstrate that the English silk industry could not expect to produce large quantities of furnishing materials for the same customers to whom it sold dress materials. If the industry had had to rely upon its furnishing materials, it is doubtful whether it could have survived the first decades of the century. The Royal Accounts would furnish ample justification for the bitterness felt by the silk weavers towards their foreign competitors (1). Italian velvets and damasks were always imported openly and their competition accepted (2).

Dress Materials and Costume

It is, however, in the dress silks, both for men and women, that the greatest achievement of the industry was made. Few of James Leman's designs can have been for anything else, and only Garthwaite's damasks (and one "carpet patt." (3)), may have been furnishings. The List of Prices of 1769 are mostly for silks which were almost certainly dress materials as were most of those put on the trade cards by the mercers. The main distinctions were by weight, and to meet different demands the industry turned out different kinds of silk. Plain silks, tabbies, (or taffeta (4)), and satins, were used extensively. Mantua,

- (1) Mantua was used at the Coronation of Queen Anne and cost 12/8d. per yard for "gold colour and white" L.C.2. 15 (i). In 1723 cloth coloured mantua was 6/6d., in 1726 5/- (B.M. and G.H. trade cards for E. Ibbetson and William Badcock). There are 2 sheets of 3/4 wide mantuas in the Berch Collection of the Nordiska Museum priced at 5/9d. and they are plain taffetas, some shot with a different coloured weft. They have 98 silk warp threads to cm. and 96 wefts.
- (2) The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville Mrs. Delany. Edited by Lady Llanover, 3 vols. 1861 edition. Mrs. Pendarves subsequently became Mrs. Delany. Reference to this work will be made to "Mrs. Delany Vol. p. ". Vol. I, p. 431.
- (3) Trade card and bill at the London Museum.
- (4) P.R.O. L.C.9. 267. Misc. Accounts with Samples, 1756-9. Sample named 3/4 Armozeen, tightly woven but supple taffeta. Approximately 100 warp threads to cm. and 64 wefts (tram). The sample is a light buff colour with a very slight horizontal rib.
- (5) P.R.O. L.C.9. 267. Misc. Accounts with Samples, 1756-9. Ducape is a thick but supple gros de tours. The warp threads are so tightly compressed that no weft is visible and the horizontal rib very pronounced. There are 160 warp threads to cm., approximately, and 26 wefts. A selvage of two pink stripes with a white central stripe. The sample is buff.
- (6) G. Scott Thomson. "The Russells of Bloomsbury", 1940. pp. 264 et seq.

a type of tabby, was in use from the second half of the 17th century. Its price decreased a little in the course of the 18th century, and it is evident that it was later used more frequently as a lining than as a material in its own right (1). Its weight was quoted as 8 yards to a lb. in 1765, and its price given as 8/- per yard. Robert Carr thought that Italian ones were of a better quality. Armozeen was another taffeta in use from the middle of the 17th century. Mrs. Pendarves (2), writing to Mrs. Ann Granville in 1733, described the clothes worn for the Queen's Birthday: "Lady Dysart's clothes were of pink armazine trimmed with silver", and since Robert Carr was selling "rich black Armozeen" (3) in 1758 at 10/- a yard, it can be guessed that it kept its status, which a sample of the same period confirms (4).

Ducapes were a rather similar material but more often used for men's clothing. They were also used from the late 17th century - and do not appear to have changed their use - they were a little heavier than armozeen with more warp threads to the inch and fewer wefts, with a fairly pronounced horizontal rib (5). The 4th Duke of Bedford in the 1750's bought "brocade ducape" for coats and waistcoats, and white and silver ducape for his daughter at 25/- (6). They were mentioned on most trade cards, but in 1765 their weight was given as 9 yards to the lb., and they were therefore lighter than mantuas. The sample in the Berch Collection was priced at 6/- a yard which would accord with the lighter weight. It was an all-purpose material, probably hard-wearing from the nature of the weave,

(1) See Plates 46, 51, No. 61, 60, No. 71. These are all from the middle of the century but in 1701 Lady Child paid her dressmaker 6/8d. for making a satin gown. (Accounts at Glyn Mills Bank).

(2) The Purefoy Letters, Vol. I & II.

(3) L.C.9. 267. Misc. Accounts with Samples.

and possibly more often used for coats and suitings than for dresses.

Satins are among the silks most frequently met in the portraits of the time, and they seem to have been perennially in vogue (1). Elizabeth Purefoy, writing to Thomas Rosbotham in 1746, mentioned in her letter (2) "they say sattins are much worn, I desire to know if they be, if they are, pray send me some patterns of a beautiful green sattin...." Satins varied from "rich" with many warp threads to the inch, to "slight" with comparatively few. In the Royal Accounts "rich crimson florence satin" cost, at the most, about 10/- but it evidently dropped in price. In a bill of 1729 for white satin it was priced at 8/-, and in one of Carr's (1749), two different qualities of white satin cost 7/6d. and 11/6d. respectively. These prices enable some assessment to be made of the quality of the silks for which no named samples have survived. The quality of a sample at 11/2d. supplied by Ingram and Carr between 1756-1759 was very good (3). In Mortimer's Directory six weavers are mentioned as specialising in this silk, of which one made tabby as well, and one gauze.

Most of the figured and flowered silks were heavier than these and more expensive, with one exception. The exception was the lustring in whose colours, weight and design some of the most characteristic English features can be seen. It was a material made from the end of the 17th century in this country, a light, crisp tabby with a special quality, a high lustre on the silk imparted by the process of lustrating the silk

(1) Vol. II, p. 220

(2) No sample or any further description of these has so far been traced but they are mentioned in the Black Branch of the 1769 List of Prices.

(3) Vol. I, p. 96.

(4) Trade and card and Bill at London Museum for Messrs. Swan & Buck.

(5) Bill from Thomas & William Hinchcliffe quoted in "The Russells in Bloomsbury", G. Scott Thomson, p. 265.

(6) Bill at London Museum, 1733. Robert Carr & Joseph Stanfield, "14 yards (i.e. a dress length), green gro. Lutes, Brocade @ 15/-.

(7) Vol. II, p. 487. 28th June, 1748.

before weaving. In the 17th century it was primarily a black silk but, by the date of the dissolution of the Royal Lustring Company, it had become and remained, one of the standard dress materials. King's British Merchant of 1721 (1) said that "lustrings and alamodes are now very little used. The silks that are used in their stead are Rastigans (2) and mantua silks which are quite a different fabrice". With the last part of this remark one may agree, but in 1724 Mrs. Pendarves (3), writing to Mrs. Ann Granville about the clothes worn at a wedding, said "Mrs. Rolle was in a pink and silver lutestring and Mrs. Walpole in a white gold and silver, but not so pretty as Mrs. Rolle's", and, at a Royal Ball one guest was wearing "a pale lemon lutestring". The same lady was "at Lady Carteret's toilette, whose clothes were a pretty pale straw lutestring and flowered with silver...." A large number of the Leman and Garthwaite designs were for lustrings and they were sold by most mercers. In 1747 a plain lustring "rich pearl co^r" cost 6/6d. (4), in 1753 "rich straw colour lustring" was being sold at 8/- (5). A figured lustring cost about double the price (6). Lady Dysart, writing to Mrs. Delany (7), describing some clothes worn at a fashionable wedding, said the bride had in her trousseau "a brocaded lutestring gown and petticoat", so that it is evident the material continued to hold its status in the period. Eight of Mortimer's weavers made "striped and plain lustring, mantua, and tabby", all fairly light silks. John Harris, mercer, distinguished between

(1) See Plates 44 and 45.

In B.M. Add. MS. 36,666, Order Book of John Faulkner of Warrington near Banbury Oxon., There are a number of samples of plain and striped lustrings from 1773 onwards. They shew the same characteristics.

(2) p. 41.

(3) p. 346

(4) See p. 274 note 1 .

English and foreign lustrings when giving evidence to the 1766 Committee: "In lutestrings the foreign generally feel crisper and are not so glossy as the English". This glossiness is still retained in the example which has been preserved (1). Smith gave a vivid description of "lutestring brocades", which he said (2), "are either upon a plain or figured ground; the design must be open and airy, composed of various sorts of flowers, carelessly disposed and garnished; care must be taken to prevent... the expense of workmanship and yet to make as great a show for the money as possible. There are likewise lutestring tobines, which are commonly striped with flowers in the warp, and sometimes between the tobine stripes with brocaded springs. Some have likewise a running trail with the colour of the ground as other lutestrings." The lustrings had a long innings, becoming progressively cheaper but without changing in character very greatly. In Crosby's Tradesman's Directory of 1810 lustrings were described as "a species of light shining silk first manufactured in France and several years past (sic) introduced into this country. Lustrings, for which there is now very little demand, are manufactured chiefly in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields and are either plain or delicately figured".(3).

The heavier, richer silks are usually listed first on the trade cards (4). The Lists vary very little, but by the middle of the century there is a tendency for paduasoy to drop out and royal tissues to come in their place. There is no proof, of course, that the silks the mercers intended to

(1) Except Plate 55, which seems to shew a silk which is most unlikely to have been made anywhere but in Spitalfields.

(2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, March 14th, 1765.

sell were English nor that the costume worn in the portraits was made of English silk (1). Even if the precise silks sold or worn on a particular occasion were not English, they give the prices with which the English silks would have had to compete, and the appearance they would have to simulate. Mortimer's Directory, the Victoria & Albert designs and the List of Prices shew that such silks were woven in London and, failing a direct link in the accounts of particular weavers or mercers, these sources must be taken together. Ancker commented that: "rich stuffs" were not necessarily made with gold and silver, which confirms the impression made by Smith's article. "Royal tissues" can be seen from the List of Prices to have been "richer" than the tabby or single tissues which preceded them. There was a tendency for the richest silks to lose favour in the period. As "C" said in answer to "B" in 1765 (2), "I am sure that 'B' on his own observation must acknowledge that there were ten rich brocades wore formerly to one now....."

There was a good deal of truth in his statement, but it is difficult to make a systematic assessment. The trade cards and bills are miscellaneous in date and character, the literary references a little misleading since - as in the case of the furnishings - it was the most splendid occasions which aroused comment in diaries and newspapers. The payments made by the Master of the Robes are systematic, but they cover a short period 1738-57, and, unlike the Wardrobe Accounts, are

(1) L.C.9. 3. September 14th, 1739.

(2) L.C.9. 3. January-March, 1740.

(3) L.C.9. 3. July, 1756.

very limited in scope, for they quite clearly seem to have been only the accounts for the clothes bought by one not very typical man - George II himself. They are useful in explaining what materials could be put to what uses, and give a relative status to the silks bought, but unfortunately they do not even take in the silks worn by his Queen or his children. The average suit worn by George II was made of serge-du-soy or worsted, camblet. He wore more expensive materials for more special occasions, and here the accounts are interesting. In 1739, for instance, Mr. Hinchcliff, Mercer, sold 8 yards of "gold frost ground brocade with gold and colours at £4. 10s. a yard to the Master of the Robes (1). In the same bill he supplied 8 yards "yellow ground brocade with silver and colours" at £2. 15s. a yard, but the scarlet serge-du-soy, which he also supplied, was only 5/- a yard. In 1740, Mr. Croft (2), supplied 11 yards of "purple and silver brocade" at 100/- per yard, and three yards of "silver orris tishua" at 52/6d. 45/- per yard would seem to be about the cheapest price at which a silver brocade could be supplied to the Master of the Robes. In 1756, 3 yards of "gold orris brocade gold and colours" cost £7. 7s. per yard (3). If these were typical prices for the rich silks on the trade cards, the "grand designs for gold and silver stuffs with colours" which Smith described as "commonly pretty full of work, especially when designed for waistcoats", it would not be surprising that they dropped out of favour.

(1) Matthew Vernon, and George Binckes.

(2) Vol. II, p. 199-200.

(3) Vol. II

(4) Vol. II, p. 71.

(5) Vol. III, p. 471.

Yet the evidence quoted above is a little misleading. Both Leman and Garthwaite designed a number of "tissues", "gold stuffs", and Leman, "orrace tissues", and it would be over-flattering to imagine that these were all bought by the Crown - although one or two of Leman's customers among the mercers did supply silks to the Crown (1). The other literary references are exceedingly scattered, but they do at least shew that the heavy silks were worn extensively throughout the period. In November 1742, Mrs. Pendarves described to Mrs. Dewes the clothes at a dinner (2), "My Lady (Carteret ?) was in dark green velvet trimmed with ermine and an ermine petticoat, a present from her son, but it would have better suited the slender-waisted daughter Fanny, who had a scarlet damask and all her mother's jewells..." In the evening she went to Lady North's where "The Duchess of Montrose was in silver tissue, Lady Scarborough in blue damask....." Mrs. Delany wrote to Mrs. Dewes in November, 1755, of a ball which "Lady Anson began.....in a green damask sack trimmed very full with blond lace (i.e., silk lace) and lappets (3). A letter from Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville in January, 1739/40, on a Court function, tells her friend that "Lady Dysart was in scarlet damask....The Duchess of Bedford's petticoat was green paduasoy embroidered very richly in gold and silver and a few colours (4).....Lady Carteret in a feuille morte uncut velvet, trimmed with silver flounces grave and handsome...." Some seventeen years later, Mrs. Delany, writing to Mrs. Dewes (5), said: "I have never told you what were the Whitehall Birthday

304.
Yet the evidence given above is a little misleading.
(1) See, for example, Plate XLIX in Slomann, op. cit.

"Gold and silver", and indeed, "orange diamonds", and it would be
over-flattering to imagine that these were all bought by
the Crown - although one or two of Louis's courtiers along
the rivers did supply him with the Crown (1). The other
literary references are exceedingly scattered, but they do at
least show that the heavy robes were worn extensively throughout
the period. In November 1725, Mrs. Pennington described to
Mrs. Powel the clothes at a dinner (2), "My Lady (Carteret?) was
in dark green velvet trimmed with ermine and an ermine petticoat,
a present from her son, but it would have better suited the
slender-waisted daughter Fanny, who had a scarlet damask and all
her mother's jewels..." In the evening she went to Lady
North's where "The Duchess of Montrose was in silver tulle,
Lady Newborough in blue damask..." Mrs. Selwyn wrote to
Mrs. Powel in November, 1725, of a ball which "Lady Anne
began... in a green damask mask trimmed very full with blond
lace (i.e., silk lace) and jaspé (3). A letter from Mrs.
Pennington to Mrs. Ann Granville in January, 1729/30, on a Court
function, tells her friend that "Lady Hyndford was in scarlet
damask... The Duchess of Bedford's petticoat was green padua-
sey embroidered very richly in gold and silver and a few
colours (4)... Lady Carteret in a fawnish worst worst velvet,
trimmed with silver tulle and diamonds..."

Some seventeen years later, Mrs. Selwyn, writing to Mrs. Powel (5),
said: "I have never told you what were the Whitehall Birthday

clothes. The Duchess....was in blue and silver flowered velvet and Lady Betty in white and silver. Hardly anything but silver was to be seen...." All these occasions were winter functions, and they were, of course, limited to a very narrow circle, but they created a demand for such silks, and those who could do so imitated their fashions. A basic factor which must be accepted for the period covered by this study and which would not be true in 1960, was that these people expected to wear clothes with a woven and not a printed design on them, and that, owing to the differences in technique between the weaving of a plain silk and a flowered one, they would have had to accept the fact that such silks would have been very expensive.

The stylistic developments of the flowered silks of the period help to illuminate this otherwise fragmentary evidence. Foreign dated silks have to be taken into account, but these in themselves help to shew at what the English industry aimed. Changes in style were accompanied by changes in weight and type of material. The following can only be a sketch of successive developments, but they were vital to the course of the industry.

The Developments in the Style of Woven Silks.

From 1702 until the early teens (the period into which fall the early Leman designs), there were two parallel styles. On the one hand, an extremely formal design, based perhaps on the pomegranate motif (1), was inherited from the 17th century -

- (1) There is a splendid toilet set at Ham House, (see Plate 4) which shews a typical example mainly woven in silver thread.
- (2) L.C.2. 15. supplied by Anthony Reilan, merchant.
- (3) See p. 255 footnote 2 .
- (4) See Plate 8 for example.
- (5) Plate 8 by James Leman is a design for a damask brocaded...
- (6) This point is discussed in the next Chapter, p. 440 .

and earlier - and this developed into a heavy and luxuriant, but still extremely formal, pattern. It had a point repeat and was heavily loaded with gold and silver, often with a damask pattern in the ground and very little plain silk allowed to shew (1). The £9 a yard "rich gold and blue brocade" supplied for the Coronation of Queen Anne (2), or "the rich gold tissues to cover St. Edward's Chair, Cushion and Footstool at 55/8d." could have been such materials. The other style most striking in the period was that of the "bizarre" silks (3). Leman designed a number of these (see Plates 5 - 9), although none of the silks woven from his early designs have yet been discovered. No shape was too fantastic, and yet in the most extraordinary conglomerations (4) light and semi-naturalistic flowers were introduced. Both types of design represent heavy materials with a basic design of pattern wefts on a damask ground. The little flowers were often brocaded (5). The portraits of the period shew such materials worn by men to trim their cuffs and form the "forebodies" of their waistcoats and sometimes for a complete suit. It is especially interesting to see an example worn in an American portrait (Plate 5, No. 5), since there is a very strong probability that silks sent to the American Colonies (6) were English. The women of the period wore bizarre silks as complete dresses. They were expensive both to make and to buy, and it is a comment upon the standards already achieved by the English industry that the Lemans were making and selling them from 1706-12.

(1) The lighter materials used as dresses have been worn out, some of the heavier and more formal have proved to be tougher - considering that the wear and tear of 250 years are against them. It is, however, mainly as vestments as, for example, the one illustrated on Plate 13, that silks of this period have been preserved - other than as undated panels of fragments. Naturally in a Protestant country there are no such examples to be found. The Westminster Abbey effigies are thus particularly important as a unique series, see Plate 14.

In the teens the bizarre motifs faded gradually into the damask backgrounds, but they had broken down the symmetry of the formal patterns inherited from the earlier centuries. The decorative motifs were still anything but naturalistic, except for the small brocaded flowers which were becoming increasingly obtrusive. The Leman designs of the period can be paralleled in certain silks, though none of the latter are known to be English (see Plates 10 & 11, and 13 & 14). The typical dress silk for formal occasions was still probably heavy and expensive, though its design was luxuriant rather than formally impressive.

There were, however, many occasions, particularly in the spring and summer, when lighter silks were required. Many of the lustrings designed by Leman were for such purposes. Indeed, they were probably made in greater quantities than the most formal silks, but their chances of survival were greatly reduced by the fact that they could be more easily adapted and worn out. A certain group among the Leman lustrings shew a design inherited from the end of the 17th century, in which a light-weight satin or Gros de Tours ground was embellished with a series of curling string-like shapes, linking quite abstract decorative motifs. Leman's designs were often to be carried out in metal thread (see Plate 16). A few silks comparable to Leman's designs survive and occasionally they are shewn in contemporary paintings (see Plate 17). Few paintings, however, do shew the silks of this period very clearly, and not many dated silks survive (1).

(1) Cabinet D'Estampes, Vol. Lh.44a contains a series of designs of this period which are dated (See Plate 23).

(2) Chapter 3, p.10-11.

Were it not for the Leman designs it would be difficult to say what kinds of silk the industry was producing at this date. Since his mercers were a reasonable cross-section of the traders of the period it seems probable that Leman's designs were for silks typical of their period.

The brocaded flowers of the luxuriant pattern grew larger. In its final transformation, the formal 17th century design turned into an intertwined pattern, still with a point repeat, in which the naturalistic flowers, and smaller bizarre shapes, curled and proliferated against a lacy diapered background (see Plate 21). The Leman designs end in 1721, and it is among "the patterns by different hands", which Garthwaite collected, that examples of this type of design can be found. Christopher Baudouin designed a number, which can be compared in style and quality with French designs of exactly the same date in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (1). Plate 21 shews one of the simpler versions and Plate 22 demonstrates that such silks were worn by fashionable customers. The all-over nature of such patterns practically demonstrates their technical characteristics. The French "Persienne" (quite different from the English "Persian" - unfortunately), was a very high quality silk whose technical features were described in complimentary terms by Joubert (2). Briefly, it was a tissue with pattern wefts and a binding warp, and usually a satin ground, often brown in colour. It is, again, a measure of the quality of the English industry that in this field too, they were competing with some of the best silks ever made in

(1) Vol. I, p. 198.

(2) See Plate 24, Nos. 26 & 27. I would suggest that these would have been approximately the style and colour scheme of the clothes which Mrs. Pendarves wore. Hers were, however, French and this would be an English version.

Lyon. The "lace" patterns exist in some quantity in most museum collections of textiles, and were current from the early 1720's until about 1732. They seem to have been at their peak about 1726-8 (judging from the two parallel sources for these years). Mrs. Pendarves wrote to Mrs.

Granville in March, 1729 (1), telling the latter about the clothes she had worn at some function: "my clothes were grave, the ground dark grass green, brocaded with a running pattern like lace with white intermixed with festoons of flowers in faint colours" - she also said that her clothes "were a French silk.....they cost me seventeen pounds." (2). These were primarily dress silks for women, although simplified versions can be found in self-colour damasks for other purposes. Mrs. Pendarves' description would fit a group of such silks in the collections, and, since the festoons of flowers were in faint colours, the portraits of the period only shew them indistinctly.

Early in the 1730's there was a revolution in style. Although its elements can be traced in the earlier silks, the change was radical and striking. The flowers in the "lace" patterns, which had been growing imperceptibly larger in the late 20's, quite suddenly abandoned their lace framework and with it the last vestiges of the formal designs of the 17th century (Compare Plate 24, No. 25 with Plate 26, No. 29). The early Garthwaite designs faithfully record the change. At the same time, instead of a purely formal, decorative, flat pattern, an attempt was made to model the chief elements in

- (1) Automatically - since a clear ground meant a brocaded pattern rather than a tissue with the pattern wefts from selvage to selvage. Nevertheless, many heavier silks continued to be made, and the material of the dress illustrated on Plate 30 is in fact a brocaded tissue. A series of samples of silks from 1736 in date in the Richelieu Collection in the Cabinet D'Estampes for the Queen of Portugal are as rich in weight and decoration as anything that had previously been devised.
- (2) Joubert, Préface, xi. "M. Courtois, sans être doué de la même correction de dessin que les autres (Deschamps, Ringuet, Monlong), en réunissoit tout le feu. Il a hasardé le premier de mettre plusieurs couleurs par dégradation, & a poussé l'intelligence du clair-obscur & l'art de colorer L'Etoffe à un point étonnant..."
- (3) Among the whole group of designs which would seem to fit this description none are signed by Courtois, although they are all clearly by one hand.
- (4) Vanners & Fennell series, No. 76. Plate 28.

the design in the round. The grounds of the silks became clearer, the weight of the fabrics a little lighter (1). Since the basic elements of the design were necessarily composed of a vertical warp and a horizontal weft, modelling in the round presented a considerable problem. The first method to be tried was modelling by tones of colour, and a particular French designer, Courtois (2) may have developed a style peculiar to him, of somewhat nightmarish forms, often disproportionate in scale, heavily shaded with dark colours, even black (3). Almost immediately, (since the designs of both are dated), the technique was copied by Garthwaite, and she cannot have been the only English designer to do so. Among the four extraneous designs in the Leman book of designs belonging to Messrs. Vanners and Fennell, which one supposes once belonged to Leman (just as Garthwaite had some French patterns in her collections), there is one of these designs with an inscription in French, of which there are samples of silk in the Richelieu Collection (4). Thus, the English, though they were not leading fashion, were following French ideas very closely. French designs were coming into the country, sold clandestinely by the designers themselves, according to the complaints in Lyon, so that the same design sometimes exists in both countries. Patterns could, of course, be copied from the silks, as was done by Leman on several occasions, but in that case the French silk would, of course, have reached the shops before the English weavers had even set up

- (1) See Chapter 2, p. 152 note 2 .
- (2) Joubert. Préface xi. "M. Revel, peintre, devint Dessinateur... introduisit les points rentrés d'une couleur à une autre, avec lesquels il forma si heureusement ces mi-teintes, qu'il donna ce moëlleux, ce tendre qui imite la nature. Bientôt ses belles étoffes (ou plutôt ses tableaux en soie) excitèrent la plus grande émulation; & une fortune rapide fut le prix de ses talents. Il eut la gloire de voir de grands hommes parmi ses imitateurs..."
- (3) His contribution has been discussed by P. K. Thornton: Jean Revel, Dessinateur de la Grande Fabrique. Gazette des Beaux Arts, July-August 1960. pp. 71-86, illus.
- (4) P. K. Thornton article above, p. 77, 80. Fig. 12.
- (5) G.M. 1735. Vol. V. p. 161. Monthly Intelligencer Saturday, March 1st. Regrettably, Mrs. Pendarves was out of town, or she would surely have commented upon this occasion.

the loom. The trade in designs must therefore have been of supreme importance to the English industry. If the design came to London almost immediately, allowing for the length of time it would take for a silk to cross France and come to England, and assuming both industries could actually set up their looms at the same speed, the English manufacturer, if he were fortunate enough to buy the right design could, as it were, scoop the pool at any rate in his own market. Of this the French were very much afraid (1).

The most important stylistic change of the early 30's was, however, that of "points rentrées" (2), a method of dovetailing colours rather similar to that used in mediaeval tapestries, which was the discovery of Jean Revel. This is not the place for a discussion of the stylistic importance (3) of this method of shading, whereby a two-dimensional design simulated very closely modelling in the round, but what is significant is that Garthwaite, presumably a typical English designer, reflected the innovation almost immediately in her own designs. She possessed two sets of "French Patterns", one of 1734 and one of 1739 and one of these, (Plate 31, No. 34) which exists as a silk in two foreign collections, may have been the work of Revel himself (4). The weavers backed the change which the public demanded. The scale of these designs was large, and they are perhaps best seen in the heavy winter dress fabrics, often with figured cannellé grounds. Two royal celebrations must have seen these silks at their most splendid. In March 1735 (5) it was reported "Being Her

- (1) Plate 33, No. 38 shews a waistcoat of the previous year which gives some idea of their appearance.

Majesty's Birthday it was celebrated at Court with extraordinary magnificence, the Nobility and etc. were dressed in an exceeding rich and grand manner. The ladies chiefly in stuffs of gold and silver. The Gentlemen in cut and flowered velvets, and scarce any but our own manufacture." For the wedding of the Prince of Wales in the following year there are a number of fairly detailed accounts. The semi-official ones in the Political State of Great Britain, and the Gentleman's Magazine were ecstatic. Apart from the velvet and the diamonds on the robes at the ceremony, the subsequent appearance of the Royal pair in their State bedroom in "rich undress" (which indeed it was), was described in some detail. "His Majesty was dress'd in a Gold Brocade turn'd up with silk embroidered with large flowers in silver and colours, as was the waistcoat....Her Majesty was in a plain yellow silk robed and faced with Pearls, Diamonds.....The Dukes of Grafton, Newcastle.... and many other Noblemen were in Gold Brocade of £3-500 a suit. The Duke of Marlborough was in a white velvet and gold brocadeThe Earl of Euston and many others were in clothes flower'd or sprigg'd with gold; the Duke of Montagu in a gold brocaded tissue. The waistcoats were universally brocades with large flowers (1). 'Twas observed most of the rich clothes were the Manufacture of England; and in honour of our artists, the few which were French did not come up to these in Richness, Goodness or Fancy as was seen by the Clothes worn by the Royal Family which were all of

- (1) G.M. Vol. VI, 1736. p. 231.
- (2) 1736. p. 450. Mrs. Pendarves did not attend the wedding. She commented (Vol. I, p. 554) "Monstrous preparations are making for the Royal wedding. Pearl, gold and silver, embroidered on silver tissues. I am too poor and too dull to make one among the fine multitude...." (sour grapes, perhaps?).
- (3) R.C.H. MSS. Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival. Vol. II, 1734-8, p. 264.
- (4) There are several in the Collections of the Henry Francis Du Pont Museum, Winterthur. See Plate 27, No. 30 for example.

British manufacture....." (1). The Political State of Great Britain carried more or less the same account (2). Much of this could perhaps be discredited as exaggerated, were it not for one laconic comment of an eyewitness who attended the wedding and wrote in his private diary, "there was a vast crowd this day at Court.....I saw a great profusion of Fine Clothes, the Duke of Montagu's (the gold brocaded tissue) cost £400" (3). Unfortunately, the surviving accounts of the Master of the Robes begin in 1738, and the miscellaneous accounts for special occasions do not include this wedding, so that no further details about the Royal outfits or from whom they came, have been traced. It can at least be argued that the "large flower" designs inspired by the French were a great success, and where the Court led the rest of the upper classes followed. Garthwaite's designs of the period, and the dress silks which have been preserved, shew very clearly the accuracy of these descriptions (Plates 29 and 30, and Plate 32, Nos. 36 & 37). The same patterns were transferred to the calimancoe waistcoats of the middle classes and exported to America (4). Menander asked for "large new fashioned patterns", and John Philips of Boston was advertising silks in 1737, "fine brocaded silks with white grounds beautifully flowered with lively colours". Designs continued to get larger and more striking, using quantities of silk but possibly a little less metal thread, until about 1740, when at last there came a reaction.

- (1) Smith, p. 42.
- (2) cf. Plates 46, No. 53; 62, No. 74; and 63, No. 75, for example.
- (3) There is no complete sequence of designs in every year. There is a striking contrast between those of the later 30's and 1742 (a year for which all Garthwaite's designs apparently survive). Compare, for example, Plate 32, No. 36 with Plate 35, No. 41. It is the scale, rather than the designs themselves, which are in question, for in the 40's she frequently drew her designs half size, no doubt for convenience.
- (4) Mrs. Pendarves wrote in November 1742 (Vol. I, p. 200), describing some dresses to her sister, (the occasion already referred to on p. 304 ^{note} of this Chapter), "there were several very handsome flowered silks shaded like embroidery".
- (5) See Plates 35, No. 42; 40, No. 47, for example.

Even then damask patterns continued to be very large; as Smith said, they "require the boldest stroke of any, the flowers and leaves should always be large and the small work omitted as much as possible except it be in the middle of a leaf or flower.....the line of beauty, and well-shaped leaves and flowers natural or imaginary are the only things a designer has to observe in the completing of a well designed damask pattern" (1). Damask patterns thus tended to break away from the development of the design in other silks, and since they continued to be a fashionable dress silk, the portraits often shew their wearers dressed in silks that differ very much from the brocaded silks of the same period (2). There was, however, a practical limit to the scale of other designs. Moreover, although the heavily modelled trees and bizarre fruit must have been striking in effect (since they still are), they probably tended to eclipse their wearers, and they were, after all, dress silks. Again, having proved that it was possible to make silks with the trompe l'oeuil effect of three-dimensional objects, it was difficult to carry the style any further. Between 1740 and 1742, there was a sudden diminution in the scale of the Garthwaite designs (3). The points rentrées, although retained, (4) are subordinated once more to a flat decorative scheme. "Imaginary" flowers, except for gold and silver silks and damasks, gradually gave way to the flowers of the fields and hedgerows (5).

By 1744 the "white ground brocade" was established and continued in fashion for the best part of twenty years. The

(1) See Plates 40-45, 47, 48 No. 56, 53-55.

(2) See Chapter 4, pp. 428-441

(3) In Northern Europe - as Dutillieu remarked (see Chapter 2, p. 150).

(4) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.

liveliness of the designs and the freshness of the colours, the restraint in the proportion of the decorative elements to the plain grounds, give these silks, and the designs for them, a style which is quite distinctive. For the first time in the 1740's, the English industry produced a style of silk which was not a good anglicised version of a current French fashion, but something quite independent in itself. It is therefore without apology that a series of plates are illustrated in this study from the 1740's and early 50's to shew this style (1). The Lyon industry produced silks that were technically the same, but in style and colouring unmistakeably French. Possibly for the first time the English silks could compete, not only in their own traditional markets (2), but in the European markets, where French dress silks were normally supreme (3). Peter Cheveney told the Parliamentary Committee of 1765 that "brocades upon a white ground were in greater perfection here than at Lyons" (4), and Ashburner, the mercer, supported his contention, saying "Brocades on white grounds made in England are greatly superior to those in France". This was twenty years after they had first come in. It is difficult to criticise the first part of Cheveney's evidence, in which he said "that the working after our own inventions gives a different taste from the French, and a fairer chance of the Export trade than copying from French designs, because Foreigners will not choose to take from you at second hand what they can get from the French at first....."

(1) Cf. for example, colour Plates 35, No. 42 and 48, No. 56 with Chelsea porcelain in the Victoria & Albert Museum: C.184-1940: 2951-1901 and Allen Collection Nos. 2, 92, 72 (C.231 & A, 1935) from the early or mid-1750's.

(2) And see Colour Plate 48, No. 56, attributable to Spitalfields on the grounds of its style.

(3) The trade card and bill for Samuel Jones, mercer, at the Roe Buck, New Bond Street (at the London Museum, dated 1756 - for a white figured alamode Roman mantle) listed "rich sattins, tabbies, ducapes plain and shot lustrings, broad and narrow Peelings, Sergedesoyes, sarsenets, persians, rich figured stuffs, Dresden poplins" etc. He stocked "tobine, brocaded and striped Irish stuffs", but not their equivalent in silk.

The loosely scattered flowers, often grouped casually in twos and threes, gradually came together into connected sprays, in which several varieties were combined together (See Plate 40). If a subjective judgment is permissible, it may be said that the latter were among the most charming and graceful silks the industry ever produced. Both the scattered flowers and the sprays have strong affinities with porcelain painting in the period, even to the colour schemes employed (1). It was 1747 which John Sabatier singled out as the most prosperous in the history of the industry, as far as he could remember. Two or three silks woven from Garthwaite designs of this time have been traced and are illustrated on Plates 42 and 45; these help to provide a standard for the rest. One, a design of 1747, is a reminder that if white grounds set the style, coloured ones were also used, since it has a deep pinkish brown ground (2). By the later 40's, "figured" grounds with "mosaic", (or diapered patterns), made with a self colour "flush" shoot, often supported the clusters of flowers, as in Plate 47. These echoed or supplemented the main design, woven with brocaded, coloured silks.

"Brocades" appeared on most of the lists of silks on the trade cards, though not on those where the slight silks predominate (3), and where they occur they are among the first three, listed with velvets, etc. They were never dropped from the list in this period but several cards mentioned "all sorts of brocades". The technical distinction between

(1) The possible connection between John Sabatier's production of tobines and the Irish market has been suggested in Chapter 2, p. 173 .

(2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 208. He was introduced as a weaver of flowered velvets.

brocades and tissues was also preserved. They could on the other hand be combined with a variety of other effects. In the late 40's and early 50's an increasing number of tobines came into fashion (1). In some of Garthwaite's designs the latter carried the complete pattern, thus giving a strongly vertical emphasis, which contrasts with the flower sprays of the "white ground brocades". The example illustrated (Plate 35, No. 40), contains a small mount of brocading in the outer blue flowers. The method of painting indicates that these are brocaded and do not form part of the flushing warp. It would be uneconomic to waste silk on the back of the textile for such small areas if they were a tobine effect, but their use demonstrates the skill of the designs of these years, since these small details, quite artlessly introduced, effectively break up the vertical mass in the centre of the design. Brocaded flowers which were almost life size, continued throughout the fifties to provide the main decorative elements (Plates 53 - 56), but the grounds became increasingly elaborate with flush and tobine effects, in which can be seen a very high degree of technical proficiency.

The contrast between the silks considered appropriate for men's and women's clothing became more pronounced during the century, and the "white ground brocades" were most certainly dress materials for women (Plate 55). Plain satins or velvets could be worn by either sex. It may be assumed that the greater part of Lewis Ogier's production of flowered velvets (2) was for men. It would be difficult to distinguish

(1) p. 42.

(2) 5981.9a. She specifically mentioned that it was the "full size". Its scale is about right for a suiting. She drew very few such designs - by comparison with the number of larger designs for dress silks. De Brissac, though he drew many small tobines, did not apparently draw any vellures or velvets.

(3) p. 41.

the English from the Continental velvets among the incomparable series of velvet suits which survive from the period (Plates 50, 52, 61, No. 73, for example). "Flowered velvets" said Smith (1), "except those designed for furniture are commonly small designs, the uncut bordering the cut velvet, the ground which is but little seen is satin, and is chiefly designed to part the flowers and leaves from each other". This, again, is an accurate description of mid-18th century velvet suitings. Such small patterns were, of course, far more formal than the design of the dress silks drawn on a larger scale. Vellures were another common suiting for men (Plate 59) occurring on many trade cards. According to Smith, "the patterns for veluers are drawn much in the same nature (as velvets) for gentlemen's wear; but when a lady's winter dress they are done with an open ground and larger flowers". Garthwaite drew one in 1742, which was probably a men's suiting (2). A rather special feature of the silks intended for men, were the waistcoat designs which were designed and advertised especially for their purpose (Plate 49). Thomas Robinson, at the Queen's Head in Bishopsgate Street, was among those who sold "...velvet shapes, vellures, vellurets and other things for Gentlemen's waistcoats". Garthwaite designed several, and the portraits of the period often shew them off to advantage (Plates 25, 33, 51). Smith remarked, in the section on Grand Designs (3), "Sometimes shapes of waistcoats are only brocaded with rich borders down each side, and the pockets and flaps, together with the ends of the sleeves

- (1) They had been living in Spitalfields since 1728, and in 1763 the sister had palsy and could not write her own will.
- (2) Vol. III, p. 300.

belonging to it. For this the shape is cut on paper, after which the pattern-drawer contrives his design, by repeating the length of it, which never ought to be above six inches". De Brissac included waistcoat designs in his repertoire, and men's waistcoats are usually mentioned in the literary sources when the clothes worn by women attending any function are described. They constituted a little branch of the industry by themselves, although made by most of the flowered silk weavers. Unlike the suitings, they were probably as susceptible to changes in fashion as the dress materials of the ladies at Court.

The 1750's were years of transition in the style of the silks for women's dresses. The flower sprays preserved the naturalism of the 40's, but the grounds were far more elaborate, and some quite non-naturalistic shapes re-appear. In Garthwaite's designs these could be taken for a flagging in her inventive powers (when she died in 1763, it seems clear from the content both of her will and that of her sister, who died in the same year, that they were old women (1)). Few of the surviving silks are very precisely dated, but in them some quite odd forms re-appear, zig-zags (Plate 53), and panels with complex diapered grounds and the like. The grounds of the silks were often coloured (although white grounds predominate). Mrs. Delany, writing to Mrs. Dewes in November 1754, described the dress of a lady of fashion thus: "her clothes, white and silver, mosaic ground, flowered with silver intermixed with a little blue" (2).

- (1) In February 1762, de Brissac drew a design for Mr. Baker "to a model for a Royall Tissue....with a Piller... £1. 1. 0."

On May 28th he had an entry "to the RP of A Royall Tissue with: A Piller 400 8 & 13 41 (Dez.)." The design illustrated on Plate 64 was for 30 desines, but some of the others in the same series ran up to about 40. The repeats are thus much shorter than they had been earlier in the century, and the cost of making them should have been proportionately less.

- (2) February 20th from "Bombyx".

Early in the 1760's a style developed which, like the white ground brocades, set a pattern for nearly twenty years. The Ubiquitous stripe of the late 18th and early 19th century can be traced back to the 1760's. The typical design had a pronounced vertical stripe (1) with "tobine" effects, deckle-edged, and with lacy or furry trimmings (for which chenille was used). The stripe was quite often white, or muted in colouring and sometimes shaded. Across the vertical stripes meandered garlands with bouquets of flowers linked quite loosely together, reversing their direction in each repeat (Plates 57 and 64). The flowers were usually brocaded and the grounds often "figured". The rose-buds, or similar flowers, in the bouquets were nearly life-size. This was primarily a French fashion, but the colouring of the silks thought to be English, seems to have been lighter and more sparkling. Unfortunately, though such silks have been preserved almost in profusion, there are no dated English designs for these years, and few silks which are certainly English. The two samples of silks handed down in two Huguenot families, the Desormeaux's and the Duthoits (Plates 57 and 58), probably date from the 60's, and shew versions intended possibly for men's wear. There seems no reason to doubt the provenance of these silks. The grounds were often coloured as both these are, and when metal threads were used they were often "false" by this date. A critical letter to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (2) said that "the fair sex....with much reason and truth complain that the

- (1) The Chambre de Commerce wrote in March 1707 to their agent Anisson in Paris deploring the malpractices of the Paris wire drawers who were using false gold and silver from Germany. They said that it was dangerous to use these in silks because of the bad reputation French silks would get and that since, in any case, all German imports were prohibited because of the War, the wire drawers must be using smuggled metal.
- (2) An abortive Bill was introduced in 1726, for the assaying of gold and silver thread. The metal thread in ~~colour~~ (Plate 54) is "false", and had the 1726 Bill passed, it seems very likely that gold or silver thread would have disappeared altogether from the industry.
- (3) There are a few weaving faults among the samples illustrated. Thus, the silk woven by Vautier on Plate 42 has a rather coarse *découpure* so that the stalks of the flowers are a little jerky in effect - unlike the design (which must have annoyed Garthwaite, for Smith, it will be remembered, complained that the best designs were often ruined in the manufacture). At a distance when the dress was worn this fault would not have been very noticeable. The brocading is too tight in the yellow silk illustrated on Plate 48, No. 56, and the silk has buckled. The Lekeux silk, however, is a model of good workmanship.
- (4) This is a very revealing remark on the changes in taste. An 18th century Ghiordes prayer carpet is now a prized acquisition, not obtainable for less than several hundred pounds. They can be seen on the floors in a number of Conversation Pieces where they would appear to be most elegant and suitable. It is interesting to know that they appeared vulgar and coarse to some of their contemporaries.

rich gold and silver tissues and brocades made by our silk weavers tarnish and grow so black that they can hardly wear them from one season to another, "...despite the care taken to preserve them from 'smoke', 'dust', and 'damp', which does not happen with the rich foreign stuffs". Adulterated gold and silver, "especially the latter", were held responsible, being "greatly under standard", the result of using a large part of copper alloy. The practice had been equally deplored in Lyon (1), but it did make the silks a little cheaper (2).

Contemporary Criticism

It is very difficult to escape from a subjective judgment of these silks. The very qualities, however, which make the survivors so agreeable: their spontaneity, their fresh colouring, their simplicity, almost naivety of design, combined with excellent workmanship in most cases (3), aroused much criticism from their contemporaries. A letter, most revealing of the taste of 1765, was printed in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on March 2nd of that year. The letter quoted one the writer had himself received: "I avow myself an admirer of the French", it said, "and while I can buy their manufactures cheaper will never lay out my money with our people who display no more elegance and taste than the Mahometans in their carpets" (4). At the other end of the scale is the eulogy printed in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1749, of which part has already been quoted. Its theme

It would be interesting to know why the writer singled out this particular court. There had been no report of any special junketings there in the previous months, or any other reason why English silks should have gone so far South in Europe.

was "that the English excel in genius and have a natural taste superior to that of the foreigners....very evident from the great improvements which they have made in the polite arts....unassisted by the important auxiliaries which are furnished abroad by public academies....our mercers now send their silks to Vienna (1) and many other foreign courts where the excellence of English brocades is distinguished and applauded, and this excellence arises from the judicious disposition of light and shade, the elegant designing and the correct drawing of the model or pattern for the loom which is the work of an English and even a female hand...." The French, (it will be remembered) "have never yet with all the assistance of their drawing academy been able to exhibit true proportion or just colouring on silks or linen in any single flower, much less to arrange a number of leaves and flowers and other ornaments so that each shall have an apparent relation to the other, and from an union and harmony of part produce an whole". One assumption these two opinions have in common - they both estimated the merit of English silks in terms of the French. Markets were gained or lost by the ability of the industry to compete with the French, and hence a question of style becomes a question of historical fact.

The English industry could at least keep abreast with changes in fashion, as Peter Cheveney remarked: "If French patterns were necessary they are very easily had from France,

- (1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 212.
- (2) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 211.
- (3) See Chapter 5, pp. 449-456.
- (4) January 7th, 1765. Gazette and New Daily Advertiser. "A large quantity of French prohibited goods seized at several times by Customs House Officers consisting chiefly of gold and silver brocades and gold and silver laces burnt on Wednesday evening last at Mr. Cox's refiner in Little Britain, among which were several gowns worth at least £50 which after burning did not fetch above 30/- and several to the value of £20 which after the same operation sold for only 10/-". On the same day there was an advertisement for a Customs House Sale "For Exportation on Security" and this included 4 fine silk gowns and petticoats, 1 silk gown in pieces unmade, 8 pieces silk for shoes, 1 piece narrow silk 32 yards, etc. e tc. There was a "fine brocaded sack and petticoat" and 1 piece of silver tissue in this sale. Similar sales occurred from time to time, especially after 1753.
- (5) Chiné, with the warp printed before weaving. The process is described by Joubert, Chapter VII, pp. 32-37. "Clouded lutestrings" together with "rich brocades" were the only two classes of silk which William Pickart singled out before the 1765 Committee which he thought could be imported from France at a profit.
- (6) Probably these were made with a spun silk weft at the beginning of the period, when "grogram yarn" was being imported instead of the lowest grade of Ardass silk (see p. note of this Chapter). In 1723, Patience Routh at the Indian Queen, Cheapside, was selling "silk grograms", which rather implies that some which were not silk were already existed. There are samples in the Berch Collection which were priced at only 4/- a yard which suggests a half-silk. The sample in the Bibliothèque Forney of London Gros grain 21" wide, 30 yards in a piece 6/- a yard is a half-silk, i.e. the warp contains c80 double threads of silk to cm. and there are about 17 thick woollen wefts. There are two samples, one blue, one brown, with a heavy horizontal rib. The sample in the Berch Collection has a geometric figured pattern made with a flushing warp. The Gros Grain faconné, in the Forney series cost only 3/9d. the yard but had only 36 double threads of silk to the cm. approximately, and again a woollen weft.

he himself having imported some for a weaver who wanted them"(1). The second source of French designs was that argued as so desirable by the mercers in 1765. Germaine Lavie said "that he imported foreign silks for the sake of the patterns....though there is very little profit in them..." William Pickart thought that the few French silks which are now imported are more for the sake of the patterns for the improvement of our manufacture than any profit arising thereby" (2). For every piece of silk he imported he said he "could get sight of 100 patterns at least, upon which the pattern drawers improve...." Illegal imports were not restricted to a "few French silks" (3) and these, in themselves, provided a valuable source, since pattern books were sent abroad for the season ahead and silks then woven from them. When such books or parcels of silks were seized, they were exposed by the Customs for viewing and then sold or burnt so that the industry had a chance to examine them (4). On April 11th, 1764, Robert Trott appeared before the Court of Assistants of the Weavers Company with the following report: "On Saturday last he had made a very valuable seizure in the hands of some French agents of a very large Porte-feuille or Book of Patterns of French silks of all sorts to the amount of several thousands from 3/6d. to £5 per yard and upwards, consisting of Gold and Silver Brocades, Silver Tissues, Flowered Velvets, brocades, Peruvians, Lutestrings, clouded (5) and plain of all sorts and colours, grograms (6), Serges and

- (1) Court Books.
- (2) The Renter Bailiff, John Hinde, John Baker and the Clerk each had a different key.
- (3) The difficulties of taking legal action are discussed in Chapter 5, pp.444-47.
- (4) House of Lords MSS. Vol. X, New Series, 1712-14. (1953) No. 3018. Commissioners of Trades and Plantations (Representation of 23rd December, 1697), p. 160. Silk Manufacture.

Tissues, painted Sarsenets and Sattins, etc., which he had carried to the Customs House and shewn to the Commissioners who expressed themselves much pleased with the seizure....." (1).

On 27th June, the Customs Officers handed over the book to the Weavers Company for the price at which it had been appraised, £50. It was deposited in the Company's Hall in a box locked on three locks (2), and it was arranged that the patterns could be inspected "on Wednesday and Thursday in every week from 10 to 1 o'clock in the presence of one of the Committee hereinafter appointed". Not more than six were to be admitted at any one time and "only such who are silk manufacturers and Freemen of the Company". The inspection was also arranged by order of seniority in the Livery. The Company thus took the opportunity very seriously. It is not too easy to assess how far clandestine imports were openly exposed for sale in the mercers' shops for all to inspect. It would have been easy enough for the designers to recognise them, which might have provoked reprisals from the journey-men, even if no legal action could be brought (3).

It was a regrettable fact, deplored by most spokesmen in 1765, that the public preferred the patterns of French silks. Complaints on this score had been made since the end of the 17th century. The Commissioners of Trades and Plantations made a general report (quoted again in 1713 (4)) on many aspects of industry and trade. On silk manufacture they wrote: "We find that the manufacture of silk hath much

(1) p. 177-8.

(2) House of Lords MSS. Vol. X, op. cit. No. 3001, p. 117.

(3) p. 33 of Chapter XXII, "French Fashions pernicious to England," pp. 30-36.

increased since the year 1670, and that our English weavers do make several sorts as good as any made in foreign parts; but that the weavers are under a great discouragement to make them and the shopkeepers to store their shops with them, lest the sale of them should be hindered by silks from France, especially such as depend upon figures and fashions, those coming from thence being generally preferred by the consumer before what is invented by our weavers here". The somewhat prejudiced author of "A History of Trade in England" (1702), commented that every material had to be sold with a French name (1), a complaint also reprinted in the 1744 edition of Fortrey (but since the first edition of the latter was in 1663, the remark may have been truer then). In 1713, at the time of the Treaty negotiations with France, the Treasurer of the Levant Company, speaking to the House of Lords in support of his Company's petition against lessening the duties on French silks, remarked in the course of a very long address: "if we reflect on the vicious inclinations and fondness of this nation for French commodities your Lordships will allow there is an unhappy disposition to give them the preference, which can end in no less than the total destruction of all our silk manufactures except those that are narrow, as ribbons, laces, galloons and ferrets....."(2). Joshua Gee wrote of the same theme in 1731 on the French setting the fashion for the English who followed blindly (3). In April, 1733, the Gentleman's Magazine carried a series of articles deprecating

(1) G.M. Vol. III, p. 170.

(2) G.M. Vol. VIII, p. 586.

(3) G.M. Vol. XVI, p. 34.

(4) Daniel Defoe. The Complete English Tradesman, Vol. II, Part 2. Chapter V (1732), p. 154.
"the ladies will allow nothing but French to be fit for a Person of Quality to wear. If you offer them the richest silk, the most beautiful pattern, the most agreeable colours, if it has the scandal of being English, it must not have the honour to come upon their backs". He then described how a mercer would cheat a customer by pretending his silks were French when they were really English, that "he dare not expose them for sale" etc., finally persuading the lady to buy silks at 35/- per yard which he could have sold at a profit of 18s. or 20s.

(5) John Heneage Jesse, George Selwyn and his Contemporaries. Boston, 1902. Vol. I, pp. 294, 295. I am much indebted to Miss Edith Standen of the Metropolitan Museum in New York for drawing our attention to this passage.

"those admirers of Foreign Gew-gaws who boast all their cloathes are made at Paris, all their velvets and silks in Italy or France who will not wear a lace for a hat or a knee-garter if manufactured at home" (1). The imitation of French fashions was deplored in 1738 (2), since it was thought this would ruin the trade of the country". If "three or four ladies at the head of fashion" wrote one anonymous author, "would but value themselves on being cloathed intirely with the manufactures of their country....[and denounce "foreign fripperies"]....this would be a real imitation of the French who like nothing but their own". According to this writer "half the private families in England take a trip, as they call it, every summer to Paris to buy French goods". In 1746 the argument was used that to wear French dress was downright treason, "whether all persons who wear French waistcoats or any other French commodities do not in effect send money to the Pretender...." (3). It was even lamented that the shopkeepers had to pretend that their goods were French to sell them at all (4). A correspondence revealing the general attitude was exchanged between two private individuals in the years 1764-6 (5), "Gilly Williams to George Selwyn Brighthelmstone, August 25th 1764: "The pattern of velvet you sent me (from Paris) is so pretty that it has made me alter my intentions, and determines me to risk the vigilance of the Custom-House officers....therefore I wish you would order the suit of clothes immediately, and send them well packed, directed to Captain Killick, to be left with Mr.

(1) Vol. II, pp. 79,80.

(2) Vol. II, p. 92.

Bollard at Dieppe". In November, 1766, she wrote: "As to my velvet, if you see any prospect of conveying it to me, make it up; if not, when I want a new skin I will repair to Spittal Fields and take the best their looms will afford me" (1).

A week later she wrote, "As to my velvet think no more of it. If the Duchess of Northumberland was my friend, she could put it out of the reach of the Custom-house Officers, but, as it is, when I want to be fine I'll repair to your old weaver's and take some remnant of an old pincushion which will do for me" (2). It is perhaps worth emphasising that this lady did not mention the price of the silk she wanted as a determining factor; it was its appearance which made her consider a smuggled silk was preferable to one made in Spitalfields. Robert Carr, as has already been quoted, criticised English velvets in 1765.

Thus, in order to survive, the English manufacturers had to compete successfully with French fashions; the silks which Leman designed had to be bought by a customer who was evidently predisposed against him. The portraits illustrated have been chosen to shew what the customer expected to wear, the designs indicate how far this standard was realised. The silks, even those not necessarily English, shew that the designs were typical of the silks of their period. Moreover, not only were Leman and Garthwaite producing work typical of their period, but whatever their peculiar aesthetic merits, their designs were, I would argue, quite up to the minute in style. The English weavers could in fact compete commercially with the French, for their designs were in the latest fashion

of their day. Without these two sets of designs we should be left with the rather gloomy literary evidence. Although this visual evidence is most vital, it must be admitted that it is not easy to make the comparison between a flat design, shewing only one repeat, on paper, and the same woven in silk, its repeat most gracefully concealed. It is still more difficult to recognise the design of a silk in a fairly dim photostat of a painting in which the silk was not, after all, the primary concern of the artist, and in which it is moreover curved, folded, draped or pleated and sometimes only a fragment shewn on a waistcoat or a cuff. Nevertheless, it is usually possible to distinguish imaginary from real silks, and, naturally enough, a family would normally dress in its best clothes to have its portraits painted. If this evidence is perhaps unfamiliar, it is no more difficult to assess than many other sources of information - but it cannot be described in words, it must be seen.

-----oOo-----

Some of the silks made fall outside the categories so far described. The two most important of these were the Black Silks for mourning and the Half Silks.

The Black Silks were chiefly dress silks, since silk would have been too expensive, even for the Crown, to use as drapery for funerals and the long mournings that followed. The Royal Accounts shew that it was mostly woollen materials which were used to drape furniture and substitute for the

(1) Major, later Colonel, Lekeux in his Paper on Trade with Italy and Portugal, 4th June 1713, (House of Lords MSS. Vol. X, 1712-1714 (1953) No. 3009, p. 127) said: "There has been at least £300,000 worth of black silks for hoods and scarves yearly made here for several years....by the weavers in and around Spittlefields, separate from the Lustring Company...." possibly an exaggeration but, as a member of the Royal Lustring Company himself, he probably knew only too well whether or not black silks were made in quantity outside its aegis.

(2) The demand was sufficient to stimulate the following patent. (1730: October 9th, No. 520). John Gastineau and William Mons for "mourning crapes", made with silk, "commonly known by the name of Valee Cypress or Bologna Crapes and are at this time manufactured in Italy only..." and imported into England. "The petitioners by their indefatigable pains and industry have at length attained to the knowledge of manufacturing the said crapes here at home". Letters patent were granted but no specification enrolled. John Gastineau is probably the man who was apprenticed to Charles Manche and became free of the Weavers Company in 1717, taking Mathurin Gastineau as an apprentice, at the same court (on December 2nd). He was thus one of the contingent from Poitou.

(3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 997.

(4) Vol. I, p. 70.

(5) Vol. I, p. 146.

curtains normally in use. Black velvet palls were, of course, used at funerals. The silks made by the Royal Lustring Company were mainly black (1). In King's British Merchant of 1721 it was stated that Black silks were "an entirely new manufacture to England with which before the first war we were wholly served by France". Public as well as private mournings demanded a complete change of clothing, and there were degrees of mourning and half-mourning according to the nearness of the bereavement and the length of time which had elapsed. The Lord Chamberlain generally issued instructions for public mournings and their effect upon the industry will be discussed in Chapter 5. They created an almost continuous if specialised demand (2). In 1749, Lewis Chauvet shewed the Parliamentary Committee "a piece of black taffeta worked after the Indian manner....and (said) that this species of wrought silk was made for Exportation chiefly" (3) - an interesting comment. The Black Branch of the 1769 List of Prices, included linings, alamodes 'douce or soft silk', Rustagines, slight strong (an intermediate category), Armozeen and Paduasoyes of different grades, and Mantuas. The trade cards generally did not itemise these silks, but included some general phrase that they sold silks 'proper' or 'fit' for mourning. The literary sources are much fuller. Mrs. Pendarves, in 1722, used the death of a distant relation as "a good pretence.....to have a white lustring" (4), and for a public mourning she wrote in November 1727 (5), "undrest people wear all sorts of second mourning; unless they go to

(1) Vol. II, p. 478.

(2) A half silk. The sample in the Bibliothèque Forney has a silk warp approximately 32 warp threads to cm. and a worsted weft, approximately 26 wefts to cm. The width is given as 16", which seems very narrow, the length of the piece as 60 yards, and the price 20d.

(3) See Chapter 5, pp. 474-476.

(4) p. 274 footnote 1 of this Chapter included Broglies, Dresdens, Missinets, Silverets, poplins, grograms, all of which are half silks. There are samples of all these in the Collection in the Bibliothèque Forney - see Appendix 3.

Court, then they must wear black silk or black velvet...."

Mrs. Delany wrote to Mrs. Dewes in 1747 (1), "I think black bombazeen will do very well in a sack. I have one in a manteau and petticoat which I wear when in full dress, at home a dark grey poplin (2), and abroad undressed a dark grey unwatered tabby: I shall make no more dark things; after three months black silk is worn with love hood, and black glazed gloves, for three months more your mourning must be the same as Mrs. Dewes of Mapleborough...." These subtle changes were the industry's compensation for what they regarded as an intolerable burden (3).

-----oOo-----

A great many of the materials mentioned on the trade cards of the mercers were "half silks" (4). These were textiles, usually with a silk warp and a worsted weft, or with a worsted warp and an additional silk warp and/or weft used for decorative purposes. A few had additional cotton weft, which was unseen. Such materials were suitable for the mild and damp English climate; they were light in weight and hard-wearing in quality. Few have survived, since they were used until worn out, and then thrown away - and they were, of course, susceptible to attack by moth. The History of Trade, in 1702, lamented that light coarse stuffs were being made in London and thus taking the bread out of the mouths of the provincial weavers. The Weavers Company of London in 1719 stressed the increase that had taken place in this branch of the industry

- (1) Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. 5, 1714-1719 (1883), p. 483. Report from the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations upon the petition of the Weavers against the use of printed calicoes, 12th December, 1719.
- (2) Calendar of Treasury Papers, op. cit. p. 486. "The Commissioners laid before His Majesty the State of this matter.... viz". The prohibition of certain French goods had been in force since 1688 and they alleged production had increased accordingly.

since the wars with France (1), and the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations themselves emphasised that "another happy effect of these prohibitions (2) is the increase of the manufactures of woollen and worsted stuffs mixed with silk thread; and as the consumption has increased at home, so the demand for exportation has prevailed. In 1688 this manufacture was very inconsiderable, but from 1712-1716 there was exported 3,596,384 cwt. per ann., and without prejudice to the woollen manufacture.....", which also increased in the period. The market for these materials was, in fact, almost unlimited; and they had the additional advantage that the cheaper grades of silk would be used in their production.

One of the patents for spinning and two of those for weaving in the period were for improvements in the manufacture of half silks. In 1723 (September 5th, No. 459), Thomas Thwaites and Francis Clifton patented "several engines, by certain multiplying wheels which were never before made or used in that part of Great Britain called England, (and these are used) to spin and mix in the first thread wool, flax, cotton, silk, etc. into a fine, even and better thread than had hitherto ever been known or practised in this Kingdom". Rather more explicit was a patent of George Garrett's (December 15th, No. 611/1744), "a method of combining wool with silk to be used instead of mohair yarns for 'lute^herines, rufferines, princes stuff or prunellas', which was chiefly used in making clergymen's gowns of which 4/5 was mohair". The "finest combing wools" were to be spun "from 24-36 or as high as it

(1) See Chapter 2, p.212.

(2) Shalloons were used throughout the period and indeed long before. They were used both as furnishing and dress materials. P.R.O. C.217. 70. Counterpart of pattern book to John Hynes dated 1764, included a series (Nos. 49-60) of "Fine Shalloons". These were all glazed worsted twills.

can; then have it thrown once 2 threads together and scoured and then have it thrown again very hard....wharp it to the count that will weigh about 18 lbs. at 100 yards and shute it down with Italian sherbaffe, China or any other fine raw or thrown silk. After it is wove let it be dyed and callendered and drest over a condraw (?)". George Garrett is presumably the familiar figure of Spitalfields community who contributed the largest sum to the building of the workhouse (1). In 1765 (28th June, No. 832), Thomas Lawrence and (?) Timmins patented a material they called "soyleret", a lining for gentlemen's clothing. The warp was silk, the weft worsted and dyed before manufacture. "They are twilled in the weaving after the manner of a shalloon (2) and have the appearance when finished of a silk serge de soye". The samples which have survived of various kinds of half silks prove that these materials were of a high standard in quality and finish. Significantly, there were no outcries from Norwich, the other chief centre of production, to support the view of the History of Trade that they had been deprived of their livelihood. It would seem that Norwich relied chiefly on its worsteds as London did on its silks. Black crape with a silk warp and a worsted weft was a speciality of Norwich throughout the period and later, and very little seems to have been made in London. The half silks seem generally to have been plain materials or "figured" with small patterns made on shafts. It was the all-worsted calimancoes which imitated the drawloom designs of the silks.

(1) Quoted in R. S. Gottesman, op. cit.

(2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, February 27th.

(3) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, March 21st.

(4) Inckle - linen.

Most of the half silks, from their weight and appearance, appear to have been dress materials, but there were a few outstanding furnishings textiles among them. "Fine worsted and silk camblets" were advertised in the New York Gazette, May 31st - June 7th, 1736 (1), among a collection of materials "just imported". Camblet was a universal furnishing both for curtains and upholstery, but it was generally all-worsted. "Silk and stuff" beds were advertised at a sale in 1719. The sale of the effects of a "gentleman deceased" in Edgware Street (2), in 1765, included "silk and worsted" window curtains, and a rather similar sale of goods in a house in New Portugal Street (3) specified that: "part of the furniture consists of rich silk and mixed damask", so that it seems that such materials continued to be used for the same purposes throughout the period.

The largest single group of weavers in Mortimer's Directory were those who advertised themselves as weavers of "silk mixed with worsted"; a few made "silk mixed with worsted and thread", one made "silk and stuff", and there was also a weaver whose name was omitted, who made "silk mixed with thread and cotton". Five out of fourteen weavers were Huguenots, including the Parliamentary witness John Louis. The letter already quoted several times, to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on March 12th, 1765, asked rhetorically: "if the articles of silk and stuff, of silk and cotton, of silk and inckle (4), and also if the articles of stuffs have not removed to Norwich, to Manchester, to Kidderminster, and

to Yorkshire". Although at this date the statement was exaggerated, the manufacture of half silks and later of pure silks did increase very greatly in Norwich in the second half of the century. It is, however, evident that these useful and anonymous fabrics of which so few survive formed a large part of the production of the London industry.

Plate 3 (3). Woven silk. Probably French: 1700-1720.
22½" wide. Crimson damask ground with two
kinds of metal thread. The design is typical
of the formal patterns inherited from the 17th
century which developed into the "lace"
patterns of the mid 20's. Victoria and
Albert Museum: T.128-1938.



Plate 3. (3).

Plate 4 (4). Woven silk, part of a toilet set at Ham House.
The ground light blue, the design entirely
carried out in metal thread. French c. 1705-15.
The silk cannot be later because of the design
of the mirror in the set. The set may have been
made for Lionel, Lord Huntingtower, eldest son of
the 3rd Earl of Dysart who married in 1706 and
died in 1711.



Plate 4. (4).



I. ISAAC DE PEYSTER (1662-1728)
By unknown artist. Arthur T. Sinschlag Collection
Photo., Frick Art Reference Library

Plate 5. (5).

Plate 5 (5). Isaac de Peyster. By an unknown artist of the New York School. Illustrated plate LVI in Waldron Phoenix Belknap. American Colonial Painting. Cambridge, Mass. 1959, ed. by C. C. Sellers. The silk can be dated c. 1709 on the grounds of its style and could be English since the combined operation of the Navigation Acts and the War would have made it very much more difficult to smuggle a French silk into New York.

Isaac de Peyster was born in New York in 1662. He married in 1687 and became free of the City of New York in 1698. He died in 1728. De Peyster was a merchant by profession. Although he never visited Europe himself, his brother did in 1707, on a trip which included Amsterdam, Rotterdam and London. The silk could therefore have been brought back in 1708 when de Peyster's brother returned to New York but, in any case, a merchant would no doubt have access to the latest silks, whatever their provenance. I am indebted to Mr. A. Chapin Rogers, Librarian of the Waldron Phoenix Belknap Jr. Research Library of American Painting at Winterthur, U.S.A., for this information.

Plate 6 (6). James Leman. Silk design dated 1709. It can be compared with the silk worn by de Peyster. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, Dec. 23rd, 1709. A figure for a damask brocaded with silk and silver. - ye green ye silver - for Mr. Wittington & Comp. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 - 150 dezines. For my father Peter Leman. By me James Leman." The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell. No. 93.



Plate 7 (7). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1706. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, Sep. 8th 1706 Sattin tishue for Mr. Sadler and Comp. 450 cords No. 8 & 10. 168 dezines. James Leman.

33 56 in one simple
 10
 560 lashes in one simple
 3
 1680 lashes in all."

It is yellow ochre in colour, and thus has only one pattern weft. The design would be broken down in the draft to 450 units horizontally and 1680 vertically.

No. 24. The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd.

Plate 8 (8). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1706. It can be compared with the silk worn by the Emperor. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, Sep. 8th, 1706. A design for a damask brocaded with silk and silver. - 40 cords in silver - for Mr. Wittingham & Co. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 - 150 dezines. For my father Peter Leman. By me James Leman." The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell.

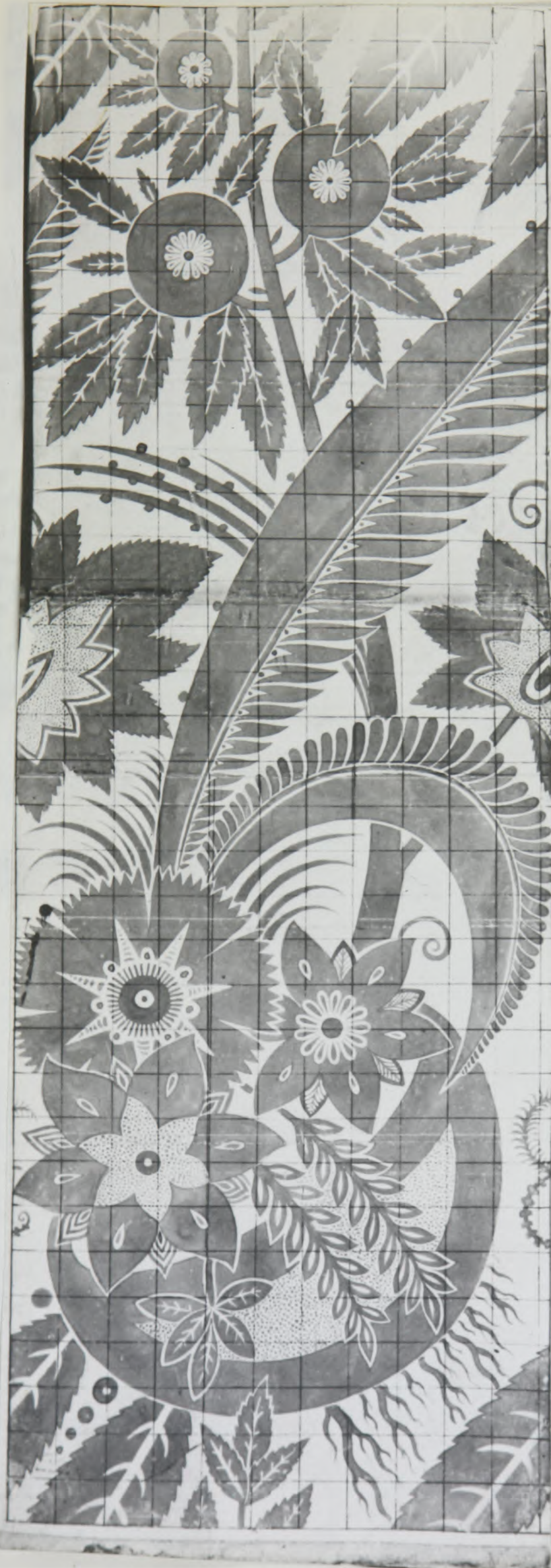


Plate 8 (8). James Leman. Silk design dated 1708. The design is inscribed on the back: "August 6th, 1708. For Mr. Wittington. For a damask brocaded 400 cords No. 8 & 12. 138 dezines. James Leman".

The ground pattern is yellow ochre and is presumably the damask; there are four other colours used. The design is typical of a number which incorporate chinoiserie elements; Leman used fences, small pagodas and two-handled vases on a number of designs. The asymmetrical arrangement is typical of bizarre silks of the period.

No. 58. The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd.

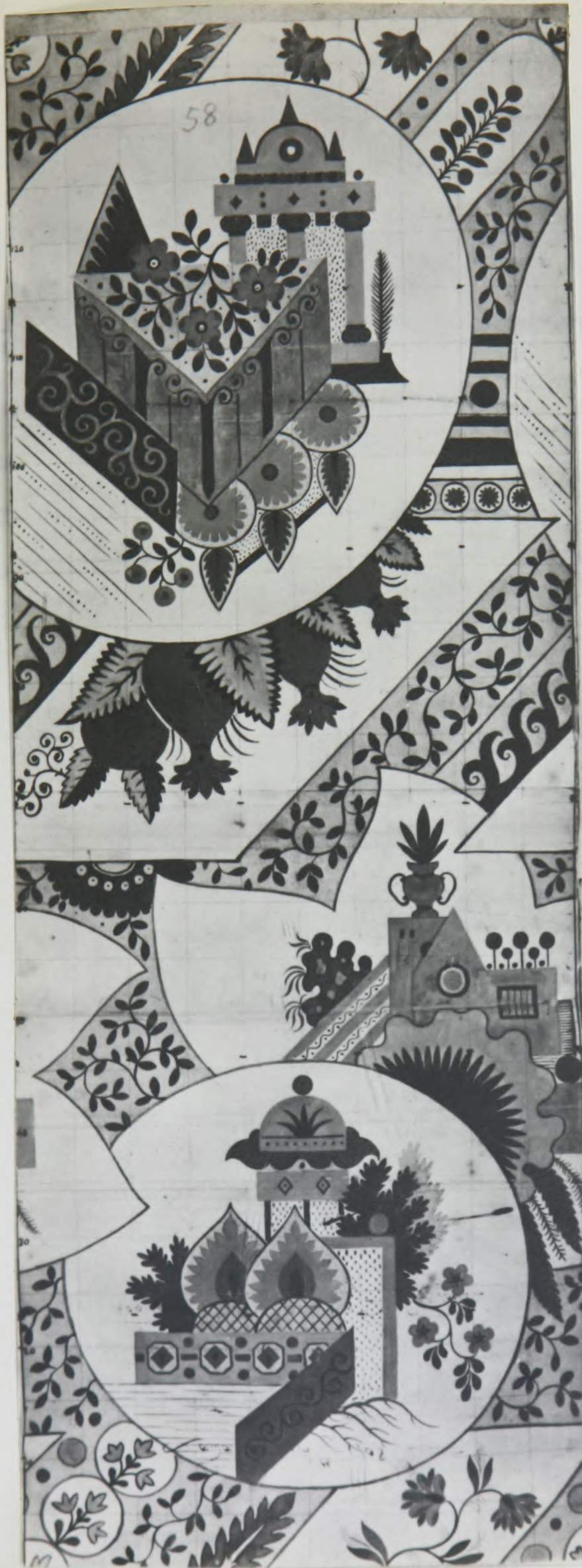


Plate 9 (9). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1711. The design is inscribed on the back: "This pattern for an orrace tissue beocaded with gold and silk. For Mr. Wittington and Comp. 400 cords 8 & 12. 106 dezines in 6 simples. For my father Peter Leman by me James Leman. To be made by young Phillip Manckey". The ground pattern is yellow, the flowers buff and purple. No. 39. The property of Messrs. Vanners and Fennell Ltd.



Plate 10 (10). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1711. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, March 26th, 1711. This pattern was taken from a Dutch stuff. It was an Italian or 10 lam damask with two backshoots or flushes & gold & silver & silk brocade. To be made for Mr. Wittington & Comp. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 6 simples. For my father Peter Leman by me James Leman. The yallow was damask The purple and ye scarlet both shoot under one lam on the side, the orange gold, the green silver, the pail red silk."

The ground pattern is yellow, the borders leaf green, the scrolls and some flowers orange and vermilion, the leaves are mauve with a yellow shadow pattern, the flowers vermilion, cream and orange.

The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. No. 32.



Plate 11 (11). Woven Silk c. 1711. French, Dutch or English.
Brocaded damask with a green satin damask ground.
Victoria & Albert Museum (618-1896).



Plate 14 (11).

Plate 12 (12). Portrait of William Leathes, c. 1710.
Illustrated p.56. No. 180 in W.C. and P.
Cunnington, A Picture History of Costume,
London, 1960. The silk cuffs and waistcoat
are a typical bizarre silk of the period.



180. c. 1710. William Leathes wearing a coat with fancy cuffs; matching waistcoat with scalloped pockets, a fashion just starting. A Steinkirk cravat; stockings rolled up over the breeches and hence called "rollers" or "roll-ups". Shoes with square blocked toes.
Lieutenant-Commander Robert Leathes, R.N.

Plate 12 (12).

Plate 13 (13). Chasuble. In the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne.
The chasuble is dateable by the arms to 1713, the date
of the wedding of Johann Jacob von Codone and Maria
Anne von Grote. Photo. From Rein, Bildarch. Neg.
No. 3869.

It was customary to present wedding dresses to the
Church for use as vestments.

The silk is probably French, 1712-3, but could be
English, since Northern Germany was a market for
English silks. It is a typical rich silk of
its period.



Plate 13 (13).

Plate 14 (14). Silk Coat c. 1715. From the effigy in
Westminster Abbey of Robert Sheffield,
Marquess Normanby, son of the Duke of Buckingham.
The silk is French or English of the same date
and typical of its period.



Plate 15 (15). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1718. E.4457-1909.
The design has a series of typical instructions
on it for the making of the draft on ruled
paper.

Plate 16 (16). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1720.
Victoria & Albert Museum, E.4507-1909.



Plate 17 (17). Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester. Painted in Rome in 1717 by Francesco Trevisani. The portrait is at Holkham. Exhibited in 18th century Italy and the Grand Tour, an exhibition held May-July, 1958. Norwich Castle Museum. No. 53 in the Catalogue. The portrait is illustrated in C. W. James, Chief Justice Coke, His Family and Descendants at Holkham, 1929. Plate facing p. 208.

Plate 17 (18). Detail of the sleeve of his coat. The silk, which has a woven pattern, is probably French or Italian.



(17)

THOMAS COKE, AGED 20, BY TREVISANI.

From a portrait at Holkham.



(18)

Plate 17.

Plate 18 (19). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1718.
E.4451-1909.

(71)

Plate 17

17. The silk,
probably French

(81)



Plate 18 (19).

Plate 19 (20). Torah Mantel. No. 177 in Anglo-Jewish Exhibition held at the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1956. Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Bevis Marks. Abraham Mendes da Costa had Scroll made in 1720. Red satin ground, blue, grey, dark green, pink and yellow silk, and filé and frisé silver and silver gilt thread. This would have been one of the richest silks of its period. See p. 273 .



Plate 20 (21). Nicholas Leake, 4th Earl of Scarsdale by Michael Dahl. (In the Nationalmuseum Stockholm). Plate XXXVIII in Michael Dahl by W. Nisser, 1927.

The silk of his waistcoat is comparable both with the Torah Mantel on Plate 19 and the design by Leman on Plate 18.



MICHAEL DAHL: NICHOLAS LEAKE, 4TH EARL OF SCARSDALE

NATIONALMUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

Plate 21 (22). Silk Design probably by Christopher Baudouin,
dated 1725. It is a design among the
"Patterns by Different Hands", collected by
Anna Maria Garthwaite. No. 5973.11.
The design is inscribed on the back: "Mr. Smith,
For Mr. Peter Lekeux, March the 11, 1725. 400
cords No. 8 & 10, 102 Dezines long.
(In another hand) Mr. Huddleston."



Plate 22 (23) & (23a). Thomas Gray by J. Richardson. Probably painted when he went to Eton in 1727.
Plate XI (115) in J. W. Goodison: Cambridge Portraits, 1955, Vol. I. The University Collection.
The silk of the boy's coat, a light blue in colour, shews a typical lace pattern of the period.



(23)



(23a)

Plate 22 (23) & (23a).

Plate 23 (24). Part of a Silk Design. French, dated 1728,
by an unknown designer. For a "Persienne"
(a silk very different from the English
"persian"). Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet
d'Estampes, Vol. LH. 44A.
The inscription at the side of the design reads:
"Persienne argen nué a argen glacé e argen frisé
de 1728". i.e., it is intended for a silk with
three kinds of metal thread.

(ES)

(nES)

.(nES) & (ES) 35 83401

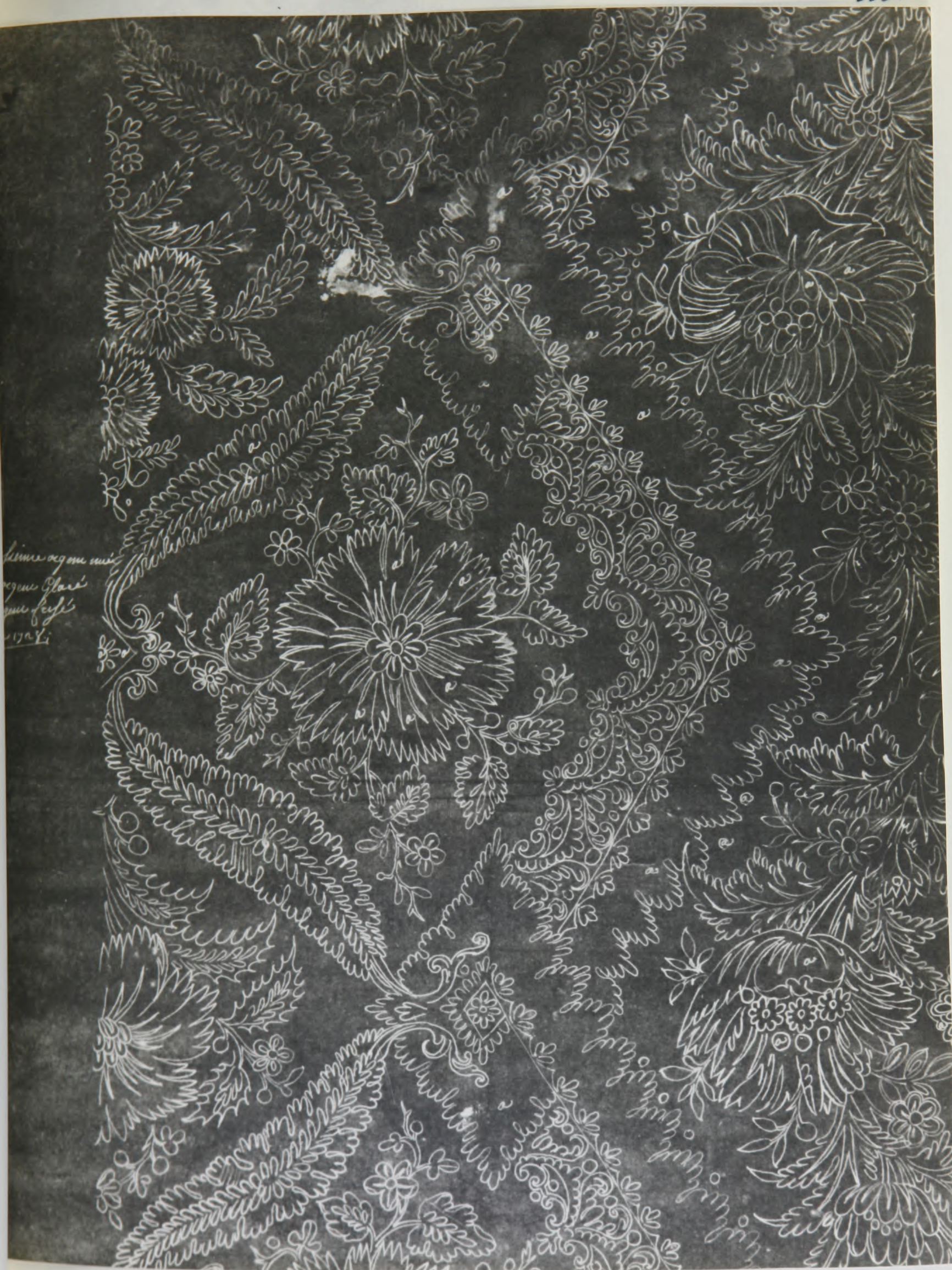


Plate 24 (25). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1730.
From a Series described on the original cover
as "Double Tabbys". 5975.4. The design
is a typical "lace pattern" of the period and
can be dated by reference to other designs
dated 1729 and 1731.

Plate 24 (26). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1731.
5975.2. The colour scheme, although much
reduced in tone, is typical of the Series.

Plate 24 (27). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1731.
5975 .2 (detail).



(25)



354.

(26)



(27)

Plate 25 (28). Samuel Egerton, by Bartolomeo Nazari. Painted in Venice in 1732. No. 207 in the Catalogue of Italian Art and Britain, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1960. The silk of his waistcoat is probably French of precisely this date.



Plate 25 (28).

Plate 26 (29). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1733.
From a series described on the original cover
as "Double Tabbys". 5975.11. The design
may be compared with the previous two plates
and shews how the flowers have broken away from
the lace framework of which there is still a
suggestion in the formation of the plain ground
areas. The design is dated by reference to
other, dated, designs.



Plate 27 (30). Worsted, with a blue ground and the pattern
in several colours. The property of the
Francis Dupont Museum, Winterthur, U.S.A.
59.7.9. Probably English (Norwich or Spital-
fields), almost certainly acquired in Spain.
cf. No. 229, 1733.



Plate 27 (30).

Plate 28 (31). Silk Design by an unknown French designer. The design belonged to James Leman, and is No. 76 in the Book of Designs belonging to Messrs, Vanners & Fennell Ltd. The design is c. 1732 and is similar in style with a series in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale. These could all have been by the designer Courtois (see p. 310), but none are signed. There are several fragments of silk woven from this design in the Richelieu Collection.



Plate 28 (31).

Plate 29 (32). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1734.
The original cover for this series is missing
and the type of silk for which this is intended
is unknown. 5971. 31. The design is typical of
its period, with trees and flowers heavily modelled
but rendered in disproportionate scales.



Plate 29 (32).

Plate 30 (33). Dress, c. 1733-1734. The silk could be English and may be compared in style with Garthwaite's design in the previous plate. T.719-1913. Tissue, with a tabby ground and green and white pattern wefts, the other colours brocaded.



088

Plate 31 (34) Silk Design, probably by Jean Revel c. 1732-3
(see p.311). The design is among the
"French Patterns" which belonged to Anna Maria
Garthwaite. 5974.7.

Plate 31 (35). Woven Silk. French, c. 1732-3. Woven from
the design shewn in the previous plate. This
example is in the Musée des Tissus at Lyon, and
there is another in the Gewebesammlung of the
Textilingenieurschule at Krefeld.

(34)



(35)



Plate 31 (34) & (35).

Plate 32 (36). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1735. From a series described on the original cover as "Brocades from 1735-40". 5977.8. The design shews Garthwaite using "points rentrées" to achieve a three-dimensional effect. (see p. 311).

Plate 32 (37). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1735 5977. cf. (36) above. The brownish colour scheme with black shading is typical. The design has "points rentrées" as (36). The three-dimensional effect which they impart can be appreciated, although they are invisible in this poor reproduction.



(36)



(37)

Plate 33 (38). Antonio David. George Lewis Coke. Painted
in Rome in 1735. No. 123 in the Catalogue,
Italian Art and Britain, Royal Academy of
Arts, London, 1960.
The waistcoat and cuffs are silver with roses
in silk, the silk is probably French of pre-
cisely this date.

cf. 136, 137
black studio
restored as
effect which
they are not



Plate 34 (39). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Designs dated 1741.
The lower left hand design is for a "grogram",
a half silk. The tobine on the lower right
hand side is drawn on "rule paper". 5978.13.



Mr. Charles T. Brown
May 13 17.44
Tobacco



Tobacco

Plate 35 (40). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Design for a tobine dated 1741. The shading of colours in the warp is managed with great subtlety, and the central mass broken by the small blue flowers which project. These would have been brocaded, for there is a horizontal variation in colour.

Plate 35 (41). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. To be woven by Captain John Baker (see p.159^{etc.}). 5981.23. The design is for a brocaded tissue. The blue and pink flowers would have been brocaded. The yellow may indicate metal thread, as it does in the design for the Lekeux silk in the same series.

Plate 35 (42). Detail of a brocaded silk of the 1740's. Probably made in Spitalfields. The ground is a light coffee colour.



(42)



(40)



(41)

Plate 36 (43). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design for a damask, 1742. 5980.

Plate 35 (40).

dated
very
small
which
for a
(54)

for a tobacco
ground in the
sky, and the
blue flowers
which have been
braided in colour.

Plate 35 (41). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. To be woven by the same loom as the one on p. 159 (see p. 159). 5981.13. The design is for a braided tissue. The blue and pink flowers which have been braided. The yellow and gold metal thread, as it does in the design 1742, the Leveux silk in the same series.

Plate 35 (42). Detail of a braided silk of the 1740's. in Spitalfields. The ground blue colour.

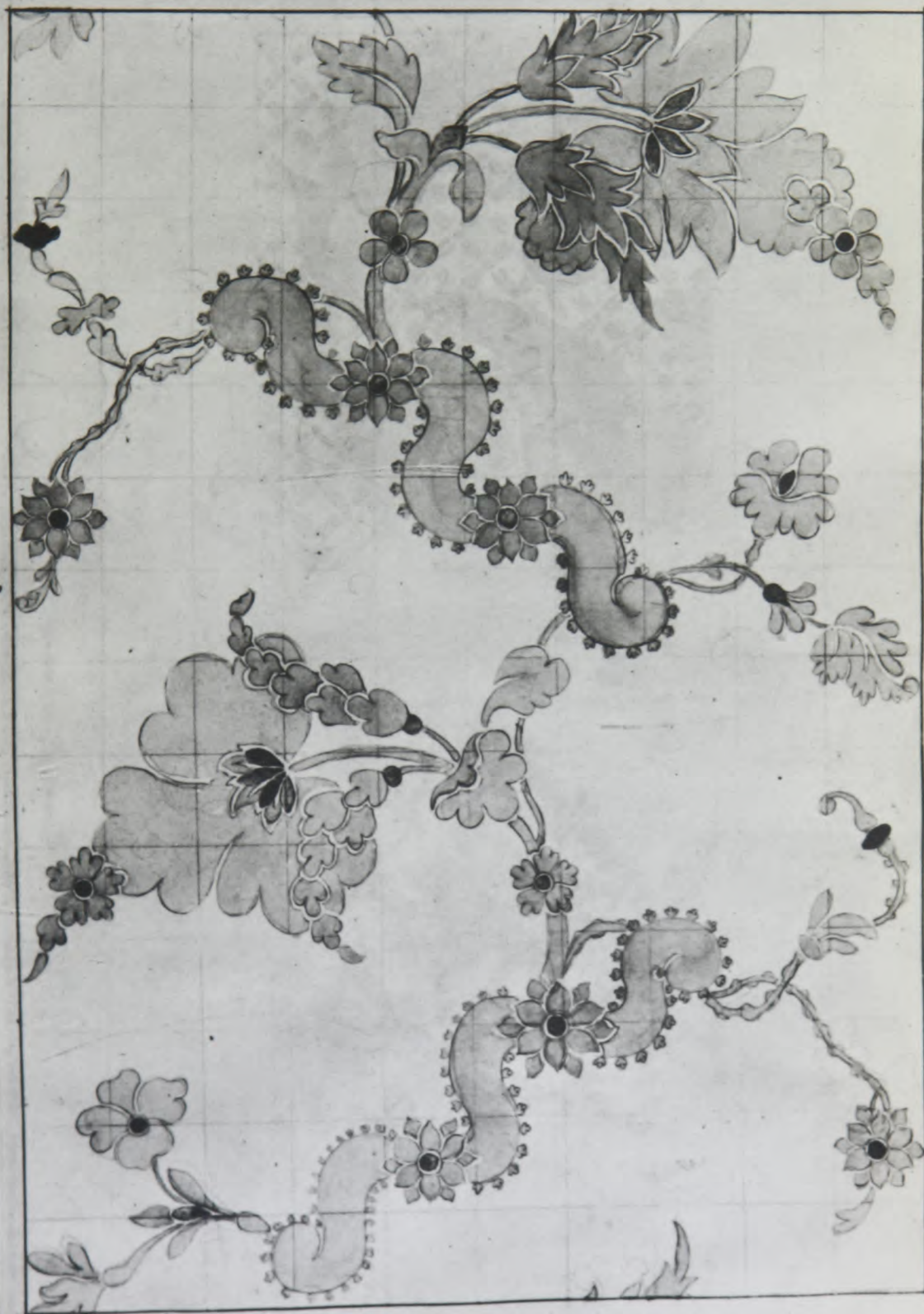
(1A)

(2A)



Plate 37 (44). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. The design is carried out in shades of yellow. 5981.20.

Cap. Lekeux. Dropt. Sep. 20. 1742



502

Plate 38 (45). Silk, woven by Captain Peter Lekeux from the design on the previous Plate in three kinds of silver thread on a blue taffeta ground. Victoria & Albert Museum, T.81-1938.

Plate 38 (45)



Plate 39 (46). Silk woven by Captain Peter Lekeux from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite. The colouring is much more vivid than this illustration would suggest, but the different reflections of light from the three different kinds of silver thread can be seen.



Plate 39 (46).

Plate 39 (46). Silk woven by Captain Peter Lehmann from
the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite. The
coloring is much more vivid than this

Plate 40 (47). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1745.
5984.5. In the index to this series the design
is described by Garthwaite as a "Bro.(caded)
Satten".

M^r Gaudvine. March 16. 1745

9



Plate 4I (48) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1747, 5985.2
In the Index to this series the design is
described as a "bro. tobine".

dated 1747,
is the design
t. (coded)

Plate 42 (49) Dress, the silk woven by Daniel (?) Vautier
from the design shewn on the previous plate.
Victoria and Albert Museum, T.706-1913.



Plate 43 (50) Detail of the silk shewn on Plate 42. The self-colour pattern in the ground is a warp effect - the tobine of the design, the small flowers are brocaded. The rather coarse découpures are noticeable in the jagged line of the stalks of the flowers.



Plate 44 (51) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated
1747. 5985.9. In the Index to the series
the design is described as "A Bro.(caded)
Lut(estring)".



Plate 45 (52) Silk woven by Daniel (?) Vautier from the design by Garthwaite shewn in the previous Plate. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.720-1913.



Plate 46 (53) Alured Clarke of Godmanchester (1658-1744) with his wife Anne Trimnel (1671-1755) by an anonymous painter c. 1740. Plate 37c in J. Steegman: A Survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses, Vol. I, 1957, North Wales. The lady's dress is a grey damask shewing the large scale designs of this date.

Plate 46 (54) Arthur Devis. Two portraits of members of the Warden family. Plate 12 in the Catalogue of an Exhibition at 25 Park Lane of English Conversation Pieces, 1930. The lady on the left is wearing a quilted silk petticoate, the lady on the right plain satin. The bare boards and windows without curtains contrast with the dress worn by the sitter.



C. RHUAL, 17

Copyright "Country Life"

(53)



MISS MARY WARDEN.

Arthur Devis.

Lent by Lady Brooke.



MISS SARAH WARDEN.

Arthur Devis.

Lent by Lady Brooke.

(54)

Plate 47 (55) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated
1748. 5986.2. In the Index to this
series the design is described as a "bro.
lut.(estring)".

M. Godin. May 25. 1748



Plate 48 (56) Brocaded woven silk of the early 1750's. Probably made in Spitalfields. The rosebuds are practically life-size. The silk of the ground has buckled when removed from the tension of the loom.

Plate 48 (57) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Design for a gauze lappet pattern, dated 1752. Mr. Crumpler must be John Crumpler the gauze weaver, see p. 43 . 5989.6.



(56)

Al Crumpler Jan'y 22. 1752.



(57)

Plate 49 (58) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Design for a waistcoat shape, dated 1750. 5988. 31.
If Mr. Turner was one of the partners in John and Robert Turner, the design may not be for a silk waistcoat (see p.63,97(w)) but for a worsted one. Garthwaite designed several other waistcoats in the course of her career.



Plate 50 (59) Suit of figured cut and uncut velvet woven
to shape. English or French 1745-55.
Victoria & Albert Museum, 828^B-1904



Plate 50 (59).

Plate 5I (60) Alan Ramsay. George Bristow, Plate ixa in
A. Smart: The Life and Times of Alan
Ramsay, 1952. Facing page 80.
The waistcoat has a brocaded silk border and
decoration on the pocket.

Plate 5I (61) Robert Feke. James Bowdoin II, Plate 17
in Catalogue of Detroit Institute of Arts,
'Painting in America,' 1957.
The waistcoat is satin with a damask design
on the pocket and borders. Early 1740's.



IX(a). GEORGE BRISTOW

1750. 50 x 40

(60)

JAMES BOWDOIN II by Robert Feké (1707-1750)
Lent by The Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts (No. 20)

(61)

Plate 52 (62) T. Hudson. Portrait of Sir Henry Oxendon,
1756. Sold at Christies 20th November, 1931,
lot 42. National Portrait Gallery Neg. 845.
The cut velvet suit may be compared with the
suit on Plate 50.



Plate 52 (62).

Plate 53 (63) Woven Silk. Probably English (Spitalfields), 1750's. In the Los Angeles County Museum. Los Angeles County Museum No. L.2100.57-8. Detail of brocaded, figured taffeta. The photograph shews one width which is 21 inches. Design repeats at 18 inches. Scale of photo 1:3. Colours:
The three flowers seen "full face" in the photo: deep crimson, brown, rose, light and dark green, reddish brown; ten metallic gold round dots; the flower in "profile" nearest to lower hem in photo: metallic gold, black, brown peach and yellow;
same flower repeated in centre of upper portion of photo: metallic gold, dark blue, light blue and white;
the three flowers "in profile" superimposed on extreme points of zig-zag line: mauve, pink and white; six oval dots in metallic gold. Stems and leaves: black, dark green and pale green. Other leaves and zig-zag lines: metallic gold. White ground.

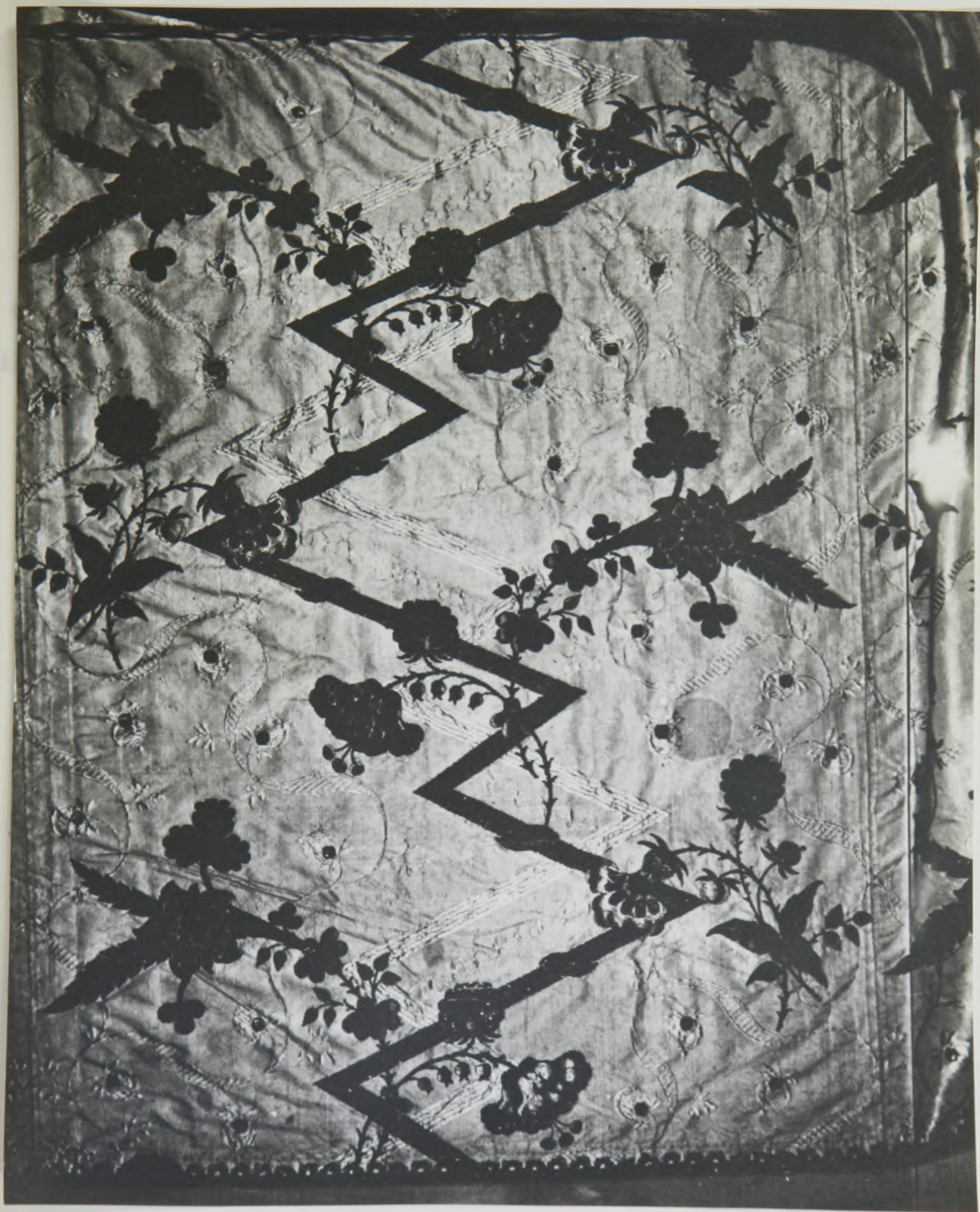


Plate 53 (63).

Plate 54 (64) Brocaded woven silk with a "flush" pattern in the ground. Probably made in Soitalfields in the mid 1750's. The colouring and the style of the flowers are both typical of English silks, the diapered patterns, both in the ground and in the leaves, are typical of the period.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



Plate 54 (64).

Plate 55 (65) Portrait of Elinor Frances Dixie, illus. 211
in C.W. & P. Cunningham. English Costume, in the
Picture Histories series. The picture is also
reproduced in the Connoisseur Period Guide, Early
Georgian Period. The brocaded silk with a
"flush" pattern in the ground must surely be
English of the late 40's or early 1750's.

Victoria and Albert Museum.





211. 1750's. Elinor Frances Dixie in a sack-back gown with treble sleeve-flounces now falling behind only and treble lace-edged ruffles. The gauze handkerchief is confined by a "breast knot". She wears a bergère hat turned up front and back, a fashion of that decade, worn over an undercap. Note the long gloves. *H. Pickering, City of Nottingham Art Gallery.*

332

55

Plate 56 (66) Panel of woven silk from a firescreen.
The property of Mr. Thomas Aubertin.
According to the label sewn to it, the silk
is said to have been designed by John Vansommer,
an ancestor of Mr. Aubertin; as Vansommer was
active in the middle and second half of the
18th century this would seem quite possible.
The silk dates from about 1755-60.

Plate 56 (66)



Plate 57 (67) Four fragments of silk said to have been made by a member of the Desormeaux family. The silk probably dates from the mid-60's to mid-70's.



Plate 58 (68) Sample from the end of a piece of silk, said to have been woven by a member of the Duthoit family. The property of Mrs. Turner. The silk probably dates from the mid-1760's - 70's.

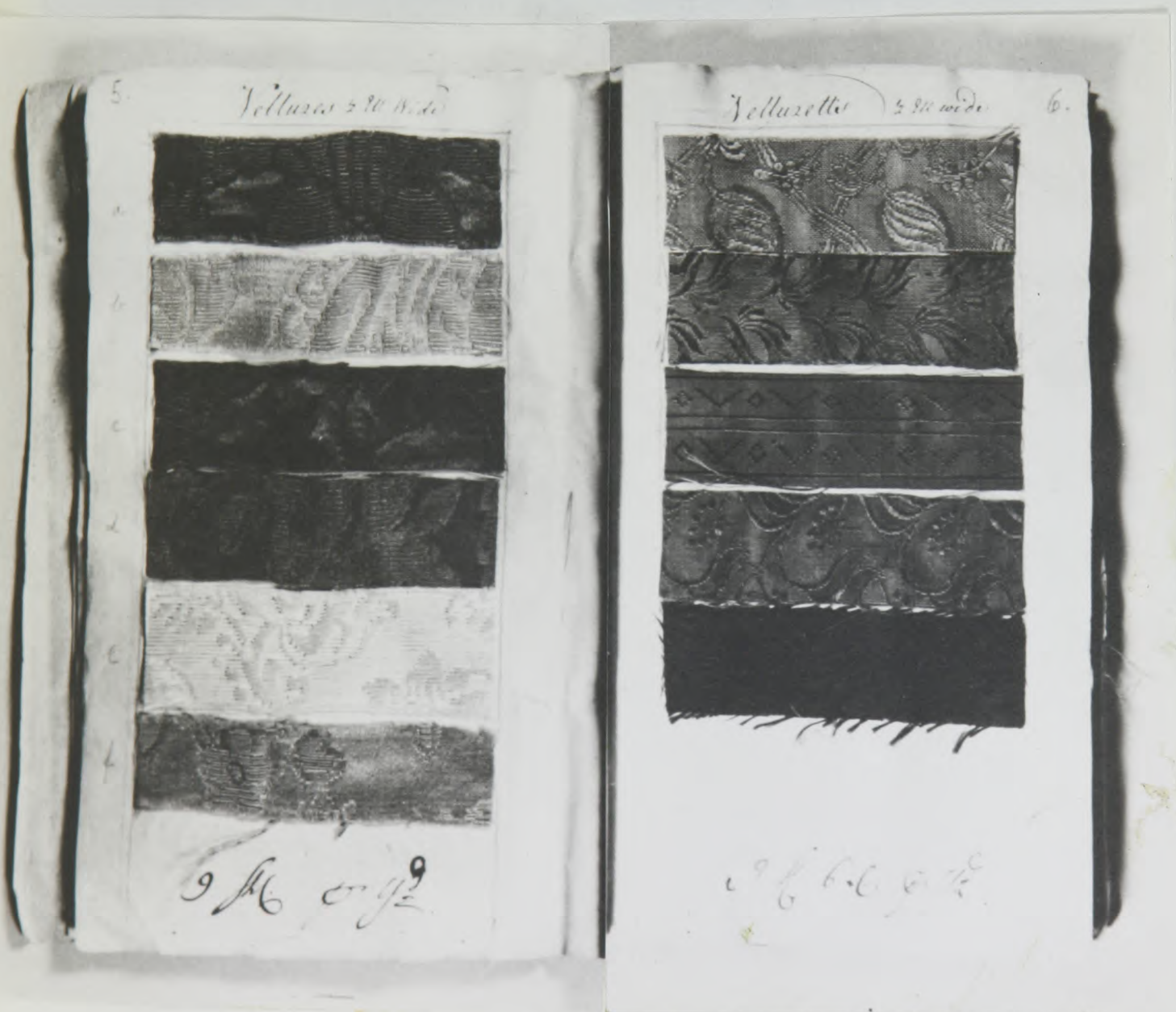


Plate 59 (69) Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. This is one of Garthwaite's few designs presumably intended for men's suiting. 5981.9.

Plate 59 (70) Two pages from an English exporter's pattern book of silks. In the Berch Collection of the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm.



(69)



(70)

Plate 60 (71) Arthur Devis. A member of the Sergison family. Plate 13 in the Catalogue of an Exhibition at 25 Park Lane of English Conversation Pieces, 1930. The sitter's gown is plain satin, he has a picture above his fireplace and a Chinese vase beneath it. There are no soft furnishings.

Plate 60 (72) Nicholas Fazackerley by Arthur Devis, dated 1763. Plate 8 in S.H. Pavière, The Devis Family of Painters. (Catalogue No. 40).



(71)

ONE OF THE SERGISON FAMILY.
(of Cuckfield).

Arthur Devis.

Lent by Lady Brooke.



(72)

AL. NO. 40

NICHOLAS FAZACKERLEY

M.P. for Preston, 1732-67

by

Arthur Devis

In the Harris Museum & Art Gallery, Preston

92 56 in.

1003

Plate 61 (73) John Bours by John Singleton Copley, c. 1763.
Plate 26 in Boston Museum of Fine Arts, B.N.
Parker & A.B. Wheeler, : John Singleton Copley,
1938.

60

2.8
2.8
1.1

(SV)

Plate 60 (VI) in 1938



JOHN BOURS

c. 1763

Plate 62 (74) John Singleton Copley. Mrs. John Barrett.
Plate 12 in Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Loan
Exhibition 100 Colonial Portraits, 1930.
The dress shews a damask probably of the mid-1760's.



MRS. JOHN BARRETT, 1711-98

Sarah Gerrish.

Oil on canvas, 49 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 39 $\frac{1}{4}$.

John Singleton Copley, 1768-1813

Lent by Mrs. Barrett Wendell.

582

62

Plate 63 (75) Nicholas Boylston by John Singleton Copley, dated 1767. Plate 78 in Boston Museum of Fine Arts, B.N. Parker & A.B. Wheeler, John Singleton Copley, 1938. The damask banyan was evidently a prop in Copley's studio as it appears in several paintings. It probably dated from the early '60's.

14-1767



NICHOLAS BOYLSTON

1767

Plate 64 (76) Silk Design, French mid-1760's. The property of Messrs. Warners Ltd. The design is probably from Lyon since the paper on which it is drawn comes from there. The design is typical of its period.

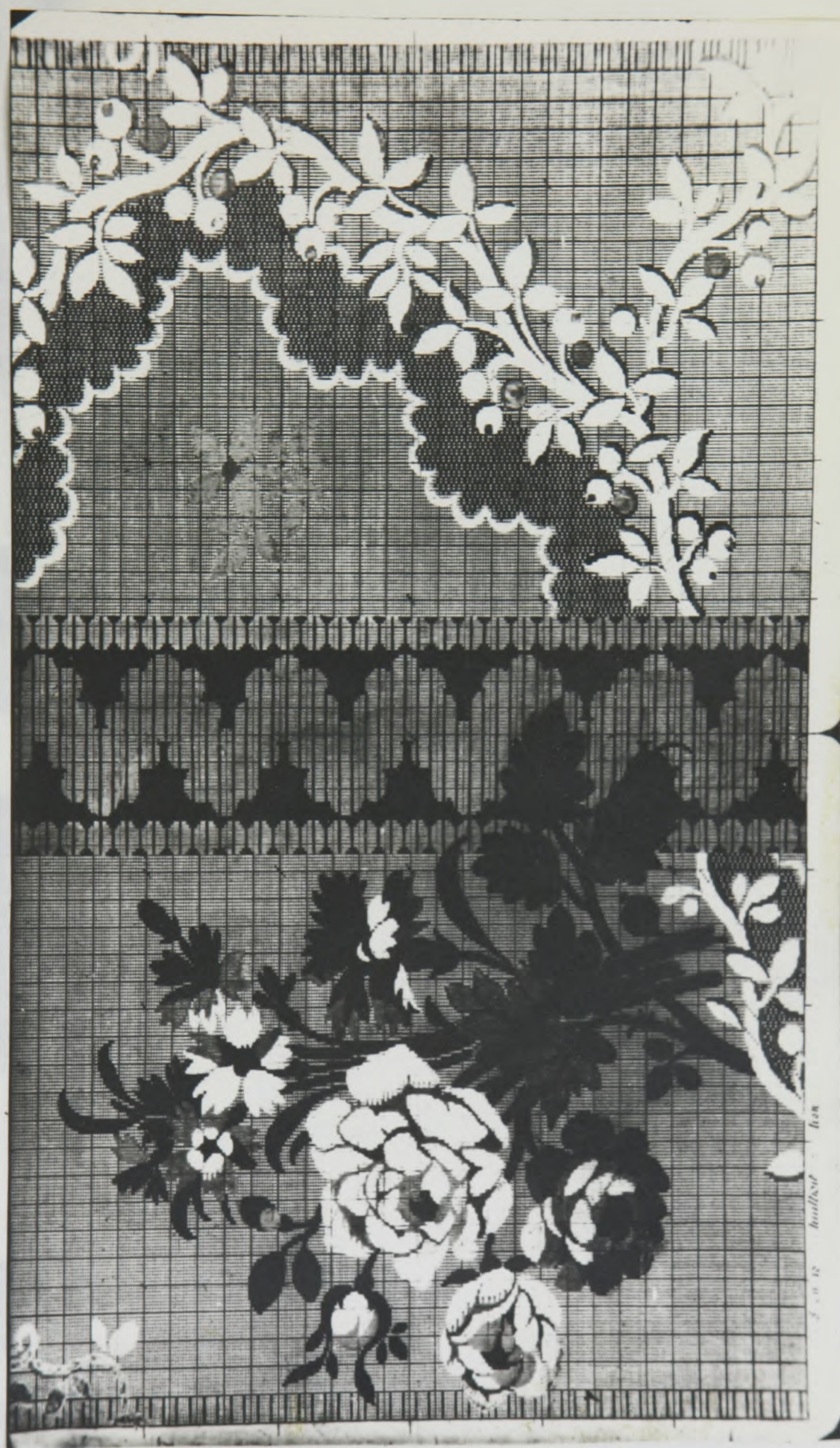


Plate 70 (84) Organzining Mill, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia.

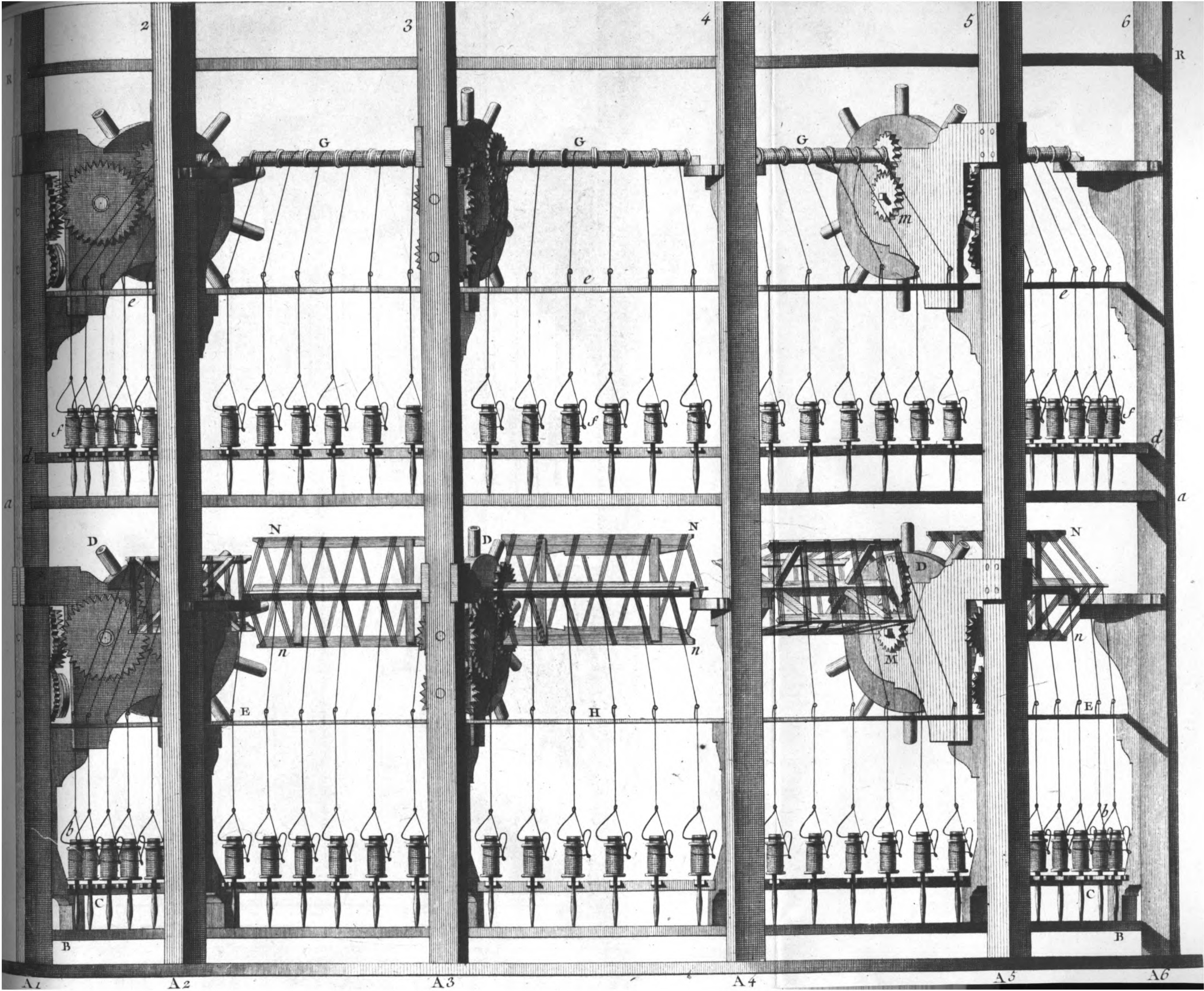


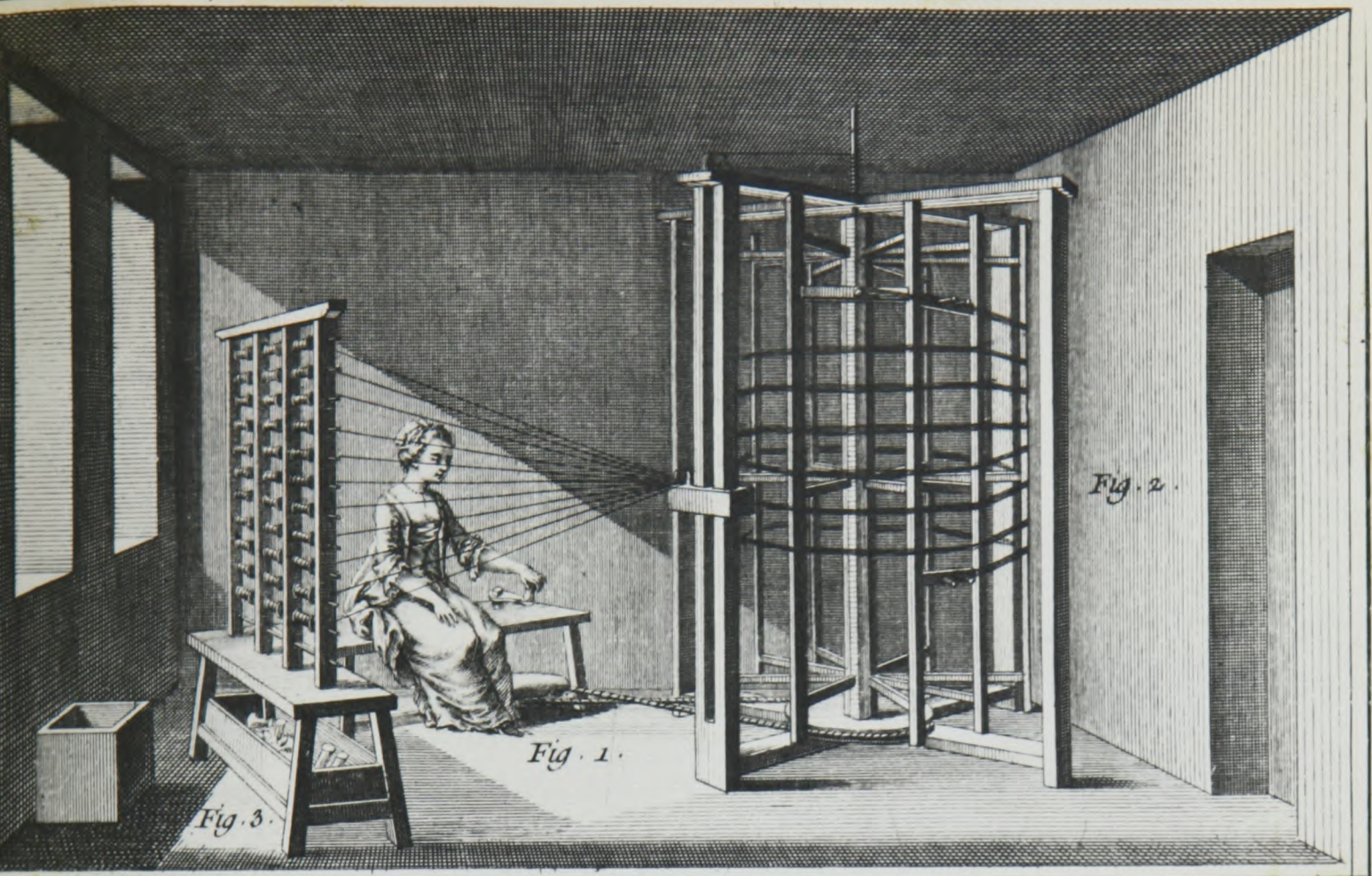
Plate 70 (84).
 The figure shows a view of the
 interior of the building, looking
 towards the entrance. The
 architecture is of the
 classical style, with
 columns and a pediment.
 The entrance is on the right
 side of the image.

Plate 70 (84).
 The figure shows a view of the
 interior of the building, looking
 towards the entrance. The
 architecture is of the
 classical style, with
 columns and a pediment.
 The entrance is on the right
 side of the image.

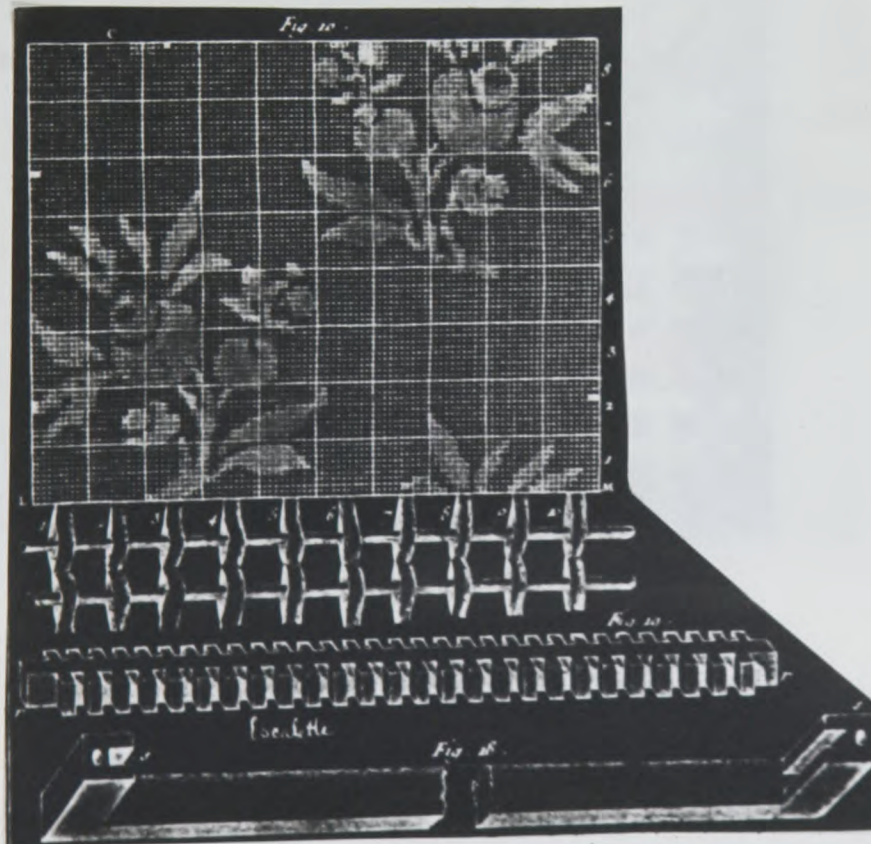


Plate 70 (85) Warping Mill, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia. The correct length of silk for the piece to be woven is wound on to the mill. The warp will subsequently be taken from the mill in a series of operations to ensure the threads remain untangled, etc. and then entered in the loom.

Plate 70 (86) One of the operations in transferring the design drafted upon "ruled" or graph paper to the loom, from Paulet's L'Art du Fabricant des Étoffes de Soie, Vol. 7, Part II. The correct number of threads on the simple or false simple are selected according to the size of the paper and grouped in order to facilitate the "reading in" of the design.



(85)



(86)

Plate 71 (87) Diagram to shew the weave of a typical tissue. There are two pattern wefts (yellow and brown) bound in 3 & 1 twill by the threads of the binding warp (tinted blue). There are three ground warp threads between each binding warp thread and these are woven in a satin of 5 with the ground weft. The satin only shews, however, in the ground of the textile. It would normally be hidden in the areas of the pattern by the thick pattern wefts.

(28)

(28)

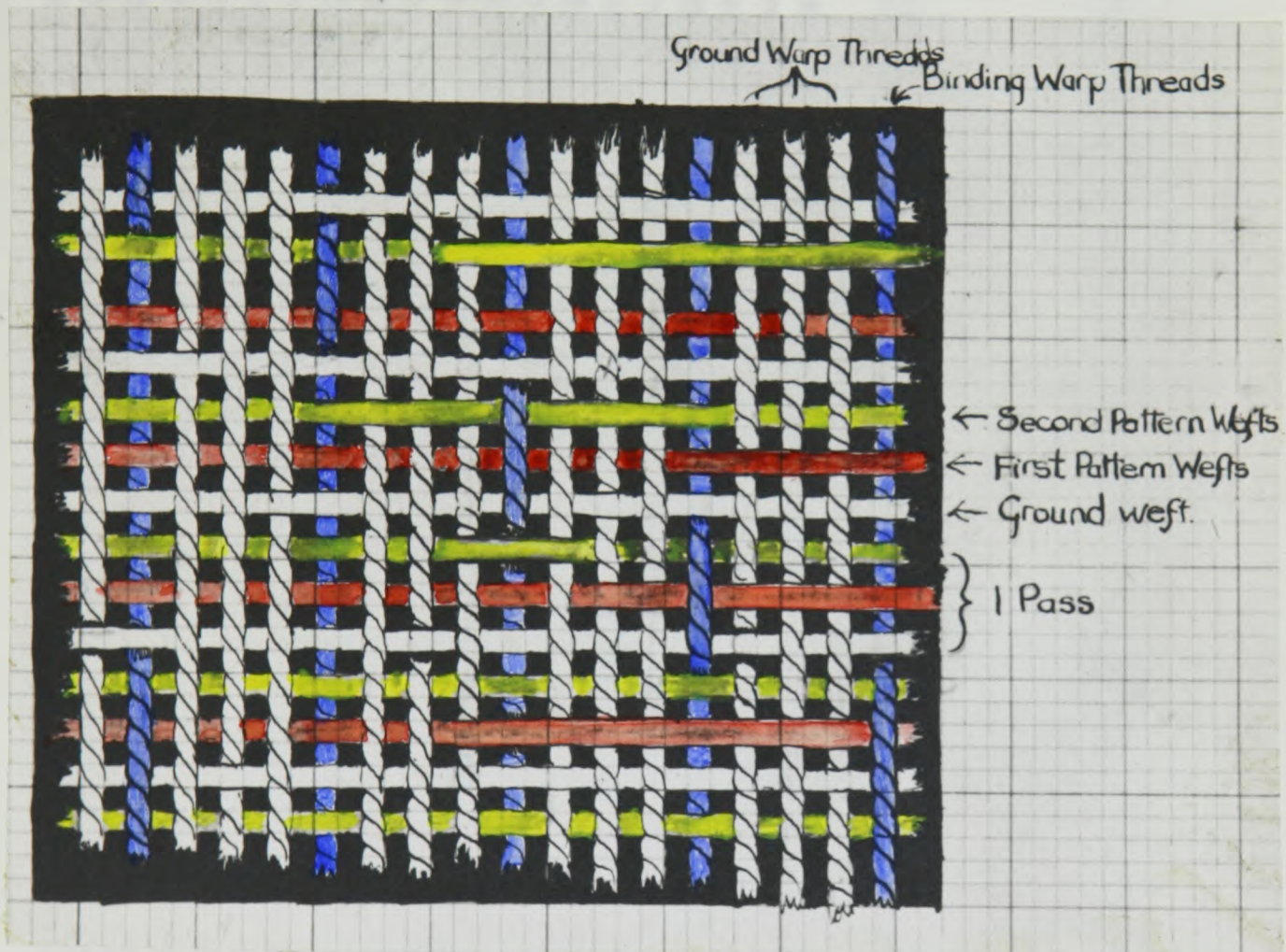


Plate 73 (88) The lashes are tied upon the simple, from
Diderot's Encyclopaedia. Each row of lashes
represents one line on the ruled paper and
probably one colour in one line of weaving.

Plate 74 (89) Shown to show the nature of a typical weave.
There are two patterns with (yellow and brown)
squares in 2 & 1 fall by the threads of the
weaving very (light blue). There are three
small and similar between each similar very

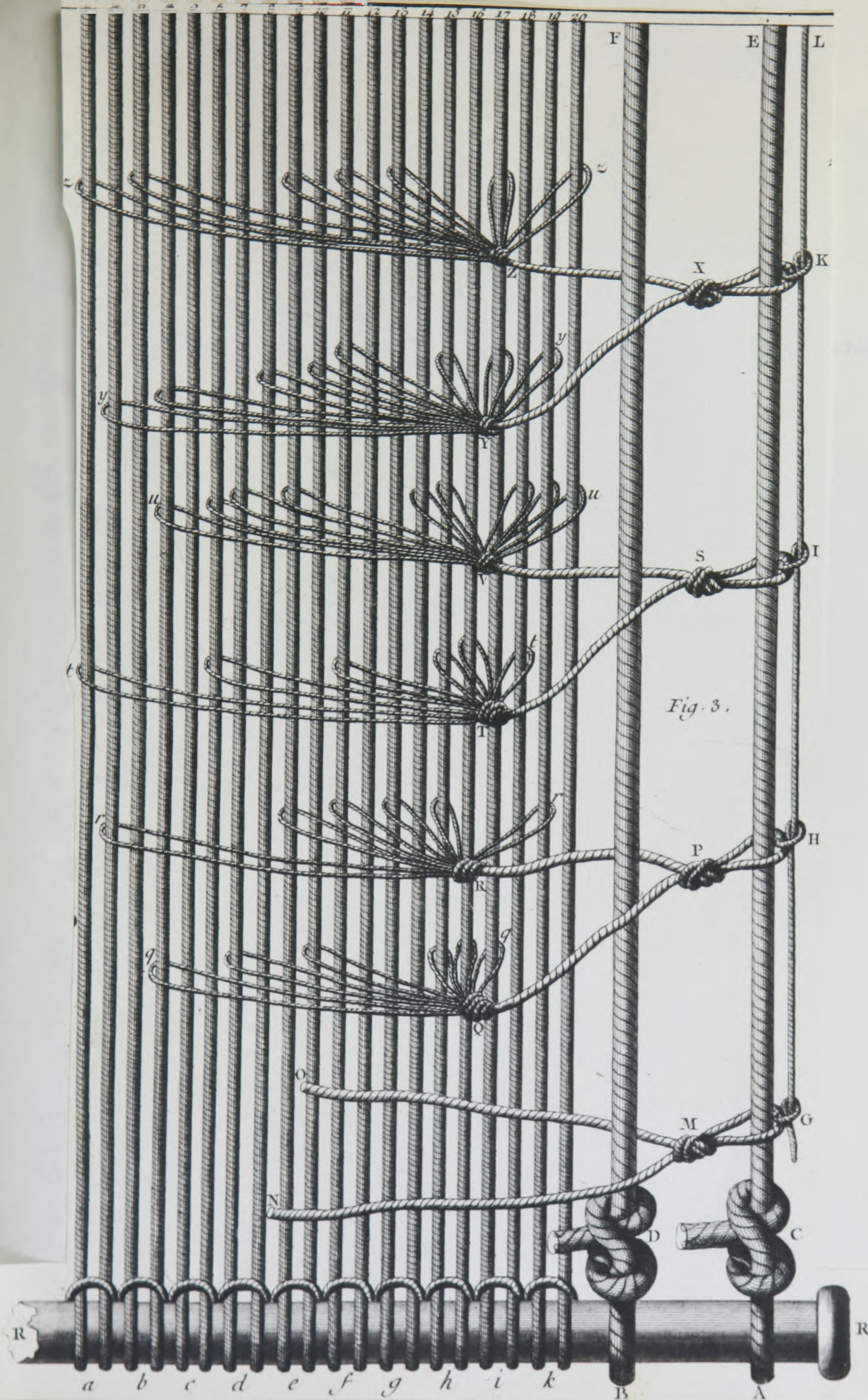


Plate 74 (89) The Draw Loom, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia.
The simple is at the right-hand side of the
loom.

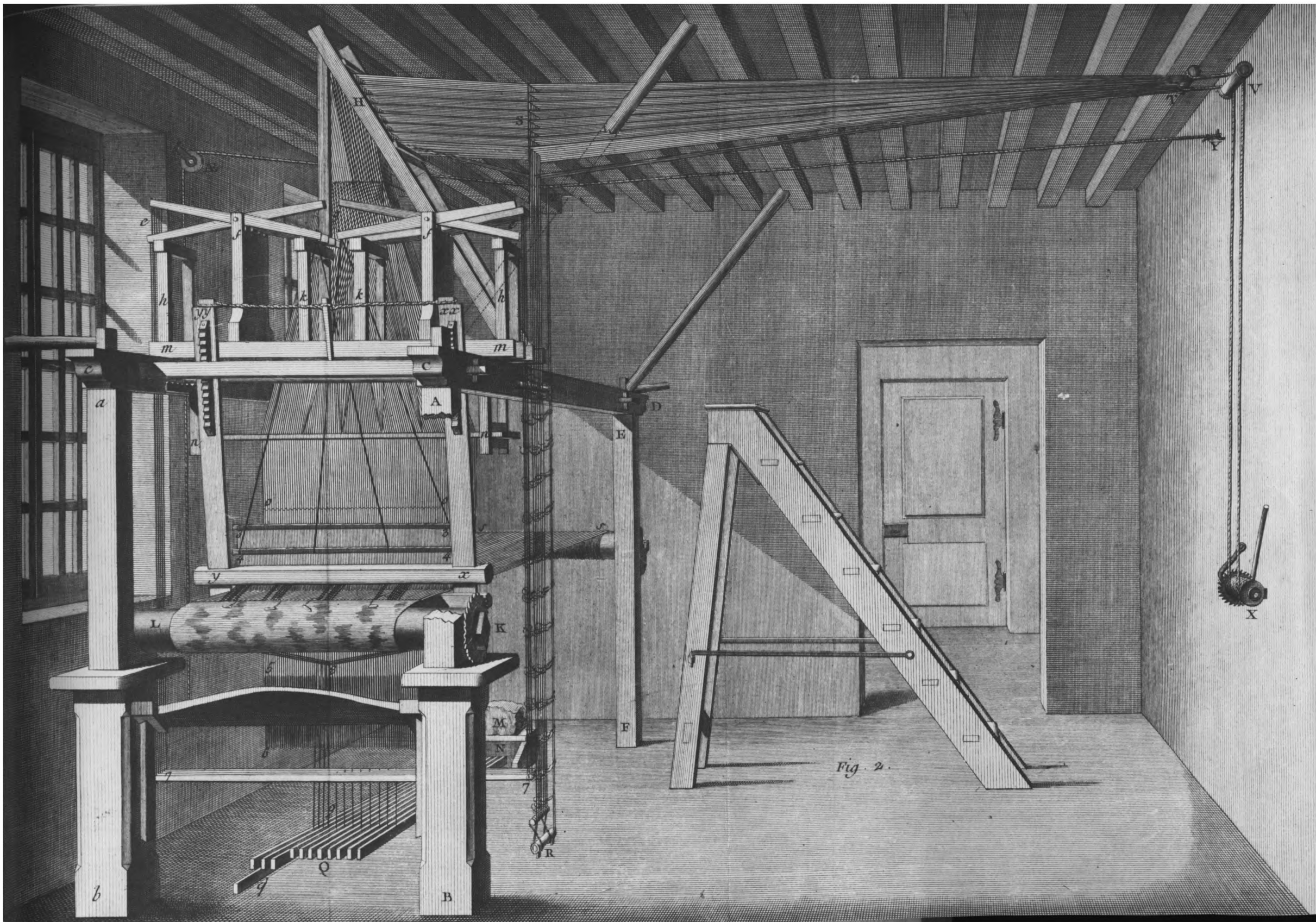


Plate 75 (90) The Comber Board. The order in which the cords are entered determines the number and the type of repeat in the width of the material.

The cords which control the same threads in each repeat are tied together at the neck above the comber board, and one cord representing them all passes over the pulley and is attached to one cord on the simple.

Plate 75 (91) Diagram taken from Plate 11, Murphy Art of Weaving, to shew the position of the comber board.

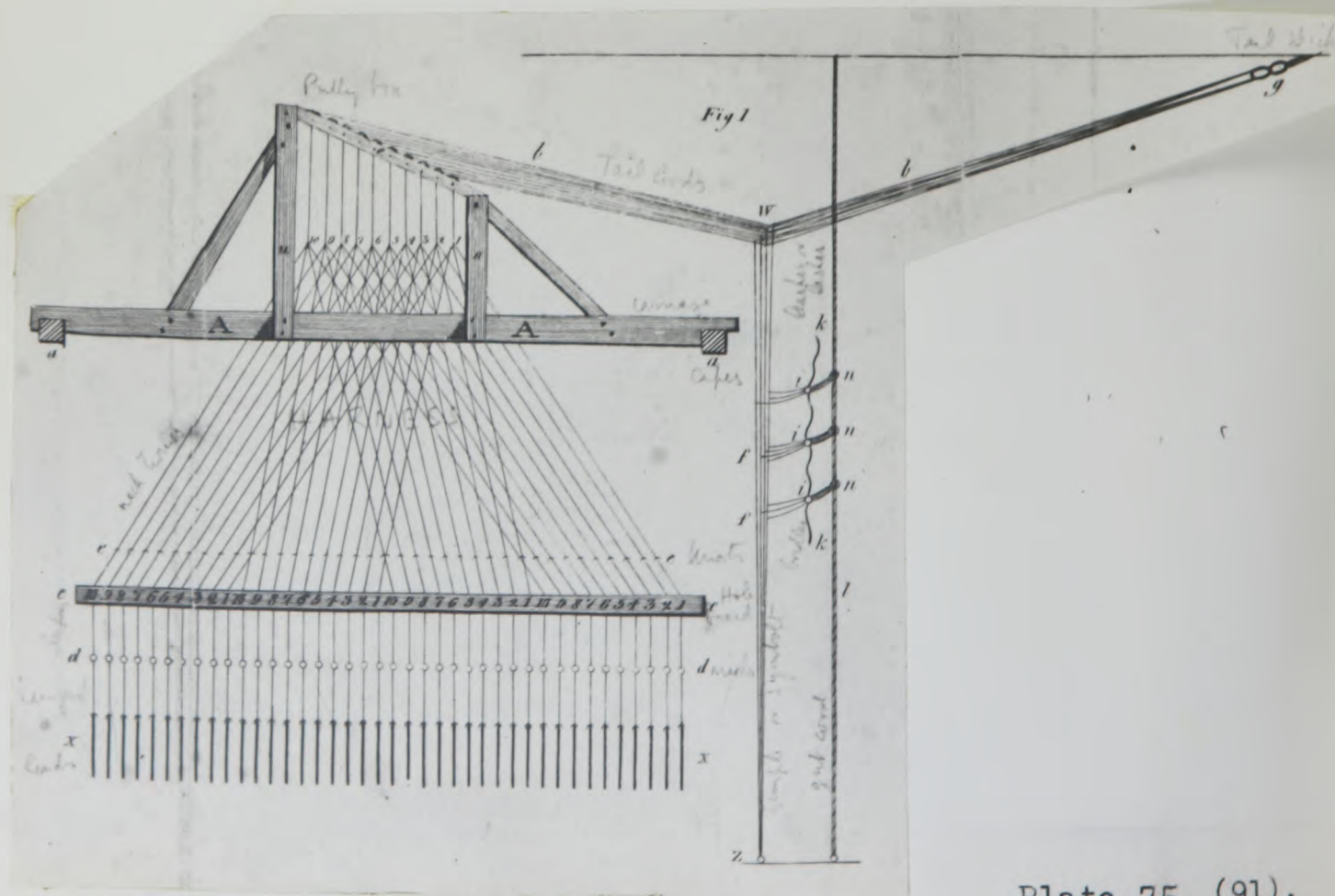


Plate 75 (91).

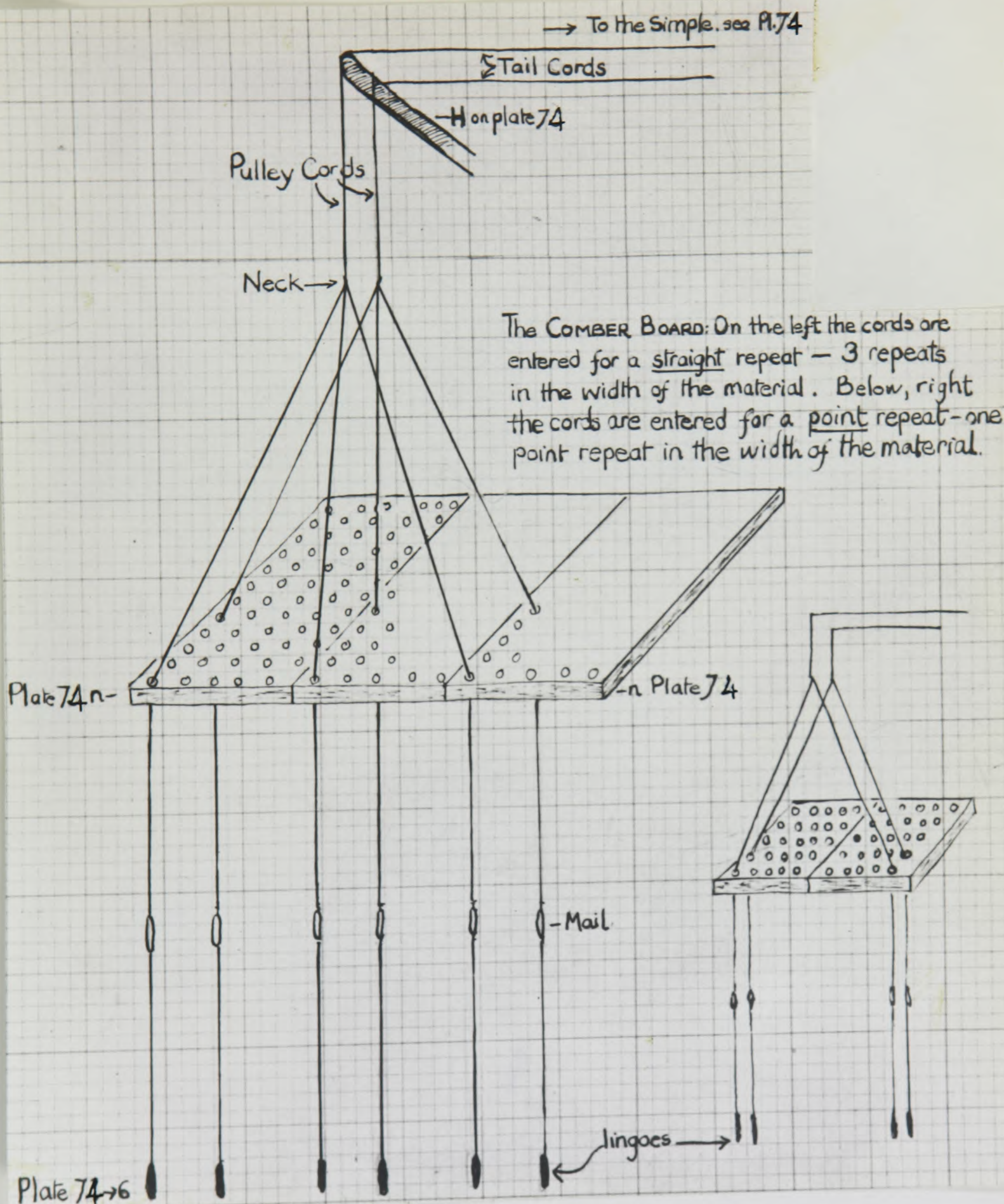


Plate 76 (92) Diagram to shew the dual control of the warp threads on a drawloom by the shafts to make the ground weave and by the figure harness. The weaver before he can begin to work must enter the threads in their correct order through both the heddles on the shafts and the eyes on the figure harness.

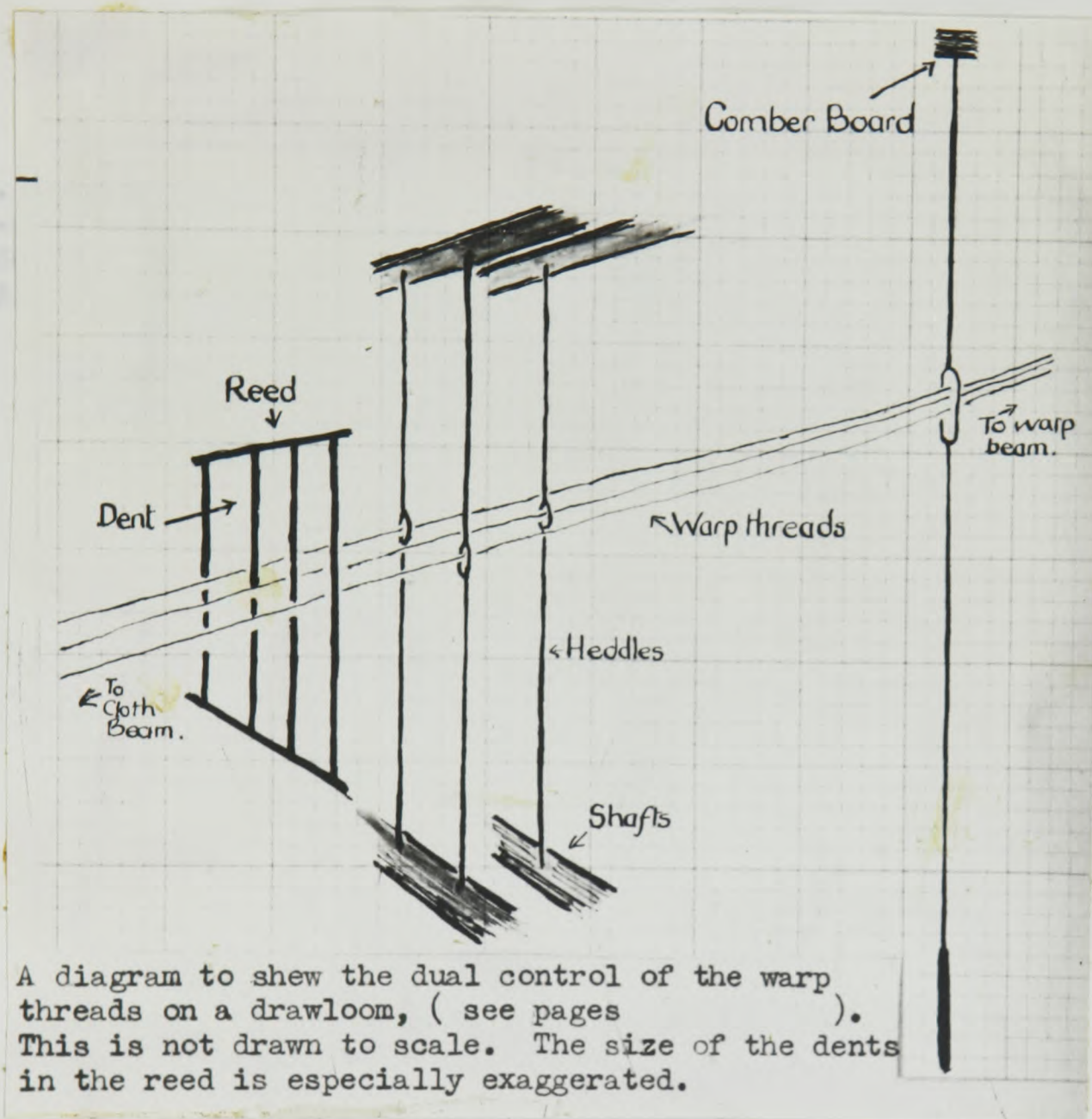
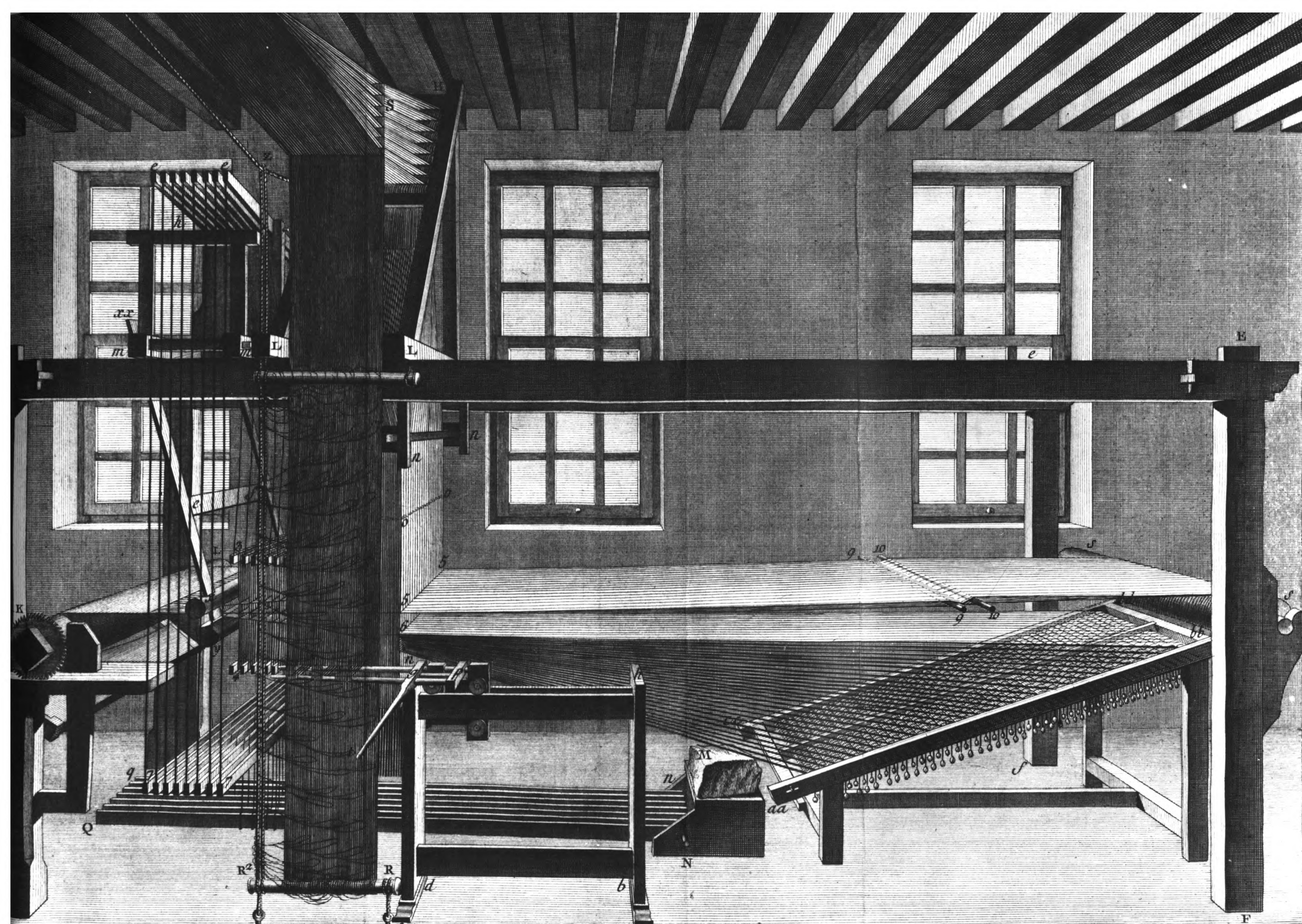


Plate 77 (93) A velvet loom, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia. The main difference between it and the draw-loom on Plate 74 is the frame on the right-hand side containing a series of bobbins each with their own independent weight or lingo. These bobbins hold the threads of the pile warp which will be taken up at a different rate from the other warp threads.



(1) See below, p. 414-5.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPANSION OF THE INDUSTRY

There are no production figures which can be quoted without reservations - since there was, of course, no normal machinery for compiling such statistics. The years when the silk industry ran into difficulties stand out and, naturally enough, the estimates of former prosperity made in these years were enhanced. There is good reason for thinking that the Customs figures are reliable (1), but they do not take into account the home market. It can, however, be argued that there were a number of factors which favoured the expansion of the industry in this period and these will be discussed in this chapter, while in the next the difficulties with which the industry had to contend will be considered. It is hoped that the crisis of 1764-6 can then be seen in greater perspective than it could be at the time.

The English Mercantile system of the 18th century is the first factor to be assessed in this chapter; secondly, the efficacy of official encouragement and thirdly, the question of the markets for English silks. Although much of the evidence to be quoted is opinion rather than fact, the silk industry in London need not be considered in vacuo. At almost every point a comparison can be made with its greatest competitor, the Lyon industry, which is liberally

(1) F.12.644, Archives Nationales, Paris.

(2) F.12.647-8.

THE EXPANSION OF THE INDUSTRY

There are no production figures which can be quoted without reservations - since there was, of course, no normal machinery for compiling such statistics. The years when the silk industry ran into difficulties stand out and, naturally enough, the estimates of former prosperity made in these years were enhanced. There is good reason for thinking that the Customs figures are reliable (1), but they do not take into account the home market. It can, however, be argued that there were a number of factors which favoured the expansion of the industry in this period and these will be discussed in this chapter, while in the next the difficulties with which the industry had to contend will be considered. It is hoped that the crisis of 1764-6 can then be seen in greater perspective than it could be at the time.

The English mercantile system of the 18th century is the first factor to be discussed in this chapter. Secondly, the efficacy of official encouragement and thirdly, the question of the markets for English silk. Although much of the evidence to be quoted is opinion rather than fact, the silk industry in London need not be considered in view. At almost every point a comparison can be made with its greatest competitor, the Lyon industry, which is liberally

documented. Moreover, in the minds of its contemporaries the fortunes of the silk industry were very much tied to the progress of the woollen and worsted industries, and attacked by the insidious competition from the rising cotton industry.

I. The English Mercantile System.

Whatever truth there was in the strictures of Adam Smith, and whatever the future industrial development of this country was to be, there is no doubt that England was widely admired abroad, and indeed envied, for its official economic policy. A document on trade with Portugal, compiled by a French official in 1765 (1), drew a comparison between the French and English mercantile systems, mentioning the English Bounties on exported goods, the drawbacks on re-exports, and, above all, the extra advantages to this country which came from exporting in British shipping. "Il est facile d'apercevoir tout le bien qui doit resulter d'une administration aussi sage, tant pour le commerce que pour la navigation Britannique...." The document added, "Les Anglais qui s'expatrient pour le commerce ainsi que leurs enfants sont intéressé à être Anglais partout et à porter à leur patrie dont ils ne perdent jamais la nationalité une vive affection"... Another undated mémoire (2), was a "Démonstration géométrique de la Chûte prochaine du Commerce de France par l'aggrandissement du Commerce des Anglais". The paper turned on the assumption that the English could export more cheaply to

(1) Archives Départementales. Serieux C. 10. 1732-89, Industries et Manufactures.

(2) It is interesting to see that already by the end of the 18th century the legend had grown up that the Huguenots came from Lyon. It has already been shewn that they did not - with a few exceptions - Nîmes, on the other hand, did send a number of refugees to London. It is perhaps symptomatic of the lack of contact between one French province and another that the writer of this memorial was unaware that the majority of Huguenots had emigrated from Normandy, Touraine and Poitou.

the West Indies than the Spaniards, and were driving the latter out and therefore monopolising the trade in dye-stuffs. Although it stressed competition from Scottish and Irish "toiles", it did not mention silk. Some undated "Observations" of the late 18th century in the Lyons archives (1) referred to "Les Anglais nosres plus grands enemies..." who had united the Continent against France. "Les manufactures de soyes anglaises n'ont nequis quelque faveur, quelque perfection que depuis la Révocation de l'Édict de Nantes..." whose intolerance it deplored because it had forced "beaucoup de francais recommandables et utiles à s'expatrier...." especially fabricants from Lyon and Nîmes (2), and it argued that England had played a great part in the decline of Lyon.

The most important feature of the "sage administration" in this context were the Navigation Acts. They were of particular importance to the silk industry since, on the one hand, all the raw material had to be imported, and on the other, certain markets for woven silks outside this country became increasingly important. Conversely, British command of the sea was a great hindrance to the industry's rivals. The Lyon Chamber of Commerce wrote in July 1706 to Paris of the effect of the War on their trade: "C'est uniquement la difficulté des passages, le risque ou l'on s'expose en voulant faire ce commerce, la cessation presque générale de toute sortes d'affaires, en un mot toutes les portes sont bouchées tout est devenu difficile et dangereux..." The economic

- (1) Paris, Archives Nationales F.12.641.
- (2) C. King (1743 edition) British Merchant, Vol. I, p. 12., Vol. II, pp. 191-198.
- (3) St. Croix from 1757, Guadeloupe from 1759, Cape Breton and Quebec from 1760, Bellisle and Matrinique from 1761, Havana from 1762, and also Tortola, and in 1763 Canada (£6082. 11. 3.) and Granada. Canada continued, but the figures shew a diminution. Some of these places added substantially to the export figures: over £7,000 was exported annually to Guadeloupe, while the trade lasted, and over £8,400 to Havana.

crisis in Lyon became so bad that in the next year all work stopped for several months. In July 1744 the Chamber of Commerce wrote to their agent in Paris in an attempt to get Spanish raw silk exempted from the numerous Customs duties, as they could only import it by land at a loss, and they were obliged to send it by land because of the risk of sending it by sea, owing to the war with England.

Because of its naval advantage the English industry benefited greatly from the effects of war. The War of the Spanish Succession, which impoverished France and nearly ruined the Lyon industry, was splendid for Spitalfields. It was in those years that the industry really became established. Comparatively few French silks could reach this country as a letter of 1700 (1) from Lyon to Paris reported "Nous ne pouvons pas vous rendre de raison positive sur ce que vous souhaitez scavoir au sujet de ce qui vallent (?), leurs soyes en Angleterre et en Hollande...." because no one had sent any "depuis long tems". This letter does reinforce the argument of King in The British Merchant (of 1721), which described the increase in the silk manufactures since the late French Wars, and commented, "and whence is this prodigious increase in our silk manufacture but from the interruption of our commerce with France and the prohibition of East India silks" (2). The Customs figures reflect the effects of war: new places are suddenly mentioned in the Port Books (3) and in some existing markets the figures shew

- (1) Just under £26,000 worth went to the West Indies in 1762. Exports to Holland are larger in the war years (see Appendix 4, Nos. 7 & 9). On a smaller scale Nova Scotia also shews a marked increase.
- (2) On March 12th the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser printed the letter (which has already been quoted several times), "to the Gentlemen of Spitalfields who associate and consult on the present complaints" - a series of rhetorical questions of which the first was "whether they have not made fewer general articles on their own account since the late war". In "'C's' answers to 'B's queries'" on March 14th, the reply was that certain goods had not been made since the end of the war because during its course "many new species of goods were made, proper for the conquered places...." and when these were restored by the Peace Treaty the goods could not be sold there any longer. The writer was willing to make these goods again if anybody wanted them. Giving evidence to the 1765 Committee (Journals, p. 214), Charles Tyrele, "a hosier and manufacturer of Fleet Street", said "that the Manufacture had increased for some time, but that for 4 or 5 Years last it had declined, particularly in gloves and mitts; and that he imputed this Decrease to the Foreign Importation; but acknowledged he had always a better Trade in War than Peace." John Sabatier, giving evidence to the 1765 Committee, said much the same thing (Journals, p. 724), "That during the late War the Silk Trade was very brisk and since the Peace it has declined very much."
- (3) Two of the Account Books in the Bosanquet collection of documents include insurance premiums paid to Stephen Peter Godin and Messrs. Godin and Guion c. 1758.
- (4) It has been stated that the raison d'être of the Municipal Archives at Lyon was the determined policy of the town to force every conceivable kind of merchandise to pass through the town and its Customs. This policy and the attempts made to resist (certainly appear even to dominate the records listed in the Inventaire Chappe (concerned with the Grande Fabrique, the silk industry), although naturally the archives themselves yield much other information.

a distinct increase (1). Conversely, the loss of these newly acquired markets was held by some to be partly responsible for the collapse of the industry in 1765 (2). The Seven Years War came at an opportune moment for the industry.

The stability of English economic life was badly disturbed by the crisis of 1720, but on the whole there was nothing comparable with the series of general economic crises in France which at times threatened to bring the Lyon industry to a standstill (and did in 1707). During the War of the Spanish Succession, the French deplored the fact that their allies in Spain were banking in London. Unlike those in France, there were no internal customs in this country - the occasional toll-gate did not add materially to the cost of goods. Credit was sound for most of the period and both the raw material and the finished goods were comparatively safe in transit. The insurance premiums paid by Bosanquet - it is true at the end of the period - were not very high (3). There were few bankruptcies in the industry until 1765, and the supply of raw silk was never interrupted for commercial reasons. The economy was flexible and not burdened with rentiers in whose interests the most mediaeval of taxes had to be retained. Above all, while in France the extreme jealousy of one province, town, or interest dominated the economic life of the ancient régime (4), the English manufacturers benefited from a mutual economic co-operation between towns and industries which was of great importance

(1) Adam Smith. The Wealth of Nations, Vol. II, p. 22.

(2) Court Books.

to the newly developing silk industry. The Mercantilist argument favoured the silk industry since, although the raw material came from abroad, it was, at least theoretically, bought with the sale of British products (and indeed may have been during the early years of the century). Thus it was possible to argue the case for the reduction of duties on raw silk which would, therefore, by increased home consumption increase the exports of woollens. Secondly, the industry could benefit both from the bounties on exports and the draw-backs on re-exports which together would help to cancel out some of the duty on the raw material. Adam Smith was fairly scathing about this system, although he said "what is called a bounty is sometimes no more than a draw-back, and consequently is not liable to the same objections as what is properly a bounty....The bounty upon wrought silk exported (may be considered) a draw-back of the duties upon raw and thrown silk imported...." (1)

On the other hand, Captain James Dalbiac's speech to the Court of Assistants in January 7th, 1747/8 (2) took as a basic assumption that the system of draw-backs was an effective means of encouraging the industry. The Court of Assistants did not challenge the assumption but appear to have been a little sceptical of the facts in this case and asked him to quote actual figures.

(1) N. Williams: Contraband Cargoes, 1959, especially Chapter 4. The Heyday of illicit Trade, pp. 93-146, Smugglers were certainly daring and ferocious and the extent of their activities in this context will be discussed in the next chapter.

(2) For instance, when the Weavers Company proposed in 1715 to appoint Searchers themselves to seize imported foreign silks, it was noted in the Treasury Papers (Vol. 192, October 31st, 1715) "that on receipt of your said order we sent to Mr. Lekeux who belongs to the Weavers Company and from whom this Board has often received very good information and assistance with respect to the silk manufacture to the benefit thereof as well as the service of the revenue".

(3) Customs and Excise (Kingsbeam House) Library. Opinions of Counsel 1701-1763 (in several volumes). Legal advice was sought in certain test cases and recorded as a precedent.

2. Official Encouragement of the Silk Industry.

The extent to which official encouragement was effective has often been doubted. It has been implied that most of the official measures of protection in the 18th century were a pious hope which failed through the inefficiency of those who had to carry them out (1). There is some truth in this argument, as will be seen in the next chapter, but it is also clear that not only were some measures extremely effective but also that the civil servants charged to administer the Acts took them seriously and did their best to make them work. In this there is little to choose between the English civil servant and the French intendants, and others whose letters have survived. The latter were intelligent and educated men who struggled, sometimes ineffectively, to make an unworkable system work and to get some sense from the fabricants whose letters are striking in their ignorance and illiteracy. The English silk weavers, importers, brokers, mercers etc. were not illiterate. They were aware of the official organisations which could help them and they used them to the full. For their part the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations, the Customs, the Treasury and, most important of all, the Parliamentary Committees not only appear to have listened intelligently to the best witnesses they could find (2), but to have worked quite sincerely for what they considered to be the public interest. The Book of Customs precedents (3), for example, reveals a complicated

- (1) See also pp. 223-5, 416, 429⁴⁴⁹ for an account of his activities.
- (2) 1766 Report, op. cit., p. 725. He apprehended "more foreign silks are imported in the Out ports than are imported in the Port of London as the officers there are more liable to be imposed upon than they are in London, where, in any doubtful case, they can have the immediate assistance of the Weavers and Mercers".
- (3) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 209, his evidence on Mercers importing French silks as Italian, etc.
- (4) Examples of this accessibility are many. In 1728, for instance, the Assistants decided "to consult Lord Townsend" on the proper form for a petition on public mournings. In March 1739 a Customs official came to one of the meetings of the Court of Assistants having found difficulty "in putting the said calico Act into execution.....desired advice". In February 1743, the Gentleman's Magazine reported (XIII, p. 101) "A bill having been brought into the House of Commons to prevent the Wear of gold and silver lace, a great number of women concerned in that manufacture attended in the lobby to solicit the Members against it, & were so favourably heard by many that they were promised to oppose the bill." In March, 1749, a committee of the Weavers Company decided to wait on Mr. Horatio Walpole Senior to find out what his bill was about, which they did and were satisfied.

system, but not a corrupt or an ineffective one. Robert Trott (1), for instance, appointed Stamper and Searcher of Foreign Wrought Silks at a salary of £50 a year, following the Act of 1753, who developed a great expertise in detecting foreign silks, agreed that provincial Customs officers could be deceived (2), but appears to have been, himself, a highly reputable and hard-working civil servant. His expertise was often called upon by the Weavers Company and he was implacably hostile to the mercers before Parliament (3).

One factor must be stressed before considering the different ways in which official protection was exercised. This was the accessibility of all the official bodies owing to the fortunate accident that the industry had settled in London, (rather than in Canterbury, for instance). It was possible for the Weavers Company to send their representatives to "wait on Mr. Alderman Baker", "to apply to Mr. Horatio Walpole Senior", to "treat with the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations", to write to the Speaker of the House of Commons and discuss his answer at the next Court a few days later, having in the meantime obtained further information (4). The Lyon Chamber of Commerce had to wait several months before they received a reply from Paris and approach to official circles was often difficult and even impossible. Through the formula of the petition, almost any group of interested people had immediate access to authority in London, provided that the petition was properly worded and the appropriate

(1) F.12.647 in the Archives Nationales in Paris, contains several such documents.

(2) See Chapter 2, p.94-5. The Company were very anxious to make use of his influence.

fees paid. The printed Journals of the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations make it abundantly clear that such petitions were read, considered, discussed and acted upon with reasonable dispatch. The French applications for this or that privilege are worded in the most circumlocutory and self-abnegating phrases which, in some documents, very nearly obscure the meaning altogether (1). The English petition was clear and to the point, and expresses infinite confidence in the power and duty of authority to help the petitioners. The Weavers Company was not one of the twelve great Companies - far from it. Only one Alderman in the course of the 18th century came from its members, but it does not seem to have suffered from this fact.

Alderman Sir William Baker, a friend and adherent of the Duke of Newcastle, M.P. for Plympton, Devon (1747-1758), an important American merchant, a Director of the East India Company and a West India merchant, succeeded Sir Thomas Lombe as Alderman of the Bassishaw Ward in 1739. He had adopted the Livery of the Weavers Company in 1734 and became an Assistant in 1739, after his election as Alderman. He died in 1770. It may be argued that to a man of such importance (2) the affairs of the Weavers Company were very trivial, - and he does not seem to have been recorded as having any commercial interest in the trade. Nevertheless, not only do the Court Minutes shew that he attended the meetings of the Assistants regularly, but he also served as Upper Bailiff (an office which, by the charter, no one could be forced to serve), in

(1) An account of his political and financial importance is given in L.B. Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution, 1930, especially pp. 280-1 and 318-9. His importance in the City is stressed by L. B. Namier: The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III. 2nd edition, 1957, pp. 53-4 and 56. Some of his other commercial ventures are mentioned in L.S. Sutherland, A London Merchant, 1933, pp. 14, 71, 117. His purely official positions are detailed in A. B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London, 1908, p. 20 and p. 128 of Vol. II.

(2) Journals, Vol. 27, p. 865.

a year when the Company was in great difficulties - 1740. Moreover, he also served on committees of the Weavers Company, such as that of 1745 which aimed at enforcing the Acts of Parliament against the sellers and wearers of printed calicoes (1). It can hardly have been accidental that that he sat on several of the Parliamentary Committees which considered measures in which the Weavers Company were interested. He was, for instance, a member of the Committee appointed to consider the petition on the growth of raw silk in America, to which several prominent weavers gave evidence in 1749-50. On April 29th, 1757, he was one of the three Members of Parliament appointed to draw up a bill permitting the import of fine Italian thrown silk (2). Such a connection with the most important men in the City and in Parliament must have been of great value to the industry. Since he attended the Courts he must have known only too well what their immediate interests were. His political activities have been well recorded, and no proof can be cited of a personal interest in the affairs of the silk industry. On the other hand, the Weavers Company appear to have cherished the connection, and it can at least be suggested that he may have been a powerful influence behind the scenes.

The most important manifestations of mercantilism, or official protection, were the Acts of Parliament passed during the period. Many of these have already been mentioned in other contexts, and they fall into two categories: those intended to deal with some immediate

- (1) On January 19th 1718/19 at a meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Weavers Company "the petition was read for the taking off the duty off English wrought silks....and Drawback off the silk and approved".

emergency in some specific aspect of the industry and those whose effect was intended to be general and to last for several years at least. Most of the former are best considered together with the emergencies which provoked them (a sudden shortage of raw silk was the most frequent cause) and will be discussed in the next chapter. In the war on printed calicoes, the industry won two acts of 1714 and 1721 and lost one - the Manchester Act of 1736. The act of 1722 (8 Geo. I cap. 15) incorporated demands made for several years before its passing (1) and, since it was renewed throughout the period, expressed the official policy of several reigns. It was an act entitled "for the encouragement of the silk manufactures of this kingdom", and in its preamble stated that the silk manufacture was hindered by high duties on raw and thrown silk and that it was consequently "just and reasonable" to "draw back a great part of the duties inwards". It set out a system of bounties on exported goods as follows:

1. On ribbons and stuffs of silk only 3/- per lb. weight was given.
2. On silks and ribbons made with gold and silver 4/- per lb. weight.
3. On silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringes, silk laces, stitching or sewing silk (of which the Customs figures shew large quantities were exported to certain markets) 1/3d. per lb. weight.
4. Stuffs of silk and grogram yarn 8d. per lb. weight.
5. Silk with incle or cotton 1/- per lb. weight.
6. Silk and worsted 6d. per lb. weight.

- (1) 9 Geo. I. Cap. 8, Section 9. The bounty was to be paid on mixed silk and incle etc. only if "at least 2/3 part of the ends or threads of the warp (by which is meant the length of the piece) be either all silk or else mixed or twisted with silk in the warp...." (The definition of the warp is included in the Act).

and will be discussed in the next chapter. In the year 1751 printed calicoes, the industry was two acts of 1754 and 1751 and lost one - the Manchester Act of 1756. The act of 1752 (8 Geo. I cap. 12) incorporated demands made for several years before its passing (1) and, since it was renewed throughout the period, expressed the official policy of several reigns. It was an act entitled "for the encouragement of the silk manufactures of this kingdom", and in its preamble stated that the silk manufactures were hindered by high duties on raw and thrown silk and that it was consequently "just and reasonable" to "draw back a great part of the duties imposed". It set out a system of bounties on exported goods as follows:

1. On ribbons and stuffs of silk only 1/- per lb. weight was given.
2. On silks and ribbons made with gold and silver 1/- per lb. weight.
3. On silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringes, silk laces, stitching or sewing silk (of which the Customs figures show large quantities were exported to certain markets) 1/2d. per lb. weight.
4. Stuffs of silk and tulle 1/- per lb. weight.
5. Silk with tulle or cotton 1/- per lb. weight.
6. Silk and worsted 1/- per lb. weight.

The allowances were to be paid by the collector of the Customs with the knowledge of the Controller of the Port from whence the goods were exported. Security had to be given that the goods were of British manufacture and would not be re-landed in this country. For Ireland and the islands around England, the security could be redeemed in six months, and for the American colonies eighteen months were allowed. A Searcher was appointed who was to examine the bales which were to be forfeit if entered under the wrong denomination. Anticipating frauds, the act specified that no allowance was to be made for silks mixed with gold and silver only at the ends and edges. The framers of the Act forgot to relate this particular provision to cloths made with silk and incle or silk and cotton, and the Act had to be slightly amended the following year (1). In any dispute the onus of proof was to be on the exporter. The penalty for "unshipping", i.e., re-landing the goods after the bounty had been paid either to sell them in this country or to re-export with a fresh bounty, was to be the forfeiture of any goods seized and a fine amounting to treble their value. To illustrate the effect of this Act, taking a year at random, in 1725, £20,102. 5s. of woven silks were exported from London to Portugal. This represents 11,487 lbs. or a bounty of £1,723. 1s. The total exports of woven silks in 1725 were £150,429. 0. 3d. or 85,959 lbs. 7 ozs., representing a bounty of £12,894 approximately. It is, for this reason,

(1) 22 Geo. II, Cap. 36, which prohibited the import of all foreign brocades, embroidery, fringes, etc. made with gold and silver thread after July 1749, stated in the preamble "the importation whereof is contrary to several acts of Parliament for prohibiting the same" but did not specify the latter. Under the Act any foreign goods of this kind were to be burnt if seized and the seller fined £100. The wearers of such goods were, however, specifically exempted from the Act, which must have weakened its force.

(2) 26 Geo. II, Cap. 21.

(3) 5 Geo. III, Cap. 48 and 6 Geo. III, Cap. 28.

that the figures entered by the Customs officers in the Port Books are probably a reliable guide to the exports of silks.

The import of foreign silks woven with gold and silver was forbidden on mercantilist grounds fairly early in the period (1); other silks could be imported on payment of a fairly high duty. An Act of 1753 (2), fiercely resented by the mercers, made previous acts more effective by stipulating that foreign silks should be sealed at the Custom House. The Acts of 1765 and 1766 protected silk stockings and woven silks ^{respectively} by forbidding the import of foreign manufactured goods after a certain date for a limited period (3).

From the point of view of the industry these measures were each highly desirable - though the total prohibition of foreign silks was hardly a practicable proposition. The Act of 1766 was celebrated with bonfires throughout Spitalfields. Both the Act of 1722 and that of 1766 were the outcome of two years, if not more, of agitation, lobbying, committee work and abortive bills. Indeed, the slowness of its deliberations hampered the usefulness of Parliament as a Protector. Moreover, a fully effective House of Lords twice killed the bills which were most important to the industry, the Calico Bill in 1720 and the Bill of 1765 (raising the duties on foreign woven silks). On each occasion the Weavers Company feared repercussions amongst the journeymen. Beginning again from scratch late in the Autumn after a failure in May carried six

(1) May 6th, 1720, Court Books.

(2) See Appendix 5.

months of possible unemployment for the journeymen and great additional expense to the petitioners in paying fees, re-drafting petitions, appearing once more before select committees, and collecting fresh evidence. Despite these obvious drawbacks confidence in Parliament was never shaken. The address of the Weavers Company in 1720 trusted "in the honour and credit of Parliament" (1). In March 1765, the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser reported with approval that they had heard that Parliament was going to enquire into the silk industry and methods for reviving it. Ancker, reporting in 1776, spoke with respect of the encouragement given to the English silk industry by Acts of Parliament.

Confidence in Parliament as the deus ex machina was not simply the lip service paid on official occasions - or the Weavers Company would hardly have wasted its time and valuable funds in petitioning it (2). The acts which were passed were rather more than pious hopes. It has to be remembered that both the industry and its chief market were in one place, London. The Custom House was on their doorstep and its officers efficient. Raw silk came almost exclusively to the Port of London, and about three-quarters of the silks exported left from there. There were thus the minimum of land freight charges to pay and the maximum possibility of getting the bounty and draw-back efficiently and promptly paid. Exporters were not dependent, except in certain cases, on the possibly less efficient outports. Robert Trott, William Kennedy and

(1) P.R.O. E.165 Seizures, Vols. 26-30. These books list briefly seizures of all kinds of goods. Occasionally cases can be checked in the Memoranda Rolls in which more detail is given.

(2) Chapter 3, p. 327.

(3) Vol. II, p. 362 of the Everyman Edition of "The Wealth of Nations."

several other Customs men appear to have specialised in silks to the advantage of the industry. (Apart from their appearance in the Court Books of the Weavers Company their names are nearly always associated with important seizures of foreign silks in the Customs records (1) and not with other commodities). Evasions of the Acts will be considered in the next chapter, but it will be remembered that Gilly Williams decided in the long run not to risk the vigilance of the Custom House officers (2). The effects of the Acts of 1766 and 1773 fall outside the scope of this study, but it is surely significant that Adam Smith in discussing the national sources of revenue (3) said, "in consequence of that system (the mercantile system) the importation of several sorts of goods has been prohibited altogether....It has entirely prevented the importation of foreign woollens and it has very much diminished that of foreign silks and velvets. In both cases it has annihilated the revenue of Customs which might have been levied on such importations". He believed such prohibitions in general only made it worth while to smuggle goods and, in general, it is difficult to disagree with him. The silk industry, however, did benefit from the Acts, simply because they gave some measure of protection in the immediate neighbourhood. Printed calicoes were certainly worn and much foreign silk, but even a limited effectiveness would help to give a stimulus to production comparable with the security of a present day subsidy on certain types of farm produce. The practical difficulties which the Acts imposed on the clandestine

- (1) Customs Library (Kingbbeam House). Vol. 1319. Notes and Extracts from Minutes and Orders issued by the Commissioners of the Customs for the Instruction and Government of their Officers. Vol. I, May 25th 1714. A similar proposal was turned down in the following year. Calendar of Treasury Papers 1714-1719 (1883), p. 151. Vol. CXCI No. 84, 31st October 1715. The Weavers Company had proposed that they should nominate persons to seize French silks smuggled into the country. The proposal was referred to the Patent Officers. Part of the proposal they said was already in force and part impracticable. In any case they were of the "opinion as they have been for many years, that the giving of extraordinary commissions to persons not officers of the Customs, for such seizures may be detrimental to the revenue and injurious to trade".

import of silks would ensure that some of the silks taken by the mercers, great and small, were English. Seals could be counterfeited, payments on foreign banks arranged, owlers hired, and the rest of the procedure set in motion, but not every mercer had the resources or the inclination to organise it. Again, woven silks are fragile and easily marked, and thus irreparably spoilt, so that they would have to be handled with care by responsible agents if they were to sell at several pounds a yard in a mercer's shop on Ludgate Hill.

Comparatively easy access to Authority in London is reflected in the long series of negotiations and personal interviews which led up to each of the Acts of Parliament. The Weavers Company Court Books offer a clear demonstration of the relationship between the official bodies of the period and the industry. In 1714 for instance, following the Act passed in that year, a deputation from the Company attended the Customs to establish a procedure for searching for printed goods. The Customs records bear out the seriousness of the visit, since the precedent book records that it was decided that it would not be a good idea to depute this to persons outside the Customs. It was, however, noted that they "were very desirous the laws should be effectively put into execution". (1). A few months later, at the request of the Weavers Company, extra officers were appointed to assist in the seizing and prosecuting of all prohibited East India goods. The Customs stipulated that "before any house be searched the officers

(1) July 20th, 1714.

(2) Weavers Company Court Books. August 15th, 1720. Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations 1718-22, p. 218. October 25th. Col. Lekeux and Mr. Eades and others, unnamed, were questioned by the Commissioners.

(3) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, op. cit. pp. 133-135.

(4) Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. op. cit. p. 486, 12th December 1719, Vol. CCXXIII.

are to have an Information in Writing by some Gentleman of the Trade"(1). In 1720 the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations wrote to the Weavers Company asking for information on the state of their trade, discussed their reply, and asked for their further opinion on the best methods of preventing the exports of raw wool (2). A formidable assemblage of documents was listed in the Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations relevant to the proposed bill to prohibit printed calicoes (3). In their summing up of "the state of this matter" printed in the Treasury Papers (4) they declared: "...Upon the whole it is a matter of the greatest importance to this kingdom to support the woollen and silk manufactures and as at least $2/3$ of the woollen and almost all the silk manufactures are consumed at home it is reasonable and necessary that the expense of foreign manufactures should be prevented as much as possible because they always interfere with and obstruct the consumption of our own" and, since they had found that printed calicoes were worn despite the duties on them, they advised total prohibition - advice which became 7 Geo. I, Cap. 7, the Act which prohibited the sale, use and wear of printed calicoes.

Similar contacts continued throughout this period. In March 1753, for instance, the Solicitor of the Customs preparing the bill for making more effective the existing acts imposing duties on foreign wrought silks, consulted the Weavers Company. The Act was framed to permit prosecution

- (1) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations 1764-1767 (1936), p. 130. Vol. 71, fo. 514.
- (2) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, op. cit. p. 132. Vol. 72, fos. 2-5.

by anyone one month after any seizure, if not begun by the Attorney-General or the Customs themselves, and it has already been shewn that the Weavers Company supported a series of prosecutions under this Act.

A memorial on the declining silk trade was drafted by the Weavers Company on October 3rd, 1764 and for the next two years the Journal of Trades and Plantations carried out a series of exhaustive enquiries similar to those of 1719/20 in an attempt to find out the causes of the crisis and to offer a suitable solution.

On December 21st "their lordships took into consideration the memorials of the silk throwsters and silk weavers.....and several of the memorialists attending, they were separately heard in what they had to offer upon each memorial respectively, and after some time spent in discourse upon the subject matter....it was agreed to take the memorials into further consideration....when the gentlemen present were desired to attend again and the Secretary was ordered to write to some of the principal silk mercers, to desire their attendance on that day....." (1). On January 7th of the following year they received a series of statistics from the Customs (2) and discussed the memorials further and then decided on two resolutions: 1. that silk should be permitted to come in from anywhere in the world in British ships at the lowest duty paid on Italian silk, and that there should be no draw-back on re-exported raw silk; 2. that cutting of the work on the loom should be made a felony, and they added that to avoid frauds the maker's name and the length and breadth

- (1) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, op. cit. p. 140. Vol. 72, fos. 32-5. Thursday, January 24th, 1765.
- (2) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, op. cit. p. 229-30, Vol. 72, fos. 352-354. Tuesday, December 3rd, 1765. Evidence of "Mr. Hinchcliff and two other silk mercers". The others attending were not Carr & Co. or Swan & Buck, etc. who sent apologies for their non-attendance. In 1766 John Harris, Germaine Lavie and Robert Fleetwood were for total prohibition.

of the piece should be stamped on each end of the silk.

They decided to hear the opinions of the East India and Turkey Companies on the first resolution. Eighteen months later much of this had become law. By the end of January 1765, having heard the views of the two trading companies, the resolutions were slightly modified (1) - Turkish silk was still to be the monopoly of the Turkey Company. In addition, they proposed an increased duty of 5-10% ad valorem to be laid on imported foreign silks and only half the duty was to be drawn back on re-exporting. They proposed the stamping of silks again, payment by the yard and half yard, and again urged that the laws in force against cutting work in the woollen industry should be extended to the silk industry. The Secretary was to submit the propositions to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and, if they approved of them, then a bill should be prepared and offered to Parliament. The abortive bill of 1765 put additional duties on foreign silks and made the cutting of silk on the loom a felony.

When an Act of Parliament was finally passed in 1766 it gave the industry total prohibition of foreign silks for five years, and included the clause directed against the "cutters". A separate Act dealt with the reduction of the duties on raw silk (5 Geo. III, Cap. XXIX). It is interesting to see that the mercers who gave evidence to the Commissioners after the abortive act of 1765 said (2), "that the increase of duties on foreign silks would only encourage smuggling, and

(1) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations,
op. cit. p. 233. Vol. 72, fos. 5367-8. December 10th, 1765.

(2) Journal of the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations,
op. cit. p. 256, Vol. 72, fol. 56, February 25th, 1766.

that, if anything was to be done, they had rather it was a total prohibition". The Weavers Company alleged that many French silks were being imported, masquerading as Italian (1), and the Secretary was subsequently ordered to write to the British Consul at Leghorn and elsewhere to find out how much French silk was going to Italy and how much of it was for re-export. The Consul replied (2), though his answer is not printed in the Journal. On February 27th, 1766 the Commissioners told the Weavers Company Committee that their case "deserved consideration" and that "the present state of the manufacture required relief", but also told them that since the matter was to go again before Parliament, "their lordships did not think it proper for them to suggest what the nature and extent of that relief should be, leaving it to the wisdom of Parliament to make such regulations as should be found most advisable". This may seem a rather cowardly and to an exhaustive campaign, but the work of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations had prepared the ground and assembled the facts, as far as they could be ascertained. Without this independent assessment of the case the Weavers Company could hardly have faced Parliament and an array of vested interests. Through the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations the Administration knew the case of the weavers and could draft a reasonable bill. The clauses on the stamping of silks, a proposal which "Veritas" pointed out, (in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser in 1765) was quite im-

(1) G.M. Vol. V. p. 161. March Monthly Intelligencer.

(2) G.M. Vol. XX. p. 281. June Monthly Intelligencer.

(3) Mrs. Papendiek: The Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte, 1833. Chapter 2, p. 32.

"The distressing state of the Spitalfields weavers was brought before the notice of the Queen....(who) at once laid aside all foreign silks and not only herself wore gowns of English manufacture but requested the ladies of her court to do the same. This gave no small dissatisfaction among a few who prided themselves upon their French costumes but the greater number of her ladies were glad to follow Her Majesty's example". I am indebted to my colleague, Miss Blumstein for drawing my attention to these memoirs. On June 5th, 1765, the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser reported "Yesterday being Her Majesty's Birthday.....there was a most brilliant court at St. James. The Countess of Northumberland made a very grand appearance; her ladyship's dress was entirely of English manufacture and enriched with diamonds.....We have pleasure to hear that all the ladies appeared at Court yesterday in the manufacture of their own country. Among the many elegant dresses that were worn....none was more admired and more elegant than Her Grace the Duchess of Portland....it is of English manufacture and the first of the kind ever made in the kingdom". Among "articles of Intelligence from other newspapers" noted on June 6th was: "the Court was exceedingly splendid on Tuesday when our Spittlefields weavers proved by the brilliancy and delicate taste of their patterns that they may justly more than vie with those of France. Some ladies were particularly distinguished, they being dressed from Mr. Christian's British painted silk manufactory" and the newspaper even printed some rather terrible doggerel in praise of a lady thus dressed; (in a trade card of 1765 at the British Museum Mr. Christian advertised from an address in Brownlow Street, Long Acre). On June 11th, 1765 the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser reported that "several pieces of silk, of an entirely new pattern and manufactured in Spitalfields we hear....put in the baggage of the Duke of York and designed as a present from His Majesty to the Hereditary Princess of Brunswick". The frequency of these reports suggest that there was some foundation in them and that a conscious attempt at Royal patronage was being made. (See Plates 64 and 65).

practicable, were dropped. It is not therefore surprising that, despite the slowness of its actions, the government of the day was looked upon with confidence by the industry.

A policy of seizures on the one hand and bounties on the other - both continuous for most of this period - can be set against the difficulties the industry had to face.

Rather less effective, though it cannot be altogether ignored, was the official encouragement given through commissions directly from the Court to the industry. The bed commissioned by Queen Anne in 1714, traditionally supposed to have been made from velvet woven in Spitalfields, appears to have been the first of a series of spasmodic attempts at Royal patronage. The Gentleman's Magazine reported in 1735 (1) "being Her Majesty's Birthday it was celebrated at Court with extraordinary Magnificence, the Nobility & etc. were dressed in an exceeding rich and grand manner, the ladies chiefly in stuffs of gold and silver, the Gentlemen in cut & flowered velvets, and scarce any but our own manufacture". In 1750 "their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, Prince George & Princess Augusta, went to the houses of several prominent weavers in Spitalfields to see their looms etc. and expressed great satisfaction at their fine and curious manufactures, declaring their resolution of encouraging them" (2). In the summer of 1765 there were a number of newspaper reports of the resolution of the Court to wear only British silks which are confirmed in the Memoires of Mrs. Papendiek (3) (who wrote, it is true, of events when she was only a child).

- (1) The L.C.C. Surveys of London and, from an architectural point of view, J. N. Summerson, "Georgian London", 1946, give evidence of the growth of the capital, a geographical expansion which was surely rather different in character from the growth of its population in the 19th century?
- (2) B.M. 796.a.9. An Account of the Constitution.....1759, p. 87.

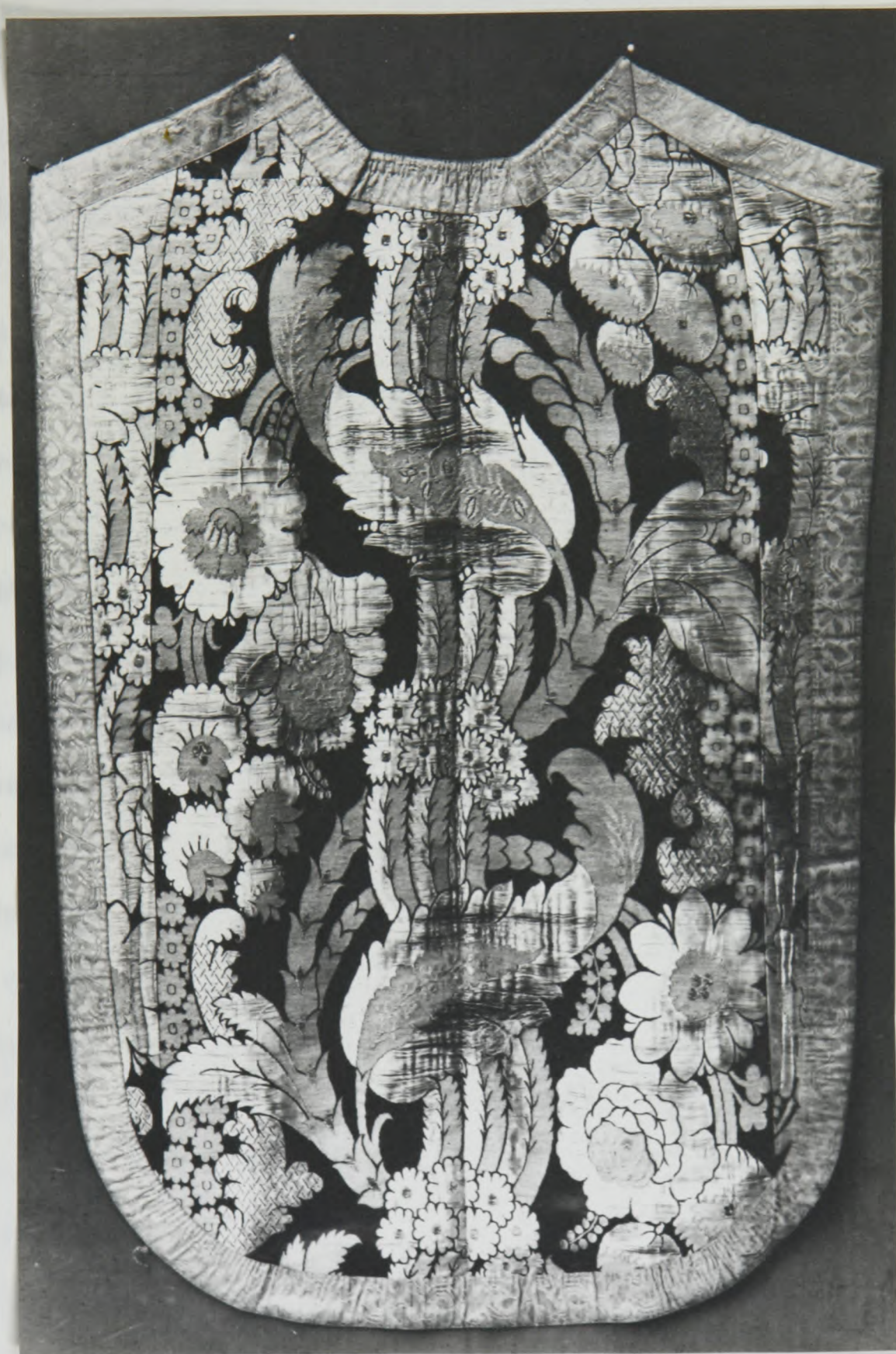
The Wedding of the Prince of Wales, in 1736, has already been described. Once in fifteen years would seem a rather ineffectual patronage, but these instances were only the ones which were especially reported. Moreover, one Royal wedding at a period when advertising was in its infancy, must have had a very considerable effect on the industry's prestige. If the silks were, as the Garthwaite designs suggest, quite up to the quality of those imported (even if the designs were less original for the most part), such public displays would have had a greater effect on public opinion than any of the worthy exhortations of the Gentleman's Magazine to buy British goods and confound the foreigner. The Master of the Robes made no such stipulations, and the silks bought by the Great Wardrobe with the exception of the one satin sold by Matthew Vernon were of unspecified origin. The Royal family and the Court were not, therefore, a guaranteed market for English silks.

Nevertheless, the public encouragement which they gave was important because although the industry could not rely on any staple goods, it had one chief market - London and the middle and upper classes living there. The expansion of London in this period has been described by many writers (1). As London at first equalled and then outstripped Amsterdam as a commercial centre, it possibly had a higher potential market among the merchant class than any other comparable city in Europe. An opinion of 1759 (2) was possibly only a

Plate 65 (77) Design for a damask by Anna Maria Garthwaite,
one of a pair of nearly identical designs in
a series, c. 1742. 597.



Plate 65 (78) Chasuble in the Royal Danish Collections at Rosenborg Castle. The chasuble is made from a silk dress which belonged to Princess Louise, daughter of George II who married of Denmark 1743. She died in 1751. The similarity of style to the Garthwaite design suggests that this silk was made in England and part of the trousseau which she took out to Denmark for her marriage. I am most grateful to my colleague, Mr. Peter Thornton, for drawing my attention to this silk.



(1) L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre, pp. 184-6.

little exaggerated: "As London is the centre of commerce it is consequently the centre of wealth. Merchants here are as rich as noblemen, and there is no place in the world in which the shops of tradesmen make such a noble appearance". Rouquet made a special point of describing the splendours of the mercers' shops in 1755: "Les Boutiques de Londres, en tout genre, font un étalage brillant & très agréable.....Ce n'était pas assez de toute cette décoration de marchandises, de vitrages, de peintures, d'enseignes splendides. L'usage s'est introduit depuis quelques années de revêtir la façade des boutiques particulièrement de celles des marchands d'étoffes de soie, de quelque Ordre d'architecture. Les colonnes, les pilastres, la frise, la corniche tout y garde sa proportion, & ressemble presque autant à la porte d'un petit temple, qu'à celle d'un magasin. On donne à ces boutiques autant de profondeur qu'on le peut; le fond en est ordinairement éclairé par en haut; cette sorte de lumière, jointe aux glaces, aux bras, & à d'autres meubles, produit quelquefois un effet théâtral, un coup d'oeil agréable pour les passants. C'est dans ce fond où le marchand Anglais brûle l'encens déplacé & fatigant, dont il étourdit ses chalans; c'est là où, trop officieux & trop empressé, il rebute souvent plus qu'il ne persuade." (1). One cannot but regret the past glories of Ludgate Hill - if Rouquet was not exaggerating. It has become a commonplace to state that wealth in England was shared among wider social strata than in France, for example, and indeed that the social barriers were very much more subtle.

- (1) B.M. Ad. MSS.36.666, an Order Book of John Faulkner of Warrington near Banbury, Oxford, is a rather late example of 1773-7, and contains a wide range of miscellaneous orders of silks, woollens and cottons for various customers. Many samples are attached with their prices. He evidently placed the orders with the appropriate dealers.

The ability of the upper middle class to ape the Court and its fashions was exceedingly propitious for the native silk industry. The ninety-odd firms of mercers had a constant and expanding home market which was at times scoffed at in the Gentleman's Magazine and admired by Defoe. The Duke of Montague might go down to posterity in his £400 suit of silver tissue worn for the wedding of the Prince of Wales, but he helped to set fashion. For his one suit, several thousands of yards of plainer, lighter, cheaper silks must have been sold. The expansion of Spitalfields itself and especially the development of Spital Square argues a market greater than that which can be proved by any of the Customs statistics and which, regrettably, cannot so far be illustrated from a single account book. The presence of the Court at St. James and the rich City business men, ready and able to follow the fashions of the day, were factors which the industry could count in its favour.

3. The Markets for English Silks.

Outside London, certain provincial centres, Bath, Bristol, York and Edinburgh probably took some silks from the London mercers, as the advertisement for Peter and James Ferry of London and Bath would suggest. Much more was probably consumed in individual orders from all over the country placed either through friends in London or through the local mercers (1). Such piecemeal orders form the background to a number of contemporary letters and diaries. The size of this market is difficult to assess. There were no internal Customs to hold

up goods - or to form a record for future historians. It may also be argued that despite "the vicious inclinations and fondness of this nation for French commodities" (1), the provincial customer was probably quite happy to buy English silk, since he was most unlikely to have known the difference. Even in Mrs. Delany's circle, on the fringe of the Court, her friends in the country wrote to her anxiously for information on what they should be wearing.

The size of the foreign markets is much easier to estimate, since at least after 1722 the payment of the bounty would ensure that English woven silks which were exported would pass through the hands of the Customs. The officers of the Port of London, Robert Trott and his associates, were reliable and skilled. They were unlikely to pay out bounty on French silks in error, since we know that they were constantly in touch with representatives of the industry in the Weavers Company. In the outports there was possibly more opportunity for fraud, but, if so, it is strange that there is no mention of any such enterprise in the Customs records. Although some silk went to most of the markets from the outports, the figure is seldom more than a tenth of that from London. The only exceptions were Ireland, the West Indies and Virginia and Maryland. It can also be argued that the officers dealing with silks exported to Ireland - of which the majority in most years were exported from the outports - must have become as familiar as the London officers with the goods passing through their hands. The crime which was stimulated

by the payment of a bounty and is frequently mentioned in the Court records is "unshipping". This hardly affected the production of the industry, but it may have enhanced certain of the export figures in some years. But it has already been pointed out silks were not the easiest goods to unship and re-export since they were so easily damaged, and any piece with some kind of a pattern far too easily recognisable. The pitched and bloody battles fought between the Customs men and the smugglers of brandy, tea and rum, (the most usual goods to be smuggled in), testify to the honesty and courage of the Customs men in the face of sometimes overwhelming odds. They were sometimes inefficient but there is little evidence that downright corruption was normal.

With this said in defence of the Customs figures, what do they shew? In the year 1719, for example, when the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations declared that almost all the silks were consumed at home, the Customs figures shew a total of £ 62,831.2.6 exported, including £6974 to Holland, £4,866 to Germany, £11,990 to Portugal, £4,635 to Barbados, £6,713 to Jamaica, £6,571 to New England and £3,687 to Virginia and Maryland (these figures do not include the out-ports, £4,361 of woven silk was sent to Ireland from the out-ports in that year). Daniel Gobbé (a silk weaver for 45 years) stated, in February 1750, "that this manufacture has been increasing, from year to year, ever since the Witness began business, and is now more than sufficient for Home Consumption. That great Quantities of the said Manufacture

- (1) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 996, 15th February, 1749/50.
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 996, 15th February, 1749/50.
- (3) A few hundred pounds worth, rising sometimes to £1,000, were sent annually to Denmark and Norway, the Canaries, Antigua, Guernsey and Jersey, etc.
- (4) Appendix 4, Nos. 5-10. Exports to Ireland, Germany, Holland, Portugal, the West Indies, and the American Colonies,

had been exported to foreign Parts, particularly Tabbies to France, and flowered silks to Germany; and that he has exported of late several thousand pounds worth of wrought silk from Chester to Ireland" (1). Lewis Chauvet had also "exported great Quantities of wrought silks to France and other foreign parts" (2). The Customs figures for 1749 and 1750 state that £1,471.10.7d. (and £430. 10. 0. from the outports) of woven silks was exported to France in 1749, and £4,066. 0. 3d. (£70 from the outports) in 1750. The largest amounts exported in 1749 were £16,098. 9. 4d. to Germany and £10,778. 15. 11d. to Holland. In 1750, £14,778. 6. 3d. worth was exported to Germany, £24,270. 6. 3d. to Portugal, some £10,000 to Spain and slightly over £10,000 to New England. The Customs figures therefore shew that Gobbe' was being perfectly truthful in his evidence; there was an overall expansion of exports in the period, but an examination year by year shews that some markets were negligible (3), others, such as France, good in some years and taking none in others, while certain markets were not only constant but grew rapidly in the period. Some expanded rapidly in wartime, and a few new ones appeared in the Seven Years War. Of the markets which had been relatively important at the beginning of the period, one gradually lost its place. A table of the amounts exported year by year to the more important markets is included in the Appendices (4).

Probably the most constant and satisfactory market outside London was Ireland. The Customs figures shew a fairly steady

- (1) See Appendix 4, No. 5.

Taking two average years at random: in 1725 the total volume of exports from the Outports to Ireland was £137,865 of which £8,363 were in woven silks. In 1739 £184,432 were exported from the Outports of which £8,909 were in woven silks.

- (2) The Gentleman's Magazine reported in 1736 (VI, p. 162), a ball given in Dublin by the Duke of Dorset, "the most magnificent entertainment ever seen in that kingdom, at which 700 persons of Distinction were present, the ladies drest in the Manufacture of that country". In 1743 the Gentleman's Magazine reported on the Dr. Malden premiums given by the Dublin Society which antedates those given by the Royal Society of Arts by several years. They were given for the best Piece of Green Damask, the best piece of Flowered Silk, and for the best piece of Paduasoy. These are reported every year subsequently. A riot of Dublin weavers was reported in 1763 (G.M. XXXIII, p. 410) which "put the whole city in confusion". The weavers were demonstrating against one of the most important Dublin silk manufacturers, named Cottingham, who was alleged to be importing French silks. He defended himself with the argument - which the rioters refused to accept - that he was only importing them for the patterns. The scale of this riot suggests a fairly large industry.

- (3) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, 1718-22, p. 118.

- (4) There is a letter, for instance, in the Carret correspondence in the Lyon Archives Départementales from an agent in Stockholm in 1774 asking for samples of silk to be sent for Prince Charles and his future wife. One other agent had been charged to obtain similar samples which he was doing through a Ham burg house, which seems to imply that the latter was the normal procedure for a customer in the North.

increase from £6-7,000 exported at the beginning of the century to an average of £25,000 by the 1760's with over £30,000 in some good years (1). Transport costs would have added less to the price than in some more distant markets. For the purposes of marine insurance the Irish Sea, although it could be nasty, was not as dangerous a risk as the Atlantic nor were there import duties to be paid on the scale of those on the Continent. It is interesting to see that exports to Ireland continued to expand despite a growing silk industry in Dublin, to which increasing quantities of raw silk were exported. The Dublin industry also received official encouragement parallel to that in London (2). We have already seen that at least one important weaver, John Sabatier, claimed in 1750, to have exported to Ireland £2-3,000 per year for several years.

On the Continent of Europe there were two chief markets for English silks - Germany and Portugal. Mr. Eades in 1719 told the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations that he sent silk and woollen goods to "Hamburgh, Holland, Germany, Spain & etc." (3). "Germany" in the Customs figures probably meant Hamburg, through which most of the merchandise intended for Northern Europe seems to have passed (4). Without, however, inspecting the Port Books or their equivalent for that city, it is difficult to do more than surmise. The large quantities of woven silk sent to Holland may have also included re-exports for other parts of Germany. A little silk went directly to other places, such as the few hundreds of

- (1) The Hermitage Museum possess no records or inventories of an 18th century date and no silks of known English provenance, though it is possible that some exist incognito.
- (2) Such is the provenance of the chasuble illustrated on Plate 12, Fig. 13.
- (3) Its proximity to France, a fellow Catholic country, suggests this. On the other hand, the enormous collection of vestments at Aachen and elsewhere has hardly been looked at because of the attention naturally focussed on the mediaeval silks these treasuries contain. It has proved extremely difficult to persuade the custodians to give facilities to examine the 18th century silks in these collection.
- (4) See Appendix 4, No. 8.
- (5) The Gazette and New Daily Advertiser of January 5th, 1765 included an advertisement of a typical sale at the New York, Cape Breton and Quebec Coffee House of goods "fit for the Portugal trade" which included sixty pieces sattins, modes, linings, Persians, Sarsnets, Mantuas, etc., silk and soosey handkerchiefs, striped and flowered gauze etc. silk hose, silk and worsted waistcoat and breeches pieces, etc.

- (6) In the year 1725, an average one, total exports to Spain were:

<u>From London</u>		<u>From Outports</u>	<u>In all</u>
£474,535		£109,709	£584,244
About £406,000	and	£ 31,000	were in woollen goods.
Only £ 3,003		-	were in silks.

Exports to Portugal in the same year were:

<u>From London</u>		<u>From Outports</u>	<u>In all</u>
£684,422		£483,449	£1,167,871
About £526,000	and	£ 21,000	were in woollen goods.
Only £ 20,102		-	were in silks.

pounds worth sent during most of the 1740's to Russia, probably to St. Petersburg. No trace of these silks has been preserved in that city (1). The exporter's pattern book of silks in the Berch Collection in Stockholm is significant, though after the late 1720's no silk was sent directly to that country. There are probably English 18th century silks preserved in collections of vestments in Northern Germany, owing to the agreeable tradition that the bride should present her wedding dress to the Church for this purpose (2). The best collections are, however, much more likely to contain French silks - such as that at Aachen (3). The Napoleonic and two world wars have, of course, destroyed much documented material, but since both Daniel Gobbe and the Lyon designer, Dutillieu, mention flowered silks exported from England to Germany, it is difficult not to believe them.

The second great European market was Portugal. Some £4-8,000 of silk was sent to Portugal in the early years of the century and, after the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1713, the quantity rises to some £10-12,000 per year, with a maximum of £24,000 (4). It was a most constant market (5) even if the amount of silk sent there was insignificant by comparison with the exports of woollen materials. In 1743, for example, a good average year for the export of woven silks, £14,432 were exported. In the same year £490,582 of different types of woollen goods were exported and £86,719 of stockings (6). Although the figures of exported woollens are impressive, the

- (1) See, for example, the memorial submitted by the traders to Portugal in 1756 (Appendix 3 in L.S. Sutherland, A London Merchant, 1933). They complained of high duties and the lack of a warehouse for their goods. The lists of goods included in the memorial for a comparison of the duties paid were all worsted, woollens and a few half silks.
- (2) Lyon Chambre de Commerce. Documents transferred from Archives Municipales. Box 1. Inventaire Chappe IX, p. 589. 13, & 8-11 (the documents are miscellaneous and time did not permit a sufficient investigation to establish which No. document this was). The entries in the Inventaire Chappe were made in the 19th century for this series and are too brief to be helpful. The documents appeared to relate both to the letters sent by the Chambre de Commerce and the documents in the Archives Départementales in Lyon and Nationales in Paris. It would be interesting to examine all these sources systematically and at leisure, which has not been done. The emphasis placed both by Godart and Pariset was on the social and administrative aspects of the Lyon industry rather than its economic and technological significance. Neither author had any interest in other industries or other nations and thus, although their works are very useful, it is only within a limited scope.
- (3) F.12.644 (2 bundles).

comparison is a little unfair, since the woollen goods came from many different parts of the country and there was only one centre of the broad silk industry - London, with some small production in Canterbury. Any threat to the export trade with Spain and Portugal was looked upon with alarm (1). Certain French sources confirm the impression made by the Customs figures. A Memorial of December 1727 (2) comparing English and French privileges in Spain and Portugal declared, "Quand au commerce de Portugal les Anglais et les Hollandais nous l'ont totalement enlevé à la faveur de la dernière guerre" and it said that the length of the war had caused the Portuguese to become accustomed to English and Dutch cloths. It continued, "la consommation immense qui se fait en Portugal de toutes sortes de marchandises comme étoffes, rubans, et autres ouvrages sans en soyer qu'en or et argent.....est sans contredire", and had led the English and Dutch to establish factories there for the sale of their goods.

The Archives Nationales in Paris contain two large bundles of miscellaneous documents on trade with Spain and Portugal, of which the general theme is the totally unfair position won by England in the Treaty at the end of the Wars of the Spanish Succession, and the best methods of reducing England's position as a favoured nation in these countries (3). It is true that most of the evidence concerns shipping, port dues, "draperie", and the slave trade. A significant document drafted in 1723 explained that in 1704, because of

(1) This ordinance sought to encourage native Portuguese industries by forbidding the import of galloons, embroideries, woven silks including those mixed with gold and silver, and woollen cloths from France, Holland and England.

(2) (Vol. X, 1712-14. (1953)).

the war between France and Portugal, the English and Dutch obtained a revocation of the ordinance of 1688 (1) in favour of their nations and sent their "droguets, sergés, rubans, etoffes en soye et celles d'or et d'argent, toiles de Bretagne et dont on fait quantité au Nord d'Ecosse...." and sold them more cheaply than the French because of an open contraband trade, "ayant presque toujours des vaisseaux de Guerre dans la rivière de Lisbonne...." According to this Memorial, the Portuguese admitted that light French woollens were better than the English but that the latter were preferred since they were cheaper. "À légard des étoffes de soyes Unies et de celles melées d'or et d'argent les Anglais et les Hollandais en fournissent presque entièrement le Portugal....elles proviennent de leurs Manufactures, mais elles ne sont pas d'un si bon goût n'y d'un si beau lustre que celles de France, qui pourront dans la suite leurs estre préférées et on n'y en a introduit à present qu'une très petite quantité". If this was the situation in 1723, from the English point of view the industry had received a splendid start. Exports in 1722 and 1723 from the Port of London were £17,000 and £16,000 respectively.

There was some justification for French anxiety although these export figures would not appear to be staggering in size. The negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Utrecht are printed in the House of Lords Manuscripts (2), and it is quite clear that a conscious attempt was made, and fairly successfully, to secure favoured

nation terms for English traders to Spain and Portugal.

In August 1713, the Bilboa merchants compared unfavourably the existing duties on French and English woollens and silks.

In October 1713, the Spanish merchants declared that 4 - 5% of the value would be a fair duty on English silks imported into Spain. Some "Remarks" on the Treaty by the Cadiz factory

criticised the Treaty for agreeing to duties that were still thought to be too high. Torriano's speech to the House of

Lords in favour of the Spanish trade as against the French, argued among other points that "They have no linen, paper, silk or other manufactures whereby to prejudice our poor".

The Customs figures did not shew any very remarkable increase after the Treaty, but it remained a very sore point with the Lyon Chamber of Commerce. In 1727 they wrote to their

agent in Paris to ask him to ensure "qu'au Congrès prochain on puisse obtenir du Roi d'Espagne quelque abonnissement à la pragmatique qui désole nos fabriques en dorures....." The

later documents in the Archives Nationales series (which, it must be emphasised, are quite miscellaneous) are much more concerned with commodities other than silk, although an

extremely interesting document giving French exports to Spain, their chief competitors and their uses, mentioned Spain,

England and Italy in that order as the chief competitors with silks made in Lyon "de diverses couleurs et brochées" and

listed their uses "pour militaires, églises, et Brésil". In

the case of "Rubans ouvragés en couleurs" the chief competitors with which Lyon and St. Chamond had to contend were given as

(1) See Appendix 4, No.9.

(2) F.12.647-8. Paris Archives Nationales. "Demonstration géométrique de la Chûte prochaine du Commerce de France par l'aggrandissement du Commerce des Anglais".

Spain and England. By the early 1760's the average value exported was between £7-8,000 worth per annum, which does not compare with the sums exported to Portugal.

Very closely linked, however, with exports to Spain were those to the West Indies. Some of the latter had close economic links with Spain and exported goods which were essential to Europe, sugar of course, but also dyestuffs. The rich "sugar" colonies were, especially at the beginning of the period, an important market for English silks (1), but gradually became relatively less important. At certain significant times "the West Indies in general" are mentioned in the Port Books. The French were even more bitter about English dominance in these markets than they were about the situation in Spain or Portugal. Several memorials survive complaining of the injustice of the privileges granted by Spain to England in the West Indies. According to one of these (2), the English were enabled by the Treaties of 1713 and 1716 to sell their goods in the West Indies thirty per cent cheaper than those brought there by Spain herself. The latter's exports were therefore declining and the English monopolising trade. With the balance of trade in their favour the English were said to be monopolising the trade in dyestuffs. It was feared that the English would then sell these at a prohibitive price to the French, so that French woollens would no longer be able to compete with English ones in the Levant, thus entailing the collapse of this trade too. Among the demands made by the Lyon Chamber of Commerce to their Paris agent in

(1) It is, of course, true that woven silks were only a fraction of the goods exported to the West Indies.

(2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, p. 996. He was quoted as "Mr. Crockett the Carolina merchant", on the neglect and near starvation of the Colonies in "A Short Account of the Application to Parliament made by the Merchants of London on the Neglect of their Trade", 1751, 5th edn. R. Glover, p. 16.

1727 was one insisting "que le Commerce des Anglais dans les Indes Occidentales soit restrains dans ses bornes legitimes et que les autres nations y puissent negociés concuremens...." This was prefaced by a request that an indication should be given as soon as possible of the departure of a new fleet "pour ranimer le travail des nos manufactures qui languissent depuis deux ans", (a problem which never caused anxiety to the English manufacturers in this period). Nevertheless, French fears of the English were somewhat exaggerated. The Bosanquet Papers prove that the English continued to buy cochineal from the French and to export French londrines to the Levant. These outbursts shew, at least, that English competition was keenly felt, as indeed the Customs figures would suggest (1).

£27,000 worth of woven silk sent to the Spanish West Indies in 1715 was an impressive figure, though it was never again equalled. James Crockett (2), giving evidence in 1750, said that in the course of the previous ten years he had exported about £2,000 worth of silks p.a. "to the Colonies of Jamaica and South Carolina and that he don't export a Tenth part of the English manufactured silk that is sent to Jamaica only". He added "that the silk he has exported has been of various species, from 15 pence to 30/- a Yard and that he has likewise exported some Velvets". He was certain that the silk was English, "having bought it of the Weavers of Canterbury and Spittlefields". Officially, exports to Jamaica were £3,600 odd and £4,700 odd, in the two preceding years

(1) Court Books 7th January, 1747/8.

(1748 and 1749) which was very much less than they had been earlier in the century.

The Customs figures, indeed, rather support the speech made by Captain James Dalbiac to the Court of Assistants at the beginning of 1748 (1), in which he declared that he "was of the opinion that the Exportation of Wrought Silks and Velvets of the Manufacture of this Kingdom to the West Indies and other (of) our Plantations and Settlements abroad had been for many years greatly lessened and was still decreasing to the detriment of the said Manufactures". (He attributed this to the payment of a draw-back on foreign woven silks, which, he said, was greater than the bounty on English manufactured silks; or rather, that the difference between the bounty and the raw and thrown silks was less than that between the duty on the original duty on the incoming foreign silks and the draw-back on export). There was perhaps more to his argument than the Assistants were prepared to accept, for the total exports dropped from a maximum of some £40,000 to about £4,000 at the end of the period. Both commercially and politically, the carrying trade was possibly of greater importance to the country. In any case, Captain Dalbiac continued in business for many years after this incident and was followed by his two sons. Fewer silks may have been sent to the West Indies from the late 40's, but another market more than took their place.

There was one market in which English silks had a virtual monopoly, with protection from foreign competition that was almost complete. The American Colonies, which continued to grow rapidly in the period, accounted for some £8,000 worth

(1) See Appendix 4, No. 10.

(2) Opinions of Counsel (Customs Library), Vol. III, 1727-38, No. 232. It concerned Buckram shipped for export instead of silk to obtain the Bounty, but the fraud was discovered before the ship sailed. The bond given to export silks was forfeited. The case recited the provisions of the Act granting the Bounty paid at the port of export, after it had been verified by the searcher that the goods were of British manufacture and intended for export, and would not be re-landed in this country. It reiterated that security had to be given to the Customs Officer at the Port. In order to detect frauds searchers could open bales and seize goods and prosecute the owners if any fraud was alleged. In 1725, 1507 lbs. weight of English wrought silks were brought to the Customs House, being Ribbons and Pieces of Silk in the Mary Thomas Dimond for Boston, New England. They were entitled to £226. 1s. Bounty. Buckrams were found on board ship and the owner said that they had been sent by mistake. The case went on till 1730, which would seem to be evidence of the seriousness of the intentions of the Customs officers to carry out the law.

of silk at the beginning of the period and by 1760 were consuming over £233,000 worth (1). Although there were fluctuations year by year, the Customs figures shew an overall expanding market. A report presented by the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations in 1734 to the House of Lords gave a detailed analysis of the produce and manufactures of each of the Colonies. A basic factor - which the Commissioners reported with satisfaction - was that few of the Colonies had any industry of their own and had, perforce, to import all their consumer goods from London, - and there was no shortage of shipping in which to do so. As early as 1725, there was a Customs Precedent case over silks and ribbons exported to Boston (2) (about £33,000 worth of woven silk was exported from the Port of London to the American Colonies in that year). This guaranteed and expanding market cannot be over-estimated. The Boston, Philadelphia and New York newspapers were full of advertisements, and even if the silks reached a fairly narrow fringe of American society, the Colonies themselves were continually growing in importance. The Collinson exports seem to shew that the trade was conducted rather as it might have been to some provincial town in England, with a great many small piecemeal orders. Exports of silks were naturally eclipsed by the exports of woollens, but relative to the size of the industry and to the other markets outside London it can be argued that the American Colonies were possibly more important to Spitalfields than they were to any other textile producing district in the period.

(1) L.C.9.288, fo. 150. In 1733, 36 yards of green Genoa damask were sold to the Great Wardrobe by Matthew Vernon and were presented to Christ Church, Boston. This was used for cushions in the pulpit and hangings, and we were able to trace it up to the organ loft of the church from whence it disappeared in the late 18th century. Dresses were also preserved of private families, such as those which belonged to the Pitts family now in Detroit Institute of Arts. The Archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society should contain information, since family papers have been deposited with them. The New York Historical Society holds a large collection of invoices for goods of many kinds including silks bought from London merchants by the Beekman family (P.L. White, The Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746-94, published by the New York Historical Society, a few examples are printed p. 1395). The Essex Institute at Salem also holds a large collection of silks and costumes, said to be fully documented. The American newspapers of the period should also be useful. Extracts made from them have suffered from the fact that either the editors were interested in the political events leading up to the American Revolution or, naturally enough, in the growth of native American industries.

(2) 1727 and 1729 were good years, and so was 1739, according to an article in the Gentleman's Magazine (IX, p. 479). "Late improvements in trade and manufactures considered"; the writer singled out, "many other manufactures besides the woollen, particularly those of silk, iron, brass and other metals, have been immensely increased in the last 20 years. Before that time we were obliged to Holland and Italy for all or most of our wrought silks; but the case is now so altered that we not only work more elegantly than they, but are able to export of this manufacture besides furnishing for our own consumption". This writer thought wages could profitably be reduced and that "only the luxury of our working people could prevent our being able to undersell our rivals". It is interesting that one of the few riots of the period occurred in 1739, when the journeymen suspected the masters of attempting to lower wages. Thus, riots are not necessarily a guide as to the prosperity of the industry. 1748-50 were given as the best years by John Sabatier. It may be suggested that the years from 1746 to 1749 were ones of continuous expansion on the purely negative grounds that the silk industry is not mentioned once either in the Commons Journals or the Gentleman's Magazine. Although the Weavers Company were worried about their prosecutions of printed calicoes in these years, there are no indications of any general distress until the sudden shortage of raw silk in 1749-50.

The silks themselves were prized and preserved and the Collinson records probably represent only a fraction of the documentary evidence of the trade preserved in New England (1). Competition from smuggled silks was far less of a reality there than in London and the emphasis in the advertisements on "London" shallons or English damasks shews that there was not much consumer resistance to be overcome. One facet of the prosperity of the American Colonies was their increasing resentment of English political control - but another was their ability to absorb an increasing quantity of English luxury and semi-luxury goods.

The coherence of the English mercantile system and the good relations between its component parts, whether official or industrial, and the evidence of the export figures can be easily underestimated. No one in the industry complained of prosperity or produced figures to prove it. Contemporary opinion was only forcefully expressed when it seemed to be threatened. It was the loss of the new markets at the end of the Seven Years War, not their acquisition in its course, which aroused comment. The outcry over East Indian goods and printed calicoes which will be discussed in the next chapter masked the more important alliance of the industry with other economic interests. Certain periods of boom (2) and slump can be detected but only the latter aroused immediate comment. The causes of these slumps will be discussed in the next chapter, but it must be insisted that until 1764-6 there were no long-term crises or depressions in the silk industry and, unlike ⁱⁿ Lyon, work never stopped altogether.

The complications of certain aspects of the fiscal system seem rather to have clouded the fact that economic life in England was infinitely less regulated than in any other country at the time with the exception probably of Holland. It is easy enough to find loopholes in an Act of Parliament and proof of the evasion of its clauses. It is much harder to demonstrate that, on the whole, the acts were beneficial and, that whatever the long-term fallacies of mercantilism, for a brief period and in one limited sphere the policy was effective.

- (1) For example, the collection of Tracts on Trade in the British Museum (816 m. 13. 1-172) contains many of the pamphlets exchanged during the calico controversy of 1719-21, during the controversy over the Royal Lustrine Company's monopoly in 1698, and some of the tracts published at the time of the negotiations preceding the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and etc. A pamphlet at the Guildhall "Serious Advice to the Silk Manufacturers in a Letter to the Master and Wardens of the Weavers by a Citizen of London" contains the mercers' case in 1751 repudiating the demands for the prohibition of foreign woven materials. A large number of the anonymous pamphlets listed in Vol. III of Lipson's Economic History of England (1956 edn.) pp. 554-558, are concerned with the silk industry and its competitors. However entertaining and for the most part well-written they may be, they seldom quote very much reliable fact and for the most part in this study opinion which was not anonymous has been preferred, upon the issues which were at stake.

C H A P T E R 5

THE DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING THE SILK

INDUSTRY IN THE PERIOD 1702 - 1766.

It is axiomatic of almost any eighteenth century pamphlet, speech or memorial on trade that the special interests whose cause is being pleaded is on the verge of ruin (1). The thousands thrown out of work by the particular crisis will starve, revolt, or emigrate with their skill to foreign parts. There is thus no lack of contemporary evidence on the troubles afflicting the silk industry in the period. Much of the information quoted in the previous chapters is given away incidentally by the writers of such documents. The chapter preceding this is intended to serve as some slight modification to the overwhelming mass of contemporary evidence of impending disaster. It is, however, much harder to sift the arguments, and to decide how much of the agony was genuine and how much was good propaganda. How far was the industry's expansion hindered by the grievances denounced at the time?

The practical limitations of official government policy will be discussed first. Secondly, the competition from other textiles imported into the country and from native industries will be considered. Thirdly, some indication will be given of the nature of the competition in foreign markets and the effects of the development of other European silk industries. A group of complaints much reiterated

- (1) The G.M. (Vol. II, p. 626) printed an account of a case in February 1732. "Was try'd at Guildhall, London, before the Lord Chief Justice Raymond an action for trespass, brought by Edward Chapman Esq., plaintiff against James Lamb and Henry Jelly, Custom-house officers at Dover, defendants; for taking from the plaintiff (on his coming from Calais) one nightgown, 14 shirts, one black velvet cap, one black silk cap. The Defendants gave Evidence that the Cloaths were new, and that they had often seized wearing Apparel for the Duty, and Kept it; but being unable to shew any Law or Authority that lays any Duty on wearing Apparel, unless brought in as Merchandise, the Plaintiff recover'd a Verdict, with £20 Damage".

must be assessed - the attempts at sumptuary legislation, the allegations of excessively high wages in the industry and the effects of public mournings. Finally, the difficulties of ensuring a constant and reasonably cheap supply of raw silk will be examined.

1. The Limitations of Government Policy.

From the beginning of the period until its close there were complaints that the acts designed to protect the industry were ineffectual. Several reasons were given for this unhappy result. In certain cases the acts were found to be defective because they lacked vital clauses. It was felt to be useless to penalise the seller of prohibited goods without penalising the wearer. Moreover, there were exceptions written into the acts which, for instance, enabled a 'tourist' to bring back foreign silks in the form of clothes for his own use, which could, of course, be extended by the unscrupulous to an infinite degree (1). In some cases the administration of the acts was inefficient, and the greater part were said to fail because of insuperable legal difficulties in their enforcement. Prosecutions of offenders failed either because it was impossible to prove a breach of the act, or because there were difficulties in suing successfully for the recovery of penalties, a failure which acted as a deterrent to would-be prosecutors. The Court Books of the Weavers Company contain a typical instance of the failure of an act on legal grounds. At a Court held on the 1st July 1747 "a proposal was made

on the part of the Detts in the several causes depending in this Company's name on the Calico Act for finally ending the same by consenting that all the said causes should be discontinued without costs on either side. This Company obtaining rules for such Discontinuance at their own expense. And also that the Rules made for Arresting the Judgement on the Three Verdicts obtained by this Company on the said act should be made absolute at the Expense of this Company...."

the names of four lawyers were then quoted by the Clerk who were all "of the opinion that this Company could not as a Corporation maintain the said suits as Common Informers and that therefore it was most advisable and prudent for this Company to accept of the said proposal...." If the Weavers Company were unable to act in defence of the industry there were few private individuals among its members who could be expected to bear the expense and the responsibility of such prosecutions.

The acts which protected the silk industry began in the last 17th century with the prohibition of Persian and East Indian silks in England. In principle they could only be imported for re-export, and were then entitled to a draw-back. These acts were confirmed in 1715. The disadvantage of this system, according to the many complaints, was that after such goods had received their draw-back they were unshipped along the coast and sold there openly. Equally, legally imported foreign European woven silks which paid a heavy duty on import and received a draw-back on re-export were unshipped,

(1) P.R.O. E.165, 26-30 cover the Seizures made by the Customs in the period 1696-1764. They list very briefly the Writs of Appraisement granted, giving the names of the Customs Officers, the Port where the seizure was made, and a list of goods, for instance "London 17th April, 1760, Henry Hall and others.....spotted handkerchiefs, cotton Romal handkerchiefs, chints, palampores and curtains, chints for chairs, settee, tea table and stool, chints for furniture (i.e. bed furniture), printed dimity....brocaded taffaty and velvet..." The memoranda rolls sometimes, but not always, give further details, particularly of how and where the goods had been concealed. Rather low values were set by the Appraisers on the goods. It is regretted that no trace has been found of the documents relating to seizures made in shops where there was an owner to prosecute.

(2) Customs and Excise Library, Kingsbeam House. Opinions of Counsel 1701-1763. Vol. 5, No. 29.

so that they were said to be cheaper near the coast than in the London shops where "fair traders" sold them without the benefit of a draw-back. Various ingenious schemes for stamping and measuring silks, together with complicated deposits and indemnities by ships' captains were proposed to ensure that such goods were really exported, but the machinery for enforcing such projects was completely lacking, and "unshipping" continued throughout the period.

The seizures of uncustomed goods made by the Customs Officers (1), whether the goods had been unshipped or smuggled, were very seldom followed by prosecutions, as the owners discreetly vanished, cutting their losses by abandoning their goods. These seizures were of goods on board ship, or in the docks, or found in suspicious circumstances. A very large number of seizures were made in the period, but neither the seamen nor the traders appear to have been in the least deterred by ^{their} losses. When goods were seized in London in the shops of tailors or mercers, prosecutions often failed because of the impossibility of proving that the goods were not what they pretended to be. Among the Customs Precedents (2) was a case of a seizure of various kinds of waistcoat shapes at a tailor's in 1748; for the most part they were embroidered with gold and silver, and highly valued in the Indenture of Appraisement. Eleven pieces of silk embroidered with gold for waistcoats were valued at £40; two silk shapes for waistcoats wrought with silver at £5. 10s. and etc. There was, however, no proof that the goods were smuggled. They had been brought in a year before the case, and the legal opinion

(1) 1766 Report, op. cit. p. 725.

(2) Their numbers can be checked against the lists of foreign goods exported both from London and the Outports. The largest number of legally imported foreign woven silks appear to be those from Holland, especially at the beginning of the period. It is a moot point how many of these came originally from France. In some years towards the end of the period some few thousand pounds worth of wrought silk was also imported from Italy, e.g. £27,000 odd in 1763, £28,700 odd in 1764; this was silk classified officially as Italian but the same reservations can be made as about the Dutch.

was given that proof must be found. "Indeed the proof of their being foreign may be by persons conversant in such sort of Goods who in their Judgement believe them to be so; and when such proof is given the onus probandi will then be on the Claimant". As Robert Trott pointed out to the Select Committee of 1766, this was difficult to do since mercers would produce evidence to prove that French silks were Italian, supporting their claims with affidavits from Florence (1). Although the acts included clauses to state that the onus of proof was to be on the defendant, this could only operate if the goods could be proved to be foreign and prohibited. The difficulty of suing as a corporation was to some extent overcome in the later 50's and early 60's, when the Company agreed to support individual Customs officers in the recovery of penalties. Nevertheless, even a successful prosecution, such as those of the mercers Welch and Swan, took two years to conclude (1762-4), so that the numbers of such prosecutions could never be very great.

2. Competition from Other Textiles.

(a) Imported Foreign Wrought Silks.

Legal imports of foreign silks were seldom very large in the period, and a substantial amount of the legally imported silks were for re-export (2). The "prohibited goods" listed in the Port Books came very largely from the Far East and were mainly imported by the East India Company. Enough silks remain, especially those painted and intended as light

(1) P.R.O. C.O. 388 21. Board of Trade Commercial Original Correspondence 1719/20 (three bundles, of which this is the first).

No. 136, The Weavers Company Petition, enclosed 137, "The state of the silk and silk and worsted manufactures in this kingdom" in which, describing the large quantities of East Indian silks imported c. 1685, it stated "as the materials for making those goods are cheaper by 70% in India than can be bought here...and labour there not above 2d. per day....." Their goods could undercut those of their English competitors.

dress materials, to bear witness that these imports were large and continuous. Silks from Persia were forbidden in the 17th century, and were not mentioned in the 18th century complaints. From this it can be assumed that they were insignificant as competitors. The hand-painted taffeta, usually Chinese, was especially feared by the weavers of flowered silks. A number of East India Company imports which were probably from India were sufficiently popular to receive the compliment of imitation by the English industry, hence the advertisements in the American newspapers for "English peelongs", already quoted, and the 1719 samples illustrated in Plate 68. It must be stressed that silks from India and the Far East, whether plain, striped, or painted were light materials, whose import would affect only certain classes of silk. In an even more limited category were the handkerchiefs, which constitute a very large proportion of any of the seizures by the Customs Officers, representing no doubt a much larger number of successfully smuggled handkerchiefs. However great the demand for silk handkerchiefs, their import could only affect a limited number of weavers. In contemporary opinion the particular danger of East Indian goods lay in their cheapness (1). Wages were said, with justification, to be so low that not even the costs of transport and duties raised the prices of their goods much above the English equivalent. Naturally, unshipped goods, on which the draw-back had been paid, and smuggled East Indian silks were cheaper. Moreover, although taste in Chinoiserie altered in the period it was

(1) The Weavers Company complained in 1715 that silks were being smuggled from Holland as well as from France, and King in "The British Merchant" mentioned that the Dutch had formerly supplied England with silks. In 1731 a letter quoted in the Gentleman's Magazine (lp. 161) said that what black silks "are bought (for public mournings) are generally Italian and Dutch manufactures, to the Discouragement of our own". In 1761 and 1763 there were large seizures by the Customs of Dutch silk handkerchiefs suggesting a speciality in their production. In 1766 Carret wrote to his partner in Lyon from Amsterdam recommending a Dutch gros de tours of high quality, of which he enclosed a specimen giving its width and etc. including details of the roller on which it should be rolled, so that it could be copied exactly. Labour was expensive in Holland and the the partner in Lyon was not to tell the price to the fabriquant, since Carret thought the Dutch could be undercut in their own shops.

(2) Godart, L'Ouvrier en Soie, p. 279 et. seq. gives an account of the 1744 Revolt.

never unfashionable, on the contrary, and thus genuine Chinese and Indian designs and those created in the East for the export market were equally in demand.

Nevertheless, hand-painted and slight striped silks were not suitable for every occasion, and after 1721 the outcry against East Indian silks only flared up intermittently. Much more formidable in the home market was the competition from European silks, Dutch, Italian and above all French. Italian furnishing velvets and damasks never lost their supremacy, and the Dutch produced certain good quality silks, velvets, taffetas, etc. which were also renowned (1). Indeed, though most of the French sources of the period ignored the existence of an English industry, they were acutely aware of Dutch production. The greatest rival to Spitalfields, as to every other European silk manufacturing town, was Lyon. Despite a disastrous beginning to the century, Lyon recovered to supply most countries in Europe with a high proportion of the silks they wore, and in the course of the century their competition killed other silk industries in France at Tours, Avignon and Nîmes. Their designs were famous, their techniques long perfected, much capital invested and the costs of production low. Once, indeed, during this period the canuts rose in an unsuccessful revolt (2) against their low wages. Low wages and a much cheaper supply of raw silk, both home grown and from Piedmont, offset both the complicated organisation of their industry and the fiscal system which bore very heavily upon the manufacturer. It goes without saying that every

(1) Many papers in CO.388 22 and 23 (P.R.O. Board of Trade correspondence) are concerned with the export of raw wool. Many of the reports on Smuggling are in fact concerned much more with the wool which went out of the country than the goods which came in - for instance, the report printed in the House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, session 1745-6, pp. 101-110.

(2) Fans, artificial flowers, pictures, East Indian printed paper, silver buckles, chinaware, "Dresden earthenware", lace, some made-up clothing and many more waistcoat "shapes" were steadily imported. Tobacco was an important clandestine import, and after this the quantities of various East India goods. The majority of the seizures in the provinces seem to have been of spirits and tea and, while these were the most important group in London, there the seizures were far more mixed. Nearly all the seizures of silks were in the Port of London.

type of silk made in Spitalfields was also made in Lyon. It is evident from sources in France that silks intended for the English market were an important part of Lyon production, and that smuggling was not merely a hazardous and entertaining game played by the coastal shipping of both countries. The clandestine export of raw wool from country districts of England to France occasioned more memorials and enquiries by the Select Committees of the Commons than the clandestine import of silks but the two were closely connected (1). The "returns" of raw wool were tea, Geneva, brandy, rum and silks, together with other prohibited goods of a widely miscellaneous nature (2). The trade in clandestine silks was serious, efficient and well-organised. Samples were sent to London and orders placed through dealers. A series of letters from the Lyon Chamber of Commerce illustrate the practical methods of the trade. In 1736, for instance, they wrote to their agent in Paris that the privileges enjoyed by their négociants at Bordeaux must be preserved at all costs because of the small Irish boats that came to Bordeaux to do clandestine trade. "S'ils ne viendrons plus", (which would happen if there were no goods for them to take away), "...le commerce de France en souffrir beaucoup, car c'est un des bouchés considérables et normaux pour nos fabriques qui entretiennent une reciprocité de commerce utile et avantageuse au Royaume..." The trade had an additional value because of "les matières premières nécessaires à nos manufactures qu'ils nous apportent d'Angleterre....." If they were to lose this trade some

other country would profit thereby, since England would look elsewhere for its wines and brandy. It is interesting that in this piece of special pleading the argument of general ruin is alleged to follow any interference with the exports of silks whereas the impression made by the seizures is that the silks formed only a small proportion of a trade whose life-blood was certainly strong drink. In August 1737 an incident occurred whose details illustrate the practical methods of this trade. The firm of Guérignon, said to be one of the largest Lyon merchants by the Chamber of Commerce, had apparently sent two cases of goods to Rouen which had been ordered (commiser) "par des Negoçiants Anglais, mais elles y arrivent trop tard pour y être chargées" and, therefore, had stayed in Rouen. The proprietor of the goods asked Guérignon what types of silks were in the two cases, and on being told, said that with the exception of a piece of "droguet en argent....ces sortes d'Étoffes ne se portent
(pas, sur quoy les Sr. Guérignon" gave orders to Mr. Gordon Richsalruk (sic), their correspondent in Rouen, to get the piece of droguet back from the Customs. It is interesting to note that it was an Englishman, whatever his real surname, who was the agent for a Lyon firm, but himself resident in Rouen. At this point the firm met an unexpected difficulty. Their droguet was seized by the French Customs because it was unsealed. Guérignon "represente Monsieur que ses Correspondants ont toujours deffendre de mettre aucune marque qui indique que ces de la marchandise de France dont l'entrée est défendue en Angleterrs, et que même dans leur dernier voyage en cette ville

il l'ont obligé de mettre sur l'étiquette de chaque pièce de marchandises l'aunage de Brabant", and they protested that they never intended to defraud the French Customs. They offered "cependant de se soumettre à cette loi pour l'avenir ou de quitter le commerce qu'il fait avec les négociants Anglais s'ils ne veulent pas recevoir des marchandises de France avec les plombs quoique tous les ans il fait avec eux pour plus de cent milles écus d'affaires ce qui ne pourrroit qu'augmenter dans la suite...." They were ready to despatch 90 pieces of silk and some "en dorures et beaucoup de Galons d'or et d'argent....." They pointed out that they had six months' credit with their correspondents and if the goods could not be delivered the firm would be left with an enormous debt. Therefore, the Agent of the Lyon Chambre de Commerce was to tell the Minister that if the law was rigorously enforced against the négociants they would have to stop trading with England, "qui est pourtant un objet considérables pour nos manufactures donc les hollandais proffiteront seuls à nôtre préjudice.... puisque il en fait une Consommation considérable principalement l'Angleterre où le luxe est aujourd'hui au point que nos manufactures souffriraient beaucoup si nos marchandises ne pouvaient plus y passer...." and they asked that the Sr. Guérignon should be let off. On October 8th it seems that Guérignon had got his piece back from the Customs and the Chamber of Commerce again assured their agent, Paterne, that the négociants were not trying to defraud the Crown, but must carry on the trade or Lyon would suffer badly. In April

- (1) Baudry in *La Révocation de l'Edict de Nantes et le Protestantisme en Bas Poitou au XVIIIe siècle* (1922), describing the emigration preceding the Edict, pp. 231 et seq., gave an account of the Huguenots who went to Holland and the privileges granted to them, especially in Amsterdam. Huguenots (?) mentioned by Carret include:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of First Appearance</u>	<u>Town</u>
Dubois & Riblier	1761 (?)	Amsterdam
John Didier	1770	London (He wrote for his account implying previous dealings).
M. Frémaux	1766	The Hague
Gillot	1761 (?)	Amsterdam
Gival	1761 (?)	Amsterdam "Marchand de Modes françaises....Kaisersgracht...Amsterdam".
Foupart	1761 (?)	Amsterdam

The Englishmen with whom Carret dealt, apart from Kenny, and Board, were:-

Pool	1761 (?)	Amsterdam
Mr. Sanders	1766	Amsterdam
Mr. Stevens	1761 (?)	Amsterdam
Nathaniel "Tornbury"	1761 (?)	The Hague
John Walter	1763	Utrecht
"Kersby"	1766	? (His order referred to only).

It must be emphasised that time did not permit more than a brief glance at each of the 23 bundles of the Carret correspondence, and thus the list is unlikely to be complete.

- (2) 45 names were listed on the playing card. Those in the list above dated 1761 (?) are drawn from the back of the playing card.

1738, they wrote in a melancholy vein that they had read the letter which informed them that no alteration in the law was proposed and they were ready to obey, but pointed out that if the trade to England was lost in consequence the Dutch would profit.

The Carret Papers of some thirty years later seem to shew much the same organisation. An enormous quantity of his letters were with correspondents in Rouen - out of all proportion to the size of the town itself - which suggests it was still one of the principal ports of export for French silks to England. A large part of his trade was with Holland, and a large number of his customers there were either (from the sound of their names) Huguenot refugees (1) or Englishmen. On one visit to Amsterdam he made a list of appointments with customers on the back of a playing card, and again a high proportion of them were Englishmen or Huguenots (2). Although there is no proof that the goods he sold them were intended for the English market, the coincidence cannot be overlooked. One of his regular customers was John Kenny, who gave his address as "Marchand dans la grande rue a dunkerque". His orders are among the later ones beginning in 1770 with one for "des souliers de droguets en soy brodez en ors et en argent en toute couleur". He added that he wanted the materials for the shoes not the shoes themselves, and asked for them by return of courier. He wanted four dozen pairs "droguets blancs brodez en ors avec paillettes", "2 dozen

white brocaded with silver", "3 douzaine de pair de differente couleur, verd, bleu, petit gris, couleur de rose, noir doray le tout assortis brodez en ors et brodez en argent cela ne sera que pour échantillons je vous récommende les blanc dun beaux....surtout point de rebus de magasin". There was no need to say, he added, that the droguets must be good "et le dernier goût". Carret later received orders from London from a Robert Board who wanted samples sent to Paris. Board told Carret that he was sending security to Paris for these orders "de très bonne maison". Apparently Board was introduced to Carret by Kenny of Dunkirk. Several further orders followed after this introduction. Strictly speaking, this correspondence falls outside the period of this study, but it is difficult to believe that the system of trade had changed very much. Orders were placed by reputable English dealers with equally reputable French dealers, through the good offices of Englishmen and others resident abroad, who were probably personally known to both parties. When Kenny wrote to introduce Board to Carret, he described him as "un homme de toute soliditez", and presumably his own reputation as a merchant depended on the truth of the statement.

The methods used by the smugglers are hardly relevant to the silk industry as such, but they were, of course, most diverse. The implication of the Chamber of Commerce letters and the Carret papers is that broad silks ordered from London in this way were properly shipped with all the necessary forged seals and papers, and perhaps secretly landed by small boats

(1) One of the papers on the smuggling of wool in 1719 (P.R.O. CO.388.23) mentioning the chief French towns from which the smugglers came: "Abbeville, Callis, Bullen, St. Valerys and Diep" said that small boats came from there and were anchored in the dark and then sunk with heavy anchors. When time was propitious the goods were brought up in small parcels and brought on shore. This seems a thoroughly practical procedure but not one which could easily have been used for silks which were easily damaged both by water and by such materials as tar or oiled cloth which would have been used to wrap the parcels.

(2) Customs Opinions from Counsel, op. cit. Vol. III.

at night but, because of their fragility, (1) it seems more likely that they were indeed entered at the Customs House, but under false colours, as Robert Trott complained. The seizures made by the Customs of broad silks, as opposed to handkerchiefs, remnants and miscellaneous waistcoat shapes, etc. may well have been of goods imported rather by the private enterprise of individual sailors and their captains, or by merchants whose main trade was in some other commodity which was legally permitted to enter the country. Books of patterns were seized more often than the silks themselves, as has already been pointed out. One of the most spectacular seizures can hardly have represented a typical method of smuggling. On April 30th, 1732, the corpse of the Bishop of Rochester was brought back from Dieppe in a leaden coffin within a wooden case. Concealed between the coffin and the case were five remnants of foreign silk brocaded with gold and silver which were seized and declared forfeit (2). One fact is quite certain, that a large quantity of French silk was regularly imported and indeed manufactured especially for the English markets, ordered for specific seasons, customers or occasions. Thus far the complaints made by the native industry were justified. The stamping of foreign wrought silks evidently checked the trade only to a limited degree. The exceptions to the acts in favour of returned tourists and wearers of such silks all helped the clandestine importer. The difficulties of successful prosecution hampered the English silk interests.

(1) P.R.O. CO.388. 21/209.

Even the mercers agreed that total prohibition would be the only solution since the silks could be recognised and seized and the owners prosecuted. How far the smuggling of foreign silks into the country inhibited the expansion of the industry is more difficult to assess. The numbers of seizures were no less in the years of the industry's greatest prosperity, the later 40's, but they were the major grievance in 1765 and 66.

2. Competition from Other Textiles.

(b) Printed Calicoes.

The animosity felt by the weavers towards printed calicoes is, at first sight, a little puzzling. It would seem that both for dress and for furnishings there were a wide range of uses for which chintz, whether Indian or English, would be quite unsuitable. Even when it was most fashionable, Mrs. Delany never appears to have worn chintz to a Birthday Ball, for instance. Equally, it would seem a little unrealistic to expect the consumer to use silk to line trunks or back quilts. In an age when only four textile fibres were in commercial production: wool, silk, linen and cotton, the animosity becomes a little more credible. A very high degree of specialisation enabled materials basically suitable for most purposes to be developed for particular uses. In October, 1719, the Weavers Company submitted to the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations a document (1) containing samples of the goods most affected by competition from

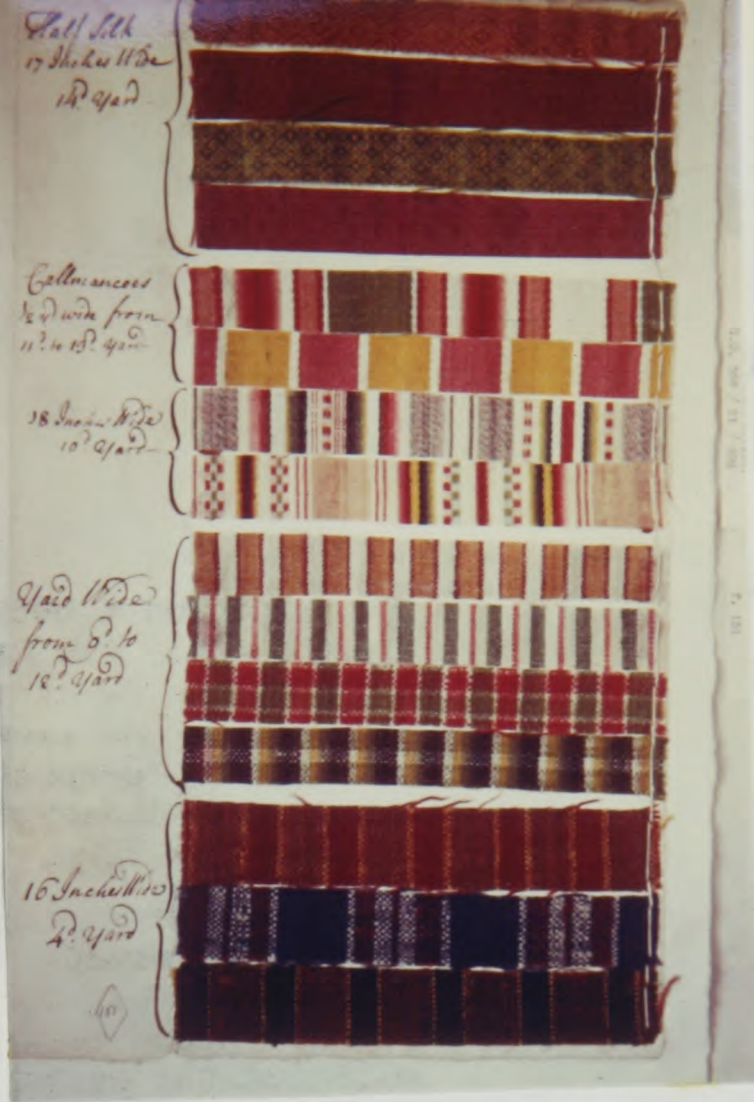
Even the owners agreed that total prohibition would be the only solution since the silk could be recognized and seized and the owners prosecuted. Now for the marketing of foreign silk into the country inhibited the expansion of the industry is more difficult to assess. The numbers of

Plate 67 (79) & (80) Two pages of a book of patterns of materials submitted by the London Weavers Company in 1719 to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations as examples of the goods most affected by competition from printed calicoes. A detailed description of the samples is given in Appendix 3.

The first four samples of 79 are woven in silk and worsted. The first four samples of 80 are worsted, the silk damasks silk and worsted, the two lower series of striped materials all silk, but the weft of a very low quality. P.R.O. C.O. 388. 21, No. 209, fols. 151 and 146.

Crown Copyright. Reproduced by permission of the Public Record Office.

a wide range of uses for which china, whether Indian or English, would be quite unsuitable. Even when it was made fashionable, Mrs. Delany never appears to have worn china as a birthday gift, for instance. Similarly, it would seem a little unsuitable to expect the consumer to use silk to line trousers or back gaiters. I mean age when only four bottles of these were in commercial production; wool, silk, linen and cotton, the animals being a little more credible. A very high degree of specialization enabled materials to be developed for most purposes to be developed for particular uses. In October, 1719, the Weaver Company submitted to the Commissioners of Trades and Plantations a document (1) containing samples of the goods most affected by competition from



(79)



(80)

434
Plate 68 (81). A page from the pattern book illustrated in the previous Plate (see Appendix 3, p.). The samples are all silk but with a low grade weft.

P.R.O. C.O. 388, 21, No. 209, fol. 153.

Crown Copyright. Reproduced by permission of the Public Record Office.

Plate (94). Printed and resist-dyed cotton, Southern India, first half of 18th century. Victoria & Albert Museum I.S. 103-1950. The design of this cotton may be compared with the silk on Plate 1.



Plate 6⁸ (81).



- (1) See Plates 68 and 67, and Appendix 3.
- (2) See Chapter 3, p.291-2 The Royal Accounts give a good idea of the types used in furnishing. In much surviving costume of the period these materials are to be found as the linings of shoes (Victoria & Albert Museum, T.337 & A-1960, for example), forming the backs, sleeves and linings of waistcoats, and occasionally used for the lining of women's dresses and petticoats, although plain white calico is more often used. Few, if any, surviving costumes, especially of the earlier years of the century belonged to members of the middle classes. It is not therefore surprising that there are no made-up examples of the worsteds on fol. 147 of CO.388, 21/209 "yard wide stuffs....commonly sold for a Gown and petty....", which are very like striped linens in appearance and quality.

printed calicoes. The samples are named and priced and correspond in general terms to the newspaper list mentioned earlier of the "soldiers slain in battle" by the calicoes, (p.18). The samples are worsteds, calimancoes, and very light striped silks and half silks, together with some which have small chevron patterns (1).

The emphasis laid in literary sources on the fashion for wearing chintz, combined with the style of surviving early 18th century pieces, disguise the fact that the real battle was not fought out on the issue of whether a lady should wear a chintz or a lustring gown on a fine summer morning, but on the fate of the vast quantities of cheap, light materials produced for ubiquitous purposes - linings both for costume and furnishings (2), and the clothes of the middle classes. High quality dress silks and the best printed chintz had markets which were not mutually exclusive, although they were made to seem so at the time. It is certain that if the main categories of broad silks had been in question, the Weavers Company would have produced samples of them. Moreover, it was Norwich, the centre of the worsted and half silk industry, which felt the crisis of 1719-21 most deeply. In 1720 the Weavers Company of London reported honestly to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations that they had partially recovered from the slump of the previous year. A letter from Norwich on the state of their trade reported, however, that it was "still very calamitous". They had quantities of wrought goods on their hands. The Canterbury

454
(1) C.O. 388. 22 dated August 13th, 1720.

silk weavers who were also asked for their views on the state of their trade, began by saying "we have had this spring a very miserable losing of trade....." They had "sold off a good part of our goods....but at such low prices that our fortunes are thereby lessened". They had managed to keep their poor at work, but hoped for an act in the next sessions "giving an effectual stop to the wearing of prohibited Chints and silks", imported by the East India Company as well as "printed painted and stained calicoes". The assurance they had been given in the summer of future relief had helped "for that has put a check to the buying of calicoes this summer and many slight silkes and silkes mixed with cotton and wool of our own manufacture have been bought and used in the room of calicoes". "Our saving from ruin", they continued, "depends entirely on what the legislature will do for us next winter. If they pass an act laying a penalty on those that wear printed calicoes and other prohibited goods from East India we shall consider ourselves happy, if not we cannot possibly subsist but must lose our Manufactures" (1). This memorial contains several significant points. In the first place we see the Spitalfields weavers recovering while Norwich and Canterbury were still in difficulties; secondly, the memorial underlines the faith placed by the weavers in the power of Parliament. Thirdly, it is the slight silks which were said to have been bought in the place of calicoes, which confirms the argument of the samples submitted by the London Weavers Company. In the fourth place they insisted upon the penalty being put

the weavers who were asked for their views on
the state of their trade, began by saying "we have had this
spring a very miserable season of trade...." They had "sold
all a good part of our goods.... but at such low prices that
our fortunes are thereby lessened". They had managed to keep

Plate 69 (83). Detail of a printed linen lining to a leather-
covered wooden trunk, white ground block printed
in red, pale red, and green (blue and yellow,
one superimposed upon the other). The property
of the Essex Museum and Art Gallery, Chelmsford.
English, c. 1705-20.
The design in this case owes nothing to silk
designs nor could a material of this kind intended
for this purpose have competed with silk. Such
trunks were typical of their period and at least
four survive.

"for that we had a check to the buying of calicoes this summer
and that slight check and slight mixed with cotton and wool of
our own manufacture have been bought and used in the room of
calicoes". "Our saving from ruin", they continued, "depends
entirely on what the legislature will do for us next winter.
If they have not yet taken a penalty on those that wear printed
calicoes and other prohibited goods from East India we shall
certainly survive happy. If not we cannot possibly escape
but must lose our manufactures" (1). This memorial contained
several significant points. In the first place we see the
distinction between weavers recovering while Norwich and Canterbury
were still in difficulties; secondly, the memorial underlines
the fact placed by the weavers in the power of Parliament.
Thirdly, it is the slight check which was said to have been
brought in the place of calicoes, which confirms the argument
of the memorial submitted by the London Weaver Company. In
the fourth place they insisted upon the penalty being not



- (1) The plates of G.P. Baker: Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies (London) 1921, give an excellent idea of their quality. Even in the late 17th century, designs were already being produced for the Western market, for instance, I.M. 49-1919, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which can be compared with I.M. 50-1919, both coverlets printed and resist-dyed from Southern India.
- (3) The late Mr. Peter Floud was engaged upon a series of studies of the technical problems of the calico printers at the time of his death in January 1960. These problems are discussed in the Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists, Vol. 76, May, June and July 1960 (The Origins of English Calico Printing, The English Contribution to the Early History of Indigo Printing are especially relevant.).
Smith in The 1756 Laboratory or School of Arts in the chapter on Calico Printing, spoke, on p. 48, of "the great improvements... of late years... made in this art". "Under the care of a certain gentleman (they) have for art and beauty, surpassed any as have been brought from the East Indies" and he listed the colours of the top quality chintzes, which were numerous by 1756. "The art of calico printing being arrived here in England to a greater perfection than in any other part of Europe..." the author decided to give a description of its history and technical processes. He mentioned the Act of 1721, but not the reason for why it was passed. "The printing business was by that means for some time interrupted, because linen had never before succeeded to take good colours, till at last some of the printers did, by their assiduity conjectures and study find out to bring colours to as great an accomplishment and beauty upon linen as heretofore there had been produced upon calicoes". He mentioned the development of the making of "thread cottons" at Manchester, which could hardly be distinguished from fine calico. He described printing in madder as the standard process, and, at the end of the chapter, gave a brief account of the former difficulties of the calico printers, when they were unable to print or pencil a blue but had to dye it by using a wax resist on the rest of the cloth, a process "which caused a great deal of trouble".
- (4) Usually red or blue, yellows and other shades added by hand after the other printing processes. In CO. 388. 21 No. 207 a list of the numbers employed in the different processes by the calico printers is given. Among them are the "grounders...mostly women who put in the finishing colours and are 45..." in number. The colours were added by brush and tended to be fugitive. The method was and is known as "pencilling".
- (5) P.R.O. C.O.388. 21 No. 140 (appears to be part of the state of the silk trade submitted with the Weavers Company Petition, i.e. No. 137.
- (6) P.R.O. C.O.388. 21, No. 182 dated Oct. 22nd, 1719.
- (2) A.P.Wadsworth & J.de L.Mann. The Cotton Trade in Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780. 1931. pp.111-7, 175, 275.

upon the wearers of such goods. Finally, it is the East Indian goods, not those printed in this country, which were singled out for attack.

Chintzes were imported from the East Indies in quantity from the second half of the seventeenth century, gaining increasingly in fashion. The technical and artistic skill displayed in the Indian palampores and other printed cottons (1) were dazzling by European standards. Until well into the eighteenth century the European manufacturers of cottons had difficulty in spinning a satisfactory warp (2) and the printers in finding a good range of colours (3). The majority of the calicoes and linens printed in Europe until the 1730's if not later, were virtually monochrome (4), with some few additional pencilled colours. Although many of these early printed materials have a great aesthetic appeal today, they cannot be said, in 1719, to have greatly affected the course of the battle. The Weavers displayed a withering scorn for the calico printers, whose profession they described as: "the upstart trade of painting and staining calicoes not known in England above twenty years" (5), while a memorial submitted by a Mr. David Martin (6), spoke of the "frivolous pretences" of the calico manufacturers that they should be encouraged, since their calicoes were made in India, "he who draws anything upon a paper or writes upon it, may with as good a right, assume to set himself the title of a manufacturer as a callico printer calls his dobbling of linens and callicoes....the laying

of different Gaudi colours on a cloth.....cannot be called a manufacture". The calico printers attempted to defend themselves in a series of representations. They began with the usual argument that they employed large number of the poor but made the point that they were printing more linens than calicoes, which is substantiated by the surviving printed textiles of the period. They alleged that they had printed large quantities of calicoes made in England from cotton grown in the Plantations, but that the duty of 6d. per yard was a great check to the improvement of this branch of their manufacture. In defence of the calicoes imported from India and printed in this country, they argued that these paid a high duty and, in any case, deserved as much encouragement as any other manufacture made from foreign materials - a weak point in the mercantilist arguments of the silk interests. They claimed that their goods did not interfere in any way with the woollen manufactures and that, if they did compete with silk, theirs was the more deserving case. They drew attention to the number of foreign silks smuggled into the country which they declared affected the native silk industry much more closely, and attributed the slump in the silk industry to "the unreasonable and unlimited increase of weavers and their dependants" who, "form themselves into Clubs when they are idle". "My Lords," the memorial ended, "we have been at vast charges in erecting of Workhouses, preparing of grounds, conveying of water, providing great quantities of costly utensils and have taken long leases of

(1) P.R.O. C.O.388/21, No. 281.

(2) P.R.O. C.O.388/21, No. 182. In No. 207 the numbers are broken down into their different occupations.

(3) This was the most widely held opinion at the time. The Merchants to Italy trading in raw silk (P.R.O. 388/21, fol. 144) complained chiefly of the East Indian printed calicoes re-landed and sold as English. Peter Lekeux in a letter from Spitalfields written on November 19th, 1719, said that more calicoes were worn that paid no duty than had done so, "if wee consider the gfeat quantity of chints that are worn by most ladies; hardly any woman of fashion is without 'em". He apportioned the blame equally between re-landed East Indian chintzes and imports from Holland. Some of the latter were Dutch printed calicoes made in Holland, to which "they do fix a seal counterfeit like unto ours" (P.R.O. C.O.388/21, No. 250).

houses and lands to carry on our lawful trade....but by means of the late riotous and tumultuous proceedings of the weavers our Business is greatly interrupted" (1). The last remark bears out the memorial of the Canterbury weavers that some hope of anti-calico legislation had an effect upon trade. The estimated number of calico printers, including all their different types of workman, was only 800 (2) and thus, whatever the truth of their arguments, they lost their campaign. This was, of course, somewhat unfair since it was the East Indian and Indian chintzes imported by the East India Company which competed with native industries (3) and the East India Company defended its interests vigorously and, to a limited extent, successfully.

The Company argued that they sold British woollens abroad and that, in any case, the majority of white calicoes imported were for re-export. They feared the loss of markets in Germany, Westphalia, Poland, Prussia and Denmark. "The Dutch who have a method of staining them (i.e.: calicoes), at a very small charge which they call madder reds will be able to supply those Markets". The traders in English stained calicoes were the people chiefly hurt by the smuggling of foreign ones into the country. Previous legislation had helped, and fewer foreign calicoes were worn. Moreover, they argued that printed linens were cheap enough to compete with woollens "but calicoes are too dear". "Fine stained calicoes may in some measure affect the English silks and fine silk and worsted stuffs", but raw silk, they argued, was "no more a staple

(1) For a long time the designs of European printed textiles appear either to have imitated Indian textiles or to have been dominated by those of woven materials, and only to have evolved a style of their own in the middle of the century. Although the designs of silks were frequently an inspiration after this date, they cannot be said to have been a dominating influence. A distinction can, however, be made between a design influenced by a woven one but intended for a simpler material such as a fairly coarse linen, (on which many of the designs of the period seem to be printed) and ~~thus~~ not intended to compete with silk as a fine dress or furnishing material, and one produced for the finest calico, printed in many colours, and adapting to its own technique the most formal type of silk design. It was the latter which could compete in the same markets as the silks.

(2) The trunk itself is covered with leather and studded with brass nails and is typical of several trunks of this period which recently came to light as a result of an Exhibition of English ~~Chintz~~ held in the Victoria & Albert Museum between May and July 1960. It may be dated to the first twenty years of the 18th century. This trunk belongs to Chelmsford Museum and Art Gallery. Since the trunk had not been opened for many years the lining is in good condition and the pencilled colours still visible.

(3) The term is of unknown derivation. It was used both in the 18th and 19th centuries for a type of bed coverlet, often with a central field containing a flowering tree and other devices, and with decorative borders. The latter sometimes shew European influence on the choice of decoration, no doubt to add to their appeal to the European customer.

of this kingdom than cotton". Apart from the designs of Eastern origin there were certainly chintz designs which consciously imitated the designs of European silks and must have been produced with an eye to similar markets (see Plate 68, No. 82) (1). On the other hand, Plate 69, which shews a detail of printed linen from the lining of a trunk (2), is rather closer to engraved ornament than the silk designs of the period. It seems unlikely that such a material, and others like it, had a marked effect on the market for broad silks. The silk weavers and half silk weavers could argue, however, that the striped goods submitted to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations would have answered this particular purpose just as well. They were, however, hardly the equivalent of the palampore (3). The East India Company argued that if the weavers were really in such desperate straits they could either move or weave some other material. They pointed out, with much justification, that the Worcester weavers (whose petition led the petitions from the woollen interests all over England), had been quite unable to prove to Parliament any "hurt from calicoes as the latter ^{were} never worn instead of broad cloth". They spoke acidly of the petitions from places like Dunwich which in fact had no weavers, and said that the weavers had too many apprentices and journeymen, and that wages were too high. The Act prohibiting East India silks and calicoes was not especially beneficial since, "is it not plain that the Gentry and better Tradesmen's families will and do wear foreign silks at double and treble the cost to

the nation of those from India". They recalled that striped, chequered and other goods made in imitation of East Indian materials had been brought in from abroad at twice and three times the price, and the prohibited goods sent to the places making striped goods "till the large improvement of painted and stained calicoes here beat them out again". If the goods were prohibited they would be bought from Holland and Germany, "since the English luxury is always fond of foreign commodities". They compared the outcry against any new manufacture to that when piped water was first introduced into London. They made one very interesting point: that the weavers had "artfully drawn in to heighten the Clamour of those who made English silks or slight woollen goods or stuffs...." all the other woollen manufacturers. This is an unsolicited tribute to the energy of the Weavers Company of London which seems to contain some truth, though when Colonel Lekeux gave his opinion - and he was the most influential spokesman at the time - his views were quite moderate and he was not virulently hostile to the English calico printers. They ended their memorial with some fearful prognostications on the effect of prohibition on trade in India and some mercantilist arguments about specie.

The East India Company argued in a reasoned and sophisticated way, which appears to impress by its impartiality. They stood as the champions of the oppressed little group of calico printers. They naturally skipped lightly over the fact that the production of printed calicoes in and around

- (1) House of Lords MSS. Petitions connected with the Calico Bill 1721 included also the report of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations. The latter said that they had nothing to add to what they had said on the Weavers Company petition of the previous year, and considered that the Bill was adequate. They added, however, some 15 miscellaneous recommendations to compensate the East India Company for anticipated losses if the Bill became law. These included a resolution to stop the interloping trade, the extension of the Company to Madagascar, penalties on ships trading in East Indian goods that were not the Company's, a remission of certain duties owed by the Company due to an error in computing, a discount from the Customs on unrated goods even when they were not sold within a year "because the Company can sell but twice a year and other merchants at any time", longer than a year to claim draw-backs etc.
- (2) P.R.O. C.O.388/22 "A short state of the advantages of manufacturing callicoes in Great Britain", a Memorial from Jonathan Wrightson, Richard Score, Richard Coxeter, Oliver Hurst...Thomas Ollive... many eminent linen drapers & others". Ollive was a calico printer. They wanted a charter and company for the British calico printers with power to import cotton from the Plantations. They thought that the spinners and weavers of wool could easily switch to cotton, since there were no technical difficulties to master, and they made an estimate of the numbers which could be employed (38,160), which was hardly an exaggeration of the future labour force in the cotton industry. The scheme was subsequently printed (there is a copy in C.O.388/3).
- (3) C.O. 388/21, pp. 400 et. seq. are a series of accounts of cloths from different parts of the country brought into Blackwell Hall 1713-19. It is noticeable that from 1717 there is a drop in the figures from all over the country and this coincides with the beginning of the fiercest anti-calico agitation.
- (4) For example, Saturday January 2nd, 1720 Original Weekly Journal (B.M. Burney Collection 197b, Vol. 1): "Last week a young woman in Whitechapel being rudely assaulted by a parcel of weavers, who tearing her calico gown off her back...." she fainted and was bled by a surgeon. Her life was "despaired of" and, somewhat unjustly, this was attributed to the weavers.

London was still very small indeed, and that they were importing large quantities of chintz, printed in the East, together with many striped goods which competed directly with the light materials already discussed. The Commissioners for Trades and Plantations were impressed by their arguments and to offset the passing of the Act of 1721 recommended various compensations for the Company (1). In addition, the Company developed its trade to the Colonies, and individuals continued to re-land prohibited goods and to smuggle them in from Holland throughout the period. The English cotton manufacturers, who were quite prepared to exclude East Indian ghintzes, and proposed several ingenious, and indeed prophetic schemes, for the development of the spinning and weaving of cotton in this country (2), were the real losers by the Act of 1721. This prohibited the use and wear of printed calicoes in this country in any shape or form.

The background to the anti-calico agitation of these years is the slump which had affected textile interests all over the country in the years immediately after the Wars of the Spanish Succession (3). Given the mercantilist assumption that there was a fixed amount of purchasing power in the country, the printed calicoes stood no chance of success. The weavers ripped them from the backs of the ladies in the streets (4). The woollen manufacturers gathered under the banner of the London Weavers Company and the interests of the woollen and worsted manufacturers was paramount. The silk weavers benefited from the alliance, or thought that they did,

(1) I am indebted to Mrs. Barbara Morris for permission to consult unpublished material collected by the late Mr. Floud on these calico printers. None of the firms who signed the 1719/20 petitions against the Calico Bill went bankrupt, and most of them can be traced until at least the middle of the century.

(2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 19, p. 295, March, 1720. The Mayor and Aldermen of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis in Dorset petitioned on behalf of the shippers, spinners, etc. of cotton wool; "for many years past", they claimed, "a manufacture has been carried on in the said town for making cotton imported from the British Plantations into cloth of divers kinds, more particularly into such fabrics as imitate calicoes, which have of late years been printed and dyed....in the neighbourhood", and they asked to be classed as British or Irish linens, a request which was refused.

while the London calico printers who were developing into flourishing communities at Mitcham, in parts of Essex and elsewhere continued to print calicoes. It seems doubtful that they did so for export alone (1). On the other hand, the incipient cotton industries of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis which petitioned for exemption from the Calico Act, appear to have disappeared (2). Just as printed calicoes were held to be responsible for the recession, so the general recovery in the 1720's could be attributed to their prohibition.

Both silk and woollen industries expanded, despite the import of prohibited East Indian chintzes and despite the fact that the English cotton industry re-established itself in the North of England. The "Manchester" Act of 1736 which liberated the English cotton industry caused no riots among the London weavers, although it was, of course, opposed in Parliament. It is, however, possible that the competition which the slight goods faced from cotton, may have been one factor which directed the expansion of the silk industry into the categories of broad and especially foot-figured and flowered silks, for, in the main, these were for a different market. Again, the use of chintz, whether Indian or European, for furnishings may have helped to concentrate the production of the London silk industry on dress materials. For some years after the passing of the Manchester Act there was a state of peaceful co-existence between the different textile industries. The next serious attack of calico-fever occurred in the spring and summer of 1745.

(1) London, June 29th, the General Evening Post (B.M. Burney Colln.) reported "On Saturday night last several calico gowns were burnt in Fleet Street, Spitalfields and a barrel of beer given to the populace. Several women have been fined for wearing printed calico gowns..." It reported that people were going about the streets with aqua fortis "to sprinkle on the gowns and petticoats of such as they see dressed in printed dimities, cottons or Hollands in order to make them unfit for wearing afterwards". On July 2nd it reported a case in which the wives of two Spitalfields weavers had bought some printed calicoes at a drapers and taken them to a magistrate with the bill. The draper was then arrested and the calicoes burnt publicly in Spitalfields.

(2) September 2nd, 1745, see Chapter 2, p. 72 note 3.

(3) For example 442-1897, a copper-plate printed cotton in the Victoria & Albert Museum made by R. Jones and Co. and dated 1761. It is illustrated Pl. 1, HMSO English Chintz (1955) and Pl. 4 in HMSO English Printed Textiles, 1960. Other dated examples include a pastoral scene made by Collins of Woolmers in Herts., dated 1765 illustrated in H. Clouzot and F. Morris, N.Y. 1927, Pl. LXXX. T.443-1919 also made by Collins, The Fortune Teller, and dated 1765 (illustrated Pl. 3 in English Chintz). Many others can be attributed to these years on stylistic grounds.

(4) Some examples are illustrated in Florence M. Montgomery, English Textile Swatches of the mid 18th Century, in Burlington Magazine, June 1960, pp. 240-245. The samples were of calicoes printed in Lancashire collected by John Holker who set up a factory near Rouen in 1751.

Once more cases were reported in the newspapers, of calicoes torn from the backs of their wearers (1), and again the Weavers Company of London marshalled its forces into battle. Committees were formed and, as we have seen, the Weavers Company undertook a series of prosecutions of the wearers of such goods. Unfortunately, their first bona fide criminal turned out to be a pauper, and the Company remitted most of her fine (2). The invasion of the Young Pretender caused the agitation to fade away. During the winter of 1745-6 the Spitalfields weavers were recruiting their forces, and when the danger was past, calicoes seem to have been forgiven. Nevertheless, among the seizures of uncustomed goods made by the Customs in the next twenty years there were many East Indian textiles of all kinds, forming no doubt only a small proportion of those clandestinely imported.

During the 1764-6 agitation printed calicoes were hardly mentioned, although by that date the English calico printers were printing some of their most outstanding and perfectly executed copper-plate chintzes (3). The best-known of these were furnishing chintzes; there were also printed handkerchiefs and a wide range of printed muslins and similar materials of which almost none have survived. There is, however, in the Library of the Union Centrale des Arts Decoratives, Paris, a pattern book which shews what some of these were like (4). Thus, despite contemporary feeling against them, there seems little justification for the outcry against calicoes except

- (1) Particularly to Northern Europe, the German ports and Danzig. Among the letters in C.O.388/23 of 1720 are long memorials from British Consuls and agents in towns, particularly Danzig, reporting on the amount of British and other shipping trading there and their cargoes. (There are no silks among these cargoes at this period, but many woollen goods, of course, came equally in Dutch or English shipping).
- (2) The development of the Valencian silk industry is treated in detail in Santiago Rodriguez Garcia: *El Arta de las Sedas Valencianas en el Sigle XVIII*, Valencia, 1959. In January 1750 the petition from the joint silk interests (House of Commons Journals Vol. 25, p. 933) stated that "the Spaniards are vigorously attempting the increase and improvement of the Manufacture of Wrought Silks and Velvets in that kingdom...." and were therefore prohibiting the export of raw silk. The same petition continued "and the short raw silk of Italy, which has always been freely exported except from Piedmont, has this year been also prohibited to be exported from any of those territories, "where great Encouragement is given to promote the Manufacture of Wrought Silks and Velvets". A boost to production had been given by the scattering of Genoese weavers throughout various Italian towns during recent civil wars. It was stated that the price of raw silk had consequently risen some 30-40%. In the Select Committee Report no one gave any specific evidence about the Spanish silk industry although it was said that the edicts against exporting raw silk were strictly enforced. Mr. Twin Lloyd who had recently returned from Italy said that "several Manufactures of wrought silk are erected at Parma, Pisa and other parts of Italy to which all possible encouragement has been given" and he confirmed the flight of Genoese weavers to these towns (Journals, op. cit. p. 997).
- (3) W. B. Honey. *European Ceramic Art. A Dictionary of Factories....*1952, p. 280, makes use of Gotzkowsky's autobiography, *Geschichte eines Patriotischen Kauffmannes*, 1768, reprinted in *Schriften des Vereins für die Geschichte des Stadt Berlin*, VII, 1873.

from the manufacturers of one class of the materials, the slight silks and half silks and cheap worsteds. The reasons why they were taken as the scapegoat when the industry ran into difficulties will be further considered in the conclusions to this study.

3. Competition in Foreign Markets.

The tendency to foster native industries and to exclude the foreigner was not of course confined to Great Britain. Although the London silk industry became well-established early in the century its overseas sales met with increasing competition. Apart from Lyon silks - an ever-present competitor, unless excluded by the circumstances of war - the Dutch were as ubiquitous as the English, and carried their own range of goods to the same markets (1). The Spaniards who had produced very little, if any, woven silk at the beginning of the century (despite the traditional view of the dealers and art historians that any silk of an outlandish pattern or poor quality must be Spanish), began to build up their own industry (2) with the corollary of the exclusion of the foreigner and a prohibition of the export of raw silk. A determined effort to foster an industry was made by the Prussians in Berlin. The financier and adventurer Gotzkowsky, previously a patron of the Meissen porcelain factory, set up a silk weaving establishment which received Royal support (3). Two of the 1766 witnesses referred to the setting up of this factory. Thomas Abraham Ogier spoke of the exports to Berlin which he had

(1) Court Books: 29 March 1749/50, The Court of Assistants were reassured by a letter from the King of Prussia, of which Horatio Walpole sent them a copy: "His Majesty cannot conceive what has given occasion to the Report of his having charged the manufactures of England in Silesia with a pretended extraordinary Impost because he does not remember to have raised the rights or Duties of Entry one farthing beyond what the British Manufactures formerly paid in Silesia. And if under his government a new charge has been laid upon these efforts, it must have been done in an indirect manner, of which he absolutely hath not had the least knowledge. That His Majesty had ordered Count Munichow to examine into the affair and to give him an exact account thereof. And if he finds any regulation has been really made to charge the English Manufactures His Majesty will have it immediately redressed and he expects to be able in less than three weeks to give an exact information concerning the affair". Walpole added that he had been to visit the Prussian Minister who had read to him the letter in French. Walpole had pointed out that an excise on the use and wear of British woollens came to much the same as an import duty and meant, for practical purposes, prohibition, which it would, "if we did the same thing with respect to the Prussian and Silesia linene". Presumably the threat was sufficient, as the Court Minutes did not report any further action by Walpole. It is interesting, therefore, that the Prussians were willing, subsequently, to risk reciprocal action.

(3) Appendices III and IV to the 1766 Report, op. cit. (translations of two Italian edicts: the first stamping light woollens and other foreign manufactures imported into Florence and dated 1745, the second of 1749 forbidding the export of raw silk from Tuscany).

formerly made before they were forbidden, while Mr. Charles Triquet said "that in the year 1757 he was in the house of one Mr. Gotzkowsky, a considerable silk manufacturer at Berlin, to whom the King of Prussia lets two large houses rent free, for carrying on the silk manufacture: that Mr. Gotzkowsky at that time employed fifteen hundred workmen and five hundred looms; that his Prussian Majesty allows five guineas per annum for every Draught loom, and four guineas per annum for every apprentice employed in the Silk Manufacture; and that Mr. Gotzkowsky then received for Draught looms and apprentices 2,250 guineas per annum. That His Majesty also pays Salaries to some head Workmen, and also advances great sums of money to the weavers, without interest, to enable them to carry on their manufacture". He was asked the sources of his information and said that he had been told all this by Gotzkowsky. He told the Committee that "the importation of Foreign silks at Berlin is prohibited and that before prohibition took place there, the witness used to import silk to Berlin himself but since that time he has not sent one piece". The threat of any prohibition had already alarmed the Weavers Company in 1749 (1).

The political divisions of Italy helped the English in so far that the silk growing areas did not for a long time become manufacturers (2). The edicts against foreign textiles, when they were passed, worried the English to the extent that they were printed in the House of Commons Journals (2). Apart

from the velvets and damasks of Genoa, the Italians were not, however, the suppliers of Europe that they had once been. Nevertheless, edicts prohibiting the export of raw silk intended to protect native industry were even more serious than those passed in Spain.

A more indirect competition, important because it affected one of the most important markets for English silks, was that from goods exported by the East India Company to the American Colonies. This was perfectly legal. Moreover, despite the Navigation Acts, the English Government could not prevent the Colonists themselves trading both with the Spanish West Indies and elsewhere, so that a considerable quantity of various textiles - especially East Indian goods - were imported. It is easier in retrospect than it was at the time, to argue that the demand exceeded supply and that such illicit trading was hardly relevant to the English textile industries.

4. Contemporary Grievances.

There are a group of complaints made by the industry at the time which cannot be altogether disregarded since they arose from factors inherent in their age. The first and least important, because entirely unsuccessful, were the last attempts at sumptuary legislation. There was still in the 18th century a vague and uneasy feeling that it was wicked to dissipate the nation's wealth in specie in the form of gold and silver thread for lace, embroidery, brocaded silks

152

(1) 1732, before the Irish Parliament, 1742 in English House of Commons (concerned with making a distinction between real and base metal and became law) 1743, to prohibit wearing of gold and silver lace, etc.; this was dropped and an alternative prepared, prohibiting the use and wear of gold and silver lace etc. made abroad. A clause was added in Committee to permit tourists to import with them limited quantities, but in the event the bill did not get beyond ^{its} third reading.

(2) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cabinet des Estampes. Vols. Lh. 44 et seq., especially a series of very rich materials made for the Queen of Portugal.

(2) See Chapter 2, p. 180

and tissues. Thus, several bills were introduced (1), both in the English and Irish Parliaments to prohibit the manufacture of such material, and these were vigorously opposed by the Weavers Company. Fortunately for the industry, all the bills failed, since it can be stated without any reservations that the French produced some splendid materials in this vein (of which dated samples are preserved in the Richelieu Collection (2)), and such a prohibition would have put an even greater premium on smuggling than there already existed.

High wages within the industry were frequently deplored, both by the master weavers and contemporary opinion in the Gentleman's Magazine and similar sources. It seems probable that the London silk weaver was more highly paid than his French counterpart, although several of the 1765 witnesses stressed the high cost of living in London. In any case, it can be argued that the greater purchasing power of the skilled London population benefited the home market, if indirectly, since, although the highest paid journeymen had "best clothes" (3), it is very unlikely that they ever rose to more than an occasional half silk. Nevertheless it is not simply the humanitarianism of the twentieth century which repudiates the suggestion that wages, even if they were comparatively high, were a serious disadvantage to the London manufacturer. The Weavers clubs, although these existed, were not all powerful and could not succeed in raising their members' wages

(1) A typical mourning was that for Princess Elizabeth, who died in September 1759. The Lord Chamberlain's edicts were printed in the London Gazette and also advertised in other newspapers. An advertisement printed in the Daily Advertiser giving the regulations for mourning after the death of Princess Carolina was kept among the accounts for Princess Elizabeth, presumably for reference (P.R.O. LC.2. 27). Ladies were to wear black bombazines, plain muslin or long lawn, crape hoods "shamoy" shoes and gloves, and crape fans. "Undress'd, dark Norwich crapes". Men were to wear black without buttons on sleeves or pockets, plain muslin or long lawn cravats. "undress'd, dark grey frocks".

(2) This was reprinted from the Universal Spectator, and appeared in April 1731 (G.M. Vol. 1, p. 161) under a pseudonym "Richard Shuttle". It was called "Of Court Mournings". It complained of "the Inconveniences which distress the Workemen of that Trade, by the Deaths of some foreign princes, which having oblig'd the Court to continued and successive Mournings, that kind of Dress had universally prevailed to the great Damage of the Weavers...." The author considered, most respectfully, "that if the Mourning went no further than the Court and Drawing Room, and if Women of inferior Rank should make no alteration in their Dress, it would be full as well." He had thought about this because of "the Care already taken of reducing the Time of State Mournings" and hoped that people would realise that the way they dressed "may turn to the Advantage or Prejudice of their country". Black silks were generally Italian or Dutch (as has already been quoted), and he thought a change in the kind of mourning every two or three weeks would be highly desirable, and also the use of different colours apart from black. He mentioned scarlet as a mourning colour, a thoroughly ingenious suggestion since it was the most expensive colour in every material. "Lastly," he recommended, "it to the Consideration of the Fair Sex, that as they are inquisitive after New Fashions, it is hardly honest to leave them upon the Maker's Hands, when they have studied to please them."

to a very high level. The depression of their wages in the second half of the century and during the nineteenth century was not accompanied by any great prosperity in the industry - on the contrary.

A third grievance had far more validity. The facts are only too readily available. Although the population was increasing, mortality, not only of infants, was still very high. Private mournings might be expected to occur in any family, but really pernicious in the eyes of the industry were the public mournings which might last for several months. Only black, or grey of certain specific materials, could be worn while the mourning lasted, depending upon the rank of the deceased, and the nearness to the Court of the purchaser (1). Here it must be stressed that the limited social level of the market was a great hindrance to the manufacturers. It was their customers who had to conform to the rules made by the Lord Chamberlain. The Weavers Company frequently petitioned for a diminution of the period, and an article on the subject even appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine (2). Even the French wrote off a season's clandestine exports to England because of the death of the Queen. As a postscript to the Guérignon incident already described, the Lyon Chamber of Commerce wrote to Paterné, their agent in Paris, in January 1738, "Vous aurez du tems Monsieur pour arranger l'affaire de nos negociants qui envoient des Etoffes en Angleterre. La mort de la Reyne mettant un suspension totale dans ce commerce pendant la Durée du Deuil...." which they

- (1) The following bereavements were honoured with public mournings in the period: 1707 Sir Cloudesley Shovell (L.C.2.15 (2)), 1708 Prince George of Denmark; 1714 Queen Anne; 1718 Prince George William; 1727 George I; 1737 Queen Caroline; 1751 Frederick Prince of Wales; 1757 Princess Caroline; 1759 Princess Elizabeth; 1760 George II; 1765 The Duke of Cumberland; 1766 Prince Frederick William. Only the 1740's were comparatively cheerful but, as the article quoted above pointed out, there were always mournings for important foreign royalty.

expected to last a long time. In this respect the English manufacturers were at no great disadvantage than their French competitors, who had to bear their share of public affliction and did so with an equivalent protest.

In 1729, for example, the Lyon Chamber of Commerce wrote a long letter to Paterne, containing several complaints, and ending, that the chief hindrance to their manufacture was "*la fréquence et la durée du deuil....*" They asked that, at the very least, when two mournings occurred simultaneously only one should be observed, as was the practice in foreign courts. The sudden death of a king (and there were three such occasions in England in the period) carried with it the promise of a coronation which could, at a pinch, prevent the wholesale dismissal of journeymen. Queens, princes and princesses brought sudden and irretrievable losses (1), especially to the manufacturers of flowered silks. By the end of the mourning their goods might be out of fashion, with new patterns entering the country from France. They suffered more than any other group of textile interests, for it seems unlikely that a country tradesman's wife would put off the purchase of chintz curtains for her best room or worsted cloth for her children's clothes on such a pretext. The pamphlets had here some justification. Except to the American colonies, exports were not sufficiently large to compensate for a sudden loss in the home market. Moreover, official circles in the Colonies may well have responded, even if tardily, to the Lord Chamberlain's edicts. Even Dutillieu remarked upon the international

(1) F. Bregnot du Lut, ed. Le Livre de Raison de Jacques Charles Dutillieu, p. 40, on the year 1765 "Cette année peut compter parmi les mauvaises de la fabrique; les faillites devinrent nombreuses et par suite la misère des ouvriers augmenta. Mais ce qui contribua le plus à désoler le commerce Lyonnais ce furent les deuils qui vinrent attrister toutes les cours de l'Europe: la mort de l'empereur, celle de Don Philippe, du Duc de Cumberland frère du roi d'Angleterre, du roi du Danemark, de la reine d'Espagne, de la Dauphine et d'autres".

(2) 1766 Report, op. cit. p. 724.

(3) 1766 Report, op. cit. p. 725.

(4) 1766 Report, op. cit. p. 724.

effects of a series of bereavements coinciding at several of the European Courts (1).

Three of the witnesses before the 1766 Select Committee referred to the effects of public mournings.

John Sabatier (2) mentioned that the late mourning had "only affected the winter trade". Mr. Triquet (3), "being asked if mourning did not always affect the silk trade?...said It must undoubtedly affect the trade, but that his stock in hand was greater at present than it had been in any former mourning of the same length of time, in proportion to the number of hands he employed...." John Perigal (4) said that his firm had "more goods remaining now in their warehouses than he ever remembers, even in the mourning for his late Majesty". The implication of their evidence was that bad though a public mourning might be, it was not as disastrous for them as other factors - though it is clear that Perigal had vivid memories of the previous Royal mourning six years before. However disastrous a slump a public mourning might temporarily create, it was to some extent artificial since it stimulated demand at the end of the mourning period, unless some fresh calamity ensued. The smaller master weavers and the journey-men may have felt the effects more deeply than the Parliamentary witnesses, who were for the most part among the leaders of the industry, and men of greater capital.

5. The Shortage of Raw Silk.

Not even the British merchant fleet could ensure a
a
completely regular supply of /raw material which had to come

- (1) On 28th April 1757 the Clerk of the Weavers Company recorded "notice being taken by Mr. Reynolds of the great scarcity of organzined silk and the want of an immediate supply to carry on the manufacture without which many thousand poor weavers would be unemployed And the every eminent distress and danger which might happen in consequence..." The Court resolved unanimously to form a committee, to "support any application to Parliament for admitting the bringing of Organzined silk only over land or in neutral bottoms Or in any way the Legislature shall think expedient...." This was by no means the only example of such a crisis.
- (2) The Lyon Chamber of Commerce became worried about this in 1706-7, and in 1733. (Their letters after 1746 have not, unfortunately, been consulted).
- (3) A representative selection exists in the Patent Office Library Catalogue of pre-1922 books.
- (4) See Appendix 4, No. 2.
- (5) See Appendix 4, No. 1.

from Southern Europe, from the Levant and from the Far East. Nothing stopped production quite so effectively as such interruptions in the deliveries of silk (1) since the silkmen did not aim to carry heavy stocks. Although the French grew a proportion of their own silk - a great advantage to Lyon - they too were dependent upon Italy for the best qualities and for them too an interruption of trade with Piedmont was disastrous (2).

There is, however, an important distinction between the situation at the beginning of the period and the end. When the English industry was small, the Dutch not much larger, and the French industry not working at full strength, there was enough Italian silk to supply all the markets. Silk from the Levant was in no special demand and its price was not prohibitive. The expansion of the demand from all over Europe in the later twenties and thirties pushed up the price of silk without expanding its production. Although a body of literature on the subject accumulated (3), sericulture made no special advances. The Bosanquet letter book illustrates the despair of the English importer who knew that the weavers could not afford to buy at the current market price.

There were several possible solutions. The East India Company imported Chinese silk (4) - but it varied in quality and could not be depended upon. From Bengal it shipped a useful supply (5) of quite indifferent quality, and the Company could do very little to improve it during this period

- (1) The G.M. Vol. II, p. 1017, printed a description of the province of South Carolina in 1732, mentioning the possibility of silk growing. It stated that mulberry trees grew well there and, "it may easily be conjectured what riches Carolina would produce if this affair was well managed".
- (2) R.C.H. MSS. 14th Report X.MS of the Earl of Dartmouth, Vol. II, American Papers, p. 28. Henry Kenman to Lord Dartmouth, December 23rd, 1765.
- (3) These included some for growing silk in the Northern American colonies, which were even less successful.
- (4) The petition from the Georgia Trustees, asking for Government support in their silk-growing enterprise spoke of the number of foreign Protestants shipped out (Journals Vol. 26, p. 96) but in the "Reasons for the Encouragement of making Raw Silk in America" (Parliamentary Papers, University College) it was proposed, rather more realistically, that if merchants could combine together to set up filatures they could import skilled persons from Southern France or Italy to "attend, instruct and inspect the reeling of silk". Those in Georgia seem to have been Italians, but an article in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser of April 8th, 1765 mentioned that the "French neutrals" settled in South Carolina were growing raw silk. It was stated that the Governor of the Colony had offered \$500 to the first man who would present him with 10 lbs. of raw silk.

when the political situation in India was most unstable. It bought what was available, but exports of silk were not its most important trade. From very early in the century the shortage of raw silk was foreseen, and a solution proposed which should have worked but which in fact failed. It was suggested that the Southern American Colonies, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia could well grow silk, since their climate and vegetation were suitable (1). The original schemes proposed sound no less realistic than those put forward by the calico interests for the encouragement of cotton as a crop. Yet almost every detail of the latter schemes were realised while the silk, it was said in 1765, "by no means answers the expectations formed of it and has gradually declined" (2).

Several different projects were put forward by the proprietors and Governors of the various colonies (3). Silk worms could be introduced and since there was only a limited season in which the cocoons could be reeled, it was thought that labourers could be diverted from other tasks to do this. Skilled French and Italian throwsters were to be shipped out - and indeed were sent (4). Premiums were offered by the Royal Society of Arts in the middle of the century for the best and largest quantities of silk produced and the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations spent much time on the question. One great difficulty was to get the correct equipment in sufficient quantity - the colonies had no industries - but without such equipment the silk could be only too easily spoilt. Unskilled negro slaves and Indians were not suitable labour,

and the wages of the white settlers were high, which would, of course, have added to the cost, though this might have been offset by the innumerable charges on its chief competitors, silk from Italy and the Levant. The witnesses before Parliament in February 1750 were credible men of a known reputation in the industry, and there seems no reason to doubt their assertion that silk from the American colonies was of a comparable quality with Italian silk. It was significant that to this committee Lewis Chauvet gave evidence that the shortage of raw silk had caused him to discharge 150 of his workmen. Evidence was given by Job Rothmaker on the Province of Southern Carolina, in which he said the red mulberry tree already grew prolifically and the white could be encouraged, and that there were already a good number of silk worms in the colony. Mr. Philip Lee gave evidence about Virginia. There the trees of both varieties grew well, but he had "seen silk worms there, which have been destroyed for want of care in the winter". Harman Verelst had received six boxes in the previous year from Georgia, James Crockatt had received parcels of silk from South Carolina. The evidence of these men, well-known American merchants, was followed by that of some equally reputable weavers on its quality: John Batchelor, Thomas Mason, Peter Fremont, the foreman of Mr. Delamare, Lewis Chauvet, Daniel Gobbe, and John Sabatier. All the witnesses agreed in comparing American silk with Italian rather than with the less useful Levantine, Chinese or Bengal silk. As a result of this Committee an Act was passed (1) for encouraging

(1) B. Hindle: "The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America", 1956. pp. 199-204.

(2) R.C.H. MSS. 63rd Report. Diary of Viscount Percival, Earl of Egmont, Vol. I, p. 327.

the growth of raw silk in the Colonies. It provided for the import of American grown silk duty free, on the oath of the shippers that it was indeed American. The usual penalties were to be imposed upon those who attempted to import foreign raw silks as American, and the onus probandi was to be upon the owner of the silk.

Attempts to grow silk in Georgia seem to have been the most successful (1). The experiments began hopefully with the enthusiastic support of Sir Thomas Lombe. The diary of Viscount Percival (2) mentions a letter to the Georgia Society from Sir Thomas Lombe in 1732 which highly commended "our Society the goodness of Carolina silk, with promises to assist us with his advice". A Piedmontese, brother of one already sent to Georgia, attended this meeting of the Georgia Society, proposing to go out there, taking with him "an expert man in making their machines, tools, etc.". In March, 1733 it was agreed that the man (his name was Amatis) should go out with twelve skilled workmen to teach the colonists how to grow and tend to the culture of silk. Although the scheme was approved, the Society was short of money with which to carry it out, and resolved to apply to the Earl of Derby for help. Presumably this was obtained for, in 1735, Percival noted "our secretary, Mr. Martin acquainted us that Sir Thomas Lombe, Alderman of London, the great silk alagoziner (sic. = organziner) had received 30 lbs. of raw silk sent us from Georgia and had promised to alagozine it at his mill in Derby without expense in order to our weaving it up into a

(1) Percival Diary, Vol. II, p. 168.

(2) The G.M. reported the incident, V. p. 498, but not what the silk was actually woven into.

(3) A.D. Chandler. Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Journal of Col. William Stephens, Secretary to the Board of Trustees at Savannah, esp. Supplement to Vol. 4. pp. 134 et seq. p. 141, May 1741.

suit of clothes to present to Her Majesty. Sir Thomas added that it is as good raw silk as ever he had seen and that considering how cheap we can afford to send it from Georgia, we may not only beat out the Italian silk but even send silk thither. That if we could procure the China silk-worm it were all of the best because silks made of them never change colour" (1). In August 1735 Oglethorpe of the Georgia Society reported to Percival that "he had been this morning with Sir Thomas Lumbe at Court, who carried the silk organzeened to Her Majesty and took her directions how she would have it worked into a suit of clothes (2). That Her Majesty appeared exceedingly pleased with it and Sir Thomas declared he prefers it to the Piedmontese in every respect, particularly that it has less waste".

The subsequent progress of the growth of the silk crop in Georgia can be followed until 1766. The Secretary to the Board of Trustees at Savannah, Colonel Williams Stephens, reported favourably in his Journal (3) on the increase in the numbers of those rearing cocoons and in the numbers and weight of the cocoons brought to be weighed. In May, 1741 he commented that some were bringing up to 40 lbs. in weight. At 300 cocoons to a lb. approximately, "I thought would scarce have been credible if I had not seen it, and being received at a certain value which is readily paid there is little doubt to be made but it will every year appear more and more to be an employment worth taking in hand". By July of that year he was

(1) Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, op. cit., Vol. V. Journal of the Earl of Egmont 1738-44, p. 223. This occurred in 1739, for example.

(2) Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, op. cit., Vols. V - IX. The expenses gradually rose to approximately £1,000 p.a. by 1765.

pleased to note in his Journal that another, though smaller, second crop had been delivered. The difficulties in raising silk were, however, formidable. The climate was such that the silk worms tended to hatch before the mulberry trees on which they were to feed, and hence they lost their crop through starvation in a number of years (1). Late frosts could also kill the trees and the young leaves, and the worms died from feeding on the leaves of the red mulberry tree instead of the white. The silk worms themselves needed much care and attention, as they easily caught various diseases and quickly infected one another. There was some difficulty in persuading the Italians imported to stay, and in recruiting apprentices. It was thought that the bastard orphan children, half-Indians, would be suitable. It was agreed in 1744 that a Mrs. Camus, who was the chief silk winder, should receive fees of £2 for each pupil at the beginning of their training, and £5 when it was finished, up to ten pupils at a time and 5/- per week per pupil for maintenance for six months. In view of the fact that 5/- a week was said, in 1765, to keep an adult unemployed weaver in London where the cost of living was generally agreed to be high, 5/- seems a realistic, if not lavish, amount to allow for maintenance. The increase in the 40's and 50's can be estimated by the gradually increasing sums spent year by year by the Trustees, and subsequently by the Governor and Council (2). Until 1764 the Bounty was kept at 3/- per lb. This was higher than that paid in South Carolina but the Governor and Council were very distressed to receive a letter from the Commissioners

(1) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations,
1764-7 (1936), p. 129.

(2) B. Hindle, op. cit., pp. 201-204.

for Trades and Plantations early in 1765 suggesting a reduction of the bounty from 3/- to 1/6d., which, they said, would kill the enterprise altogether. Twice in 1739 and 1742 the silk was submitted for approval to London silkmen and weavers, who said it was excellent and worth 20s. to a guinea a lb. Yet the quantities produced remained very small - as the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations pointed out in their letter. On the other hand, their journal is revealing. After the representatives of the Colony of Georgia had withdrawn, "their lordships agreed, that until some more effectual plan of encouragement for this culture can be established, the prices paid at the filature for the cocoons should be reduced, in order to prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment that would attend any exceeding the next year upon the grant of Parliament for this service" (1).

Whether it was the cause of failure or its effectm there was altogether insufficient capital invested in the raw silk enterprises. The bounties offered by the Government were very small. The premiums of the Royal Society of Arts, which were also imitated in America (2), though they were praiseworthy in intention, were limited in effect. After the death of Sir Thomas Lombe, no City interest seems to have been willing to take the risk of investment in a commodity in which returns were necessarily slow and sometimes non-existent. If the part-time silk grower was unfortunate enough to lose his crop one year because of frost, he could turn to his other agricultural activities, but for the City merchant the proposal

- (1) Not only was silk far more vulnerable in all the stages of its growth leading up to the cocoon than a cotton plant in a plantation, but while cotton could be picked and then packed into bales for export without any intermediate processes, a silk cocoon had to be reeled off and the qualities roughly sorted before it could be packed. This extra process necessitated skilled labour and expensive equipment, neither of which were necessary in the cotton plantations.
- (2) A MS. copy of Captain Elton's report in which this fact is mentioned is among a series of papers on the Russia trade among the Bosanquet documents. It is interesting that a silk importer who was a member of the Levant Company was evidently anxious to find out as much as he could about the project. He did not, however, annotate it with his own comments.
- (3) G.M. Vol. XII, 1742, p. 22. Its text is the same as that of the Bosanquet copy.

was unattractive unless, indeed, Government subsidies had been more extensive. During the discussions before the Select Committee of Parliament in 1765 and '66, no one seems to have suggested that, far from reducing the bounties paid, they should increase them - although much was said about the European shortage of raw silk. No attempt was made to form a limited company to invest in silk works and no real attempt made to provide money from any other source. The cotton plantations were on a rather different footing since they produced a raw material intended for a much wider market - including home consumption, by the end of the century, and needed far less skilled labour to gather, pack and ship (1).

One other attempt was made to secure fresh supplies of raw silk. It had long been known and resented that the silk which was imported by the Levant Company from Aleppo and other ports in Turkey was grown in the Northern Provinces of Persia and shipped to the coast by Armenian traders (2). In 1740 an alternative route was suggested by a Captain Elton, and this was subsequently printed in the Gentleman's Magazine (3). He put forward a scheme to open trade with Persia through Russia, bringing British woollens to trade for silk. He thought that there would be a ready sale for woollen goods since they were worn by the Persians, and none from England had so far reached these provinces. Goods could travel down the Volga to the Caspian and then be shipped across the sea. It would then take only a 14-day caravan to reach Meshed. The Levant Company naturally opposed the project, but Elton was successful in obtaining the approval of the Russian authorities.

(1) Journal of the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations.
(Vol. 48. fo. 114-6) ie: 1734-41 (1930), p. 356.

(2) This became an Act, 14 Geo. II, Cap. 36.

Permission was given for a ship to make the voyage down the Volga and to pass through the Russian internal Customs without hindrance. Passes had to be obtained and warehouses established. It was thought that the Persians would be glad to sell to anyone rather than the Turks. The Russia Company Agent commending the scheme, considered that it was very much to Elton's credit that he had managed to obtain permission when the East India Companies of England, France and Holland had had to pay extraordinary fees to get renewal of the privileges granted by Peter the Great. He argued that "anything which increases the export of woollens and reduces the price of our silk manufactures greatly promotes the interest of England". He emphasised that the Persians could be supplied with "coarse Yorkshire manufactures as we have done the Russians these many years, both for the clothing of their army and the common people". It would, of course, be necessary to obtain a modification of the Navigation Acts. The political effects of the trade were thought to be highly desirable and "with respect to England if we get the start of the French in this new trade (as we may do with ease if the present opportunity be embraced) it cannot fail to strengthen the natural interest between Great Britain and Russia and give His Majesty an influence to balance that of the French in Turkey". In a report of November, 1740 (1) the Board of Trade gave their approval to the project, but it was not until early in 1742 that a Bill was introduced into the Commons opening the trade to Persia via Russia (2). The Gentleman's

(1) G.M. Vol. XII, p. 545.

(2) See Appendix 4, No. 11.

(3) G.M. Vol. XX, April 1750, p. 151. Reasons of the
Russia merchants in behalf of the silk Bill (also XIX, p. 431).

Magazine gave the full text of the Bill and also Captain Elton's report. It is evident that both public and official opinion were in favour of it (apart from the Levant Company), and the Bill seems to have become law without great opposition or delay. Considering the natural hazards faced by such a trade, and the difficulties of persuading both Russian and Persian officials to let the goods pass through their hands, the most extraordinary aspect of this venture was its immediate success. In October 1742 the Gentleman's Magazine was able to report (1) "were entered at the Customs House 4,330 lbs. of raw silk from Petersburg the first imported.....since the commencement of the late Act...." During the next few years the amount imported fluctuated greatly (2) until, in 1747, the Empress Elizabeth revoked the privileges of the Russia Company. During these years civil wars in Persia brought the complete loss of their assets, shipping, warehouses, etc. (3).

Nevertheless, in March 1750, the Russia Company petitioned the Commons for permission to introduce a Bill to re-open the trade, to permit them and anyone else to import in British ships from any Russian port raw silk grown in Persia and bought in Russia by barter with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities, exported from Great Britain to Russia or bought by selling such goods. They were not reclaiming their privilege to organise the trade, and this time they were seeking a radical breach in the Navigation Acts. They were readily supported by the Weavers Company

- (1) On March 19th 1749/50, Mr. Reynolds reported to the Court of Assistants that the Russia Merchants wanted the help of the Weavers Company in an application to Parliament for leave to import Persia Silk from Russia into the country. The application had been approved by Mr. Walpole and by the Speaker of the House. It was decided to present a petition, and since both petitions were presented to the Commons on the following day, the Assistants must have acted swiftly. The Company's petition argued that: "This import has for some time been discontinued, the importers not being able to take the oath required by a clause in an Act made in the 14th year of his present Majesty's reign for the Opening of the Trade to and from Persia through Russia. Therefore the British Factors are not permitted to carry their goods through Russia directly to Persia in consequence whereof your petitioners and the other silk manufacturers of Great Britain are not only deprived of the benefit intended..." but that "the French, Dutch and other foreign nations may be supplied with this valuable commodity at an easy rate..."
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. 25, pp. 1107 and 1103.
- (3) This is a rather difficult point. It would seem much more probable that the Weavers knew what they wanted and that the different qualities made a very real difference to them. Moreover, the Weavers Company would not have spent its funds in support of a Bill it did not think would bring any material advantage. On the other hand, Bosanquet was very disappointed in the Sherbaffe silk he received from David Hays in Aleppo, and said it had not come up to expectations. It is, however, possible that the individual shipments of this, as well as of any other, type of silk, were liable to vary in quality.
- (4) See Appendix 4, No. II. Only in 1750 was the supply interrupted altogether. The Act was only a qualified success, since no raw silk was imported by this route in 1757, from 1760 - 1762, or 1764 - 1766.
- (5) 23 Geo. II, Cap. 20. An Act for Encouraging the Growth and Culture of Raw Silk in H.M.'s Colonies or Plantations in America.
23 Geo. II, Cap. 34. An Act for Permitting Raw Silk of the growth of Persia, purchased in Russia, to be imported into this Kingdom from any port or place belonging to the Empire of Russia.

of London (1) whose members were desperately short of raw silk caused, it was alleged, by the King of Spain's prohibition of the export of raw silk and by the end of the supply from Russia. The Bill was, however, equally vigorously opposed by the Levant Company. It is interesting to see that on this occasion it was the latter who succeeded in marshalling the woollen interests in their support, (for instance, the Gloucester and Exeter clothiers who petitioned Parliament against the Bill (2)), and also some fishing towns, (Great Yarmouth, Lowestoft and Truro) who feared the loss of their trade to the Mediterranean. A series of letters in the Gentleman's Magazine reinforced the arguments of the petitions against the Bill. It was claimed that there was no real shortage of silk but that the recent war had led to an increase in insurance and freight charges which had, accordingly, put up the price of raw silk. It was said that no woollen goods were sent to Russia and payment would have to be in bullion. It was argued that despite what the weavers said, Brutia silk was as good as sherbaffe (3). It was also said that since it was proposed to open the trade to all nations silk would not, in fact, be in any more plentiful supply, nor, therefore, cheaper to the English manufacturers. In spite of the opposition, the Bill became law and once again an irregular supply of silk was ensured (4). It is a sad but interesting commentary that the Act to encourage the growth of raw silk in America which became law on the same day (5), and carried with it no political or

- (1) The critic of English silks, whose letter was printed in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser of March 2nd, 1765, began, "I avow myself an admirer of the French and while I can buy their manufactures cheaper...." He was a prejudiced witness, but there may have been some truth in what he said. One of the two sample invoices for silks shipped from London printed in the Beekman Mercantile Papers (see p.441 note 1) was one from William Baker for goods sent out in 1753, in which he has noted, "Have sent India taffeties they now being cheaper and better than English which can't be had till a long time staying the making and would cost more money". This invoice would be even more disconcerting to a supporter of English silks, were it not that another of 1767 specifies "English Black Taffaties".

economic complications, had far less practical effect upon the industry.

Indeed, it is difficult to understand how, in an age of mercantilism, the danger of depending upon a raw material which was almost entirely imported from foreign countries, and those limited in their production, could have been underestimated. Yet it was, except by a very few. Except on the particular occasions when they were quarrelling with the throwsters, the Weavers Company did not themselves take any initiative to ensure adequate supplies. The failure to invest in any such projects was of serious consequence. In 1765 allegations were made that home-manufactured silks were more expensive than legally imported foreign ones, despite the duty paid by the latter. Although such allegations were not made objectively by uninterested parties, they cannot be ignored (1). The price of raw silk was, I would suggest, a very real factor to be taken into account.

- (1) John Northoucke. A New History of London, 1773. p. 431.
He gave a vivid account of the riots which tallies with that in the newspapers at the time. The author of an anonymous article on the history of the silk industry in the Journal of Design, Vol. II, 1849-50, referred in the second part of his article (page 169), to the occasion when "the journeymen weavers obtained the prohibition (of foreign silks) by marching to the Houses of Parliament with 'drums beating and colours flying!...'"

CHAPTER 6

THE CRISIS OF 1764 - 1766

A series of spectacular demonstrations in the summer of 1765 brought the London silk industry before the public eye in a way that was then unprecedented. The riots were remembered after every other memory of the silk industry at the time had faded, and they appear prominently in most of the nineteenth century accounts.(1). It is proposed in this chapter to trace the events leading up to the riots, to give an account of what took place and to indicate the attitude of other sections of the community towards the weavers. While the industry stated to the Select Committee of the Commons what it considered the causes of its troubles to be, there are several factors to be taken into account which were hardly mentioned at all.

The origins of the slump can be traced back to the end of the Seven Years War. Although the markets subsequently lost were not important in the quantity of silk exported, they at least gave the manufacturers an incentive to expand rather than to contract their production - and, as has already been mentioned, war was favourable to the home market. Although it is true that trading with the enemy continued until the Napoleonic Wars, it was a very much more difficult operation than contraband trade in peace time, if only because the privateers, active on both sides, increased the risk and therefore the price of the imported commodity. Whatever the

- (1) p. 559. The London Magazine reported riots on 2nd October, due to "some articles in weaving being lowered one penny per yard (by some of the masters)...." and a similar report was printed in the Gazette and London Daily Advertiser on October 13th, 1763. The latter added that the journeymen deserved a living wage, especially since the cost of food and 'firing' were kept up at "extravagant prices...although the war is over".
- (2) On October 13th 1763, the journeymen published an advertisement in the Gazette and London Daily Advertiser, "the true state of the case of the Journeymen Weavers", in which they recalled the signing of the 1762 agreement and the names of the masters and journeymen who had agreed to it. On October 17th the same newspaper reported that "on Thursday last a great number of the journeymen Spitalfields silk weavers met some of the principal masters....(and) agreed that the price of wages should be the same as was regulated by a printed list in August 1762 which it is hoped will entirely put a stop to the late unhappy differences". No copy of the 1762 Agreement has so far been traced.

fashion for foreign goods, an increase in price limited the market and therefore helped to give the British manufacturers some security.

In 1763 they found themselves with goods on their hands, and the immediate reaction of some of the master weavers was an attempt to cut wages (1) which provoked widespread discontent and retaliation by the journeymen. The weavers of ribbons and one branch of the broad silk industry, the gauze weavers, appear to have been the chief sufferers. A sudden change in fashion left a pool of unemployed too numerous in these circumstances to be re-absorbed into the industry. While, on this occasion, the journeymen reacted with some window-smashing and the cutting of work on the loom, they also shewed that they were capable of organising a reasoned "trades union" campaign which was successful, since they secured a confirmation of prices agreed in the previous year (2). The industry, as a whole, only recovered slowly from this recession, and firmly believed that this was due to the flood of silks from France said to be coming into the country. In March, 1764, a Liveryman of the Weavers Company appeared before the Court of Assistants with a petition from the journeymen, who were assembled in the hall and in the street outside in large numbers "praying an application might be made to Parliament to hinder the Exorbitant increase and wear of foreign wrought silks under such restrictions and limitations as the King and Parliament in their great wisdom should think fit". The Court

(1) Journal 1764-7, p. 123, December 13th. "Read a memorial of the Weavers Company London, stating the discouragement they labour under, and praying that the duties payable on the importation of all foreign wrought silks and velvets may (at least) be doubled", and that if any draw-back continued on re-exported silks, it should not include any of the additional duty paid. They also read a memorial from several silk throwsters and others, saying that insufficient raw silk was coming into the country and "proposing the free importation of raw silk by taking off the duty thereon". The Customs were asked to supply "with all possible despatch" a series of relevant statistics: the quantity of raw silk imported 1758-63, the amount re-exported, the quantity of foreign silks re-exported and the duty paid, and the bounty paid on the export of British woven silks. On January 7th (p. 133) they received the accounts and passed a series of resolutions, on January 17th (p. 139) they received the representatives of the Levant Company, and on the 24th (p. 140), they considered further and passed another series of resolutions. These resolutions contained the basic points of those carried by the House of Commons on April 24th (Journals Vol. 30, p. 376-7).

(2) See Appendix 2, No. 5.

(3) See Appendix 4.

was prepared to support the cause although it warned them that the session of Parliament was too far advanced to get any legislation through in that year. The Company, however, decided to publish an advertisement to encourage the seizure of smuggled French silks, and this was immediately followed by the seizure made by Robert Trott of a large book of French patterns. These measures hardly affected the situation, and it is evident that the depression in the industry was growing. Nevertheless it was not until October 1764 that the Court took notice "of the declining state of the Silk Trade by reason of the great quantities of French and foreign Wrought Silks introduced and worn....", and formed the committee which was to carry the campaign through Parliament in the next two years. The Commissioners for Trades and Plantations began their investigations in December (1), but while they were working the winter of 1764-5 was one of the worst experienced by the journey-men weavers. Unemployment brought near starvation and, in due course, the formation of the Relief Committee. Nevertheless, although the distress of these months must have been very great - and the harrowing stories told in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser were probably quite true, the figures which are given in the monthly bills of mortality for "starved" do not greatly increase. Even more significant, although there was an increase in the number of bankruptcies of those connected with the silk industry in the years 1763-6 it was not startling (2). None of the important firms failed, although the slump is clearly reflected in the export figures (3).

- (1) There were separate Bills to deal with raw silk and with the import of foreign silks. The text of the latter is preserved in the House of Lords MSS. It proposed additional duties of 8/- a lb. on plain silks and velvets, except those of France and the East Indies, and 8/- a lb. (weight) on brocaded, flowered, figured and clouded silks, and velvets from France. An additional duty of 23/- a lb. was proposed on the silks of any other foreign country. Plain silks and one-colour damasks were to be exempted. The usual legal provisions were made in an attempt to avoid frauds. The Bill also added a clause making the breaking and entering of a workshop and the cutting of work on the loom a felony, as it was in the woollen industry, and therefore punishable by death.
- (2) 2nd edition 1740, pp. 139-140. The same figure was quoted in the first edition of 1729, pp. 136-138.
- (3) B.M. Burney Collection.

Many of the arguments on wages, on the cost of raw silk, on the shortage of pattern drawers, on the relationship of weavers to mercers, were rehearsed publicly in the newspapers before the Select Committee of the Commons delivered its report on March 4th. The journeymen could, therefore, feel confident of their promised relief, and great faith was placed in the Bills introduced on April 25th and 26th (1). Although the situation was bad it was not felt to be desperate.

A large concentration of well-organised, skilled workmen could not have starved peacefully from November 1764 till April 1765 if there had been total unemployment. Thomas Price told the Select Committee that the estimated total was 5,200. This was bad enough, but it is difficult to find an accurate estimate of the total employed. The Foreigners Guide of 1740 (2) estimated that there were over 100,000 weavers of one sort or another resident in Spitalfields. This must have been very much exaggerated but it does seem that only a proportion of the men were totally unemployed, while the rest found work, if only intermittently. Five shillings, the relief given to an adult, kept him for a week only. The demonstrations began only when the Bill to restrict imports of foreign silks reached its final stages in Parliament.

A good account of the most important was printed on the following Saturday in the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser (3), though they omitted to describe the events on two of the days which were fully reported in the Gentleman's

- (1) G.M. XXXV, May 1765, p. 244.
- (2) G.M. XXXV, May 1765, p. 244.
- (3) House of Lords MSS. Report of May 22nd on riots of May 15th-17th.
- (4) i.e., The Duke of Bedford. According to John Northouck writing in 1773 (see p. 489, note 1 of this Chapter) when "the bill for relief was thrown out by the House of Peers..." there was "resentment chiefly against the Duke of Bedford who they were informed was a principal opposer of the bill". W.M. Jordan (thesis op. cit.) p. 57, quotes evidence shewing the Duke of Bedford was the only peer who spoke against the bill.

Magazine. According to the latter "a large body of weavers marched in procession from Spitalfields to St. James having a black flag flying before them, with a view to presenting to H.M. the distressed condition of themselves and their families on account of the decayed state of the silk manufactures in this metropolis, but H.M. being at Richmond, they failed in their design" (1). This procession took place on Tuesday, May 14th, when it seems that the King had gone to pay a surprise visit to Syon House. On the following day the King went to the House of Lords to give the Royal Assent to a series of bills and "he was followed by an incredible number of Spitalfields weavers with black flags, imploring H.M.'s gracious interposition in behalf of themselves and their wretched families" (2). It was on this day (apparently) "that the Duke of Bedford was assaulted and wounded" on "his way from the House and could not attend his duty in Parliament without danger of his life" (3). On Thursday, May 16th, "a party of guards were sent to Spitalfields, on account of the mob breaking windows and making riots at some master weavers who are reported to have foreign silks in their custody. At one master weaver's house, in Princes Street, Spitalfields, all the windows were broken from the top to the bottom". Having begun with the windows of Spitalfields, "about 8,000 Spitalfields weavers were drawn up in Moorfields and from thence marched again to St. James. They had in their last insurrection offered some insults to a noble duke (4), in consequence thereof the guards were ordered out to prevent the like outrages

- (1) G.M. ref. op. cit.
- (2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, May 18th, 1765.

for the future. This precaution had the desired effect and no violence was offered on the part of the weavers" (1).

On Friday, May 17th, the weavers organised their largest demonstration: "they convened again in Spitalfields with beat of drum, more numerous than any of the preceding days. One body of them marched by Holborn and Covent Garden, a second by Ludgate Hill and the Strand, and a third by Gracechurch Street and London Bridge, through the Borough and Westminster Bridge, carrying flags of various colours before them. About twelve o'clock all the different bodies met in New and Old Palace Yards, and other streets and lanes leading to the Parliament House, and were reckoned to consist of men, women and children from 25-30,000 persons" (2). Guards were stationed outside Parliament to prevent the Members from being molested. "About two o'clock a message was delivered to them from the House of Lords, signifying that their Lordships could not proceed to any re-consideration of their grievances until the next Session, when every possible step should be taken for their advantage". The weavers continued to stay there until they were informed that handbills would be distributed telling them what would be done to help them, and they then dispersed. "What was remarkable, they were guilty of no riot, and behaved very peaceably, huzzaing several peers as they went to the House. It was computed above 40,000 persons were present about the Parliament House, Westminster Hall and the streets adjoining".

- (1) W. M. Jordan (thesis), op. cit., quoting Walpole Letters VI, 242, and King George III Correspondence I, 105, 106, 114.

On Friday, May 17th, the weavers organized their

largest demonstration: "they convened again in St. Martin's

with less of a crowd, more numerous than any of the preceding days.

One body of them marched by Holborn and Covent Garden, a second

by Ludgate Hill and the Strand, and a third by Gracechurch

Street and London Bridge, through the Borough and Westminster

Bridge, carrying flags of various colours before them. About

twelve o'clock all the different bodies met in New and Old

Palace Yard, and other streets and lanes leading to the

Parliament House, and were reckoned to consist of men, women

and children from 25-30,000 persons" (3). Guards were stationed

outside Parliament to prevent the members from being molested.

"About two o'clock a message was delivered to them from the

House of Lords, signifying that their petition could not

proceed to any reconsideration of their grievances until the

next session, when every possible step should be taken for

their advantage". The weavers continued to stay there until

they were informed that parliament would be dissolved before

that what would be done to help them, and they then dispersed.

"What was remarkable, they were guilty of no riot, and behaved

very peacefully, humbly, and with great civility as they went to the

House. It was computed above 40,000 persons were present about

the Parliament House, Westminster Hall and the adjacent buildings."

Sir John Fielding and several other Justices stood by at the New Guildhall in case of any disturbances, where "there was a conference between the leading men to the number of four hundred, and the master weavers and mercers, when it was agreed by the mercers and master weavers to immediately recall all their contracts for foreign goods and, in lieu thereof, to set the journeymen to work immediately to supply their place". The four hundred then mixed with the other demonstrators "when the whole body again reassembled and then returned to their houses in good spirits". The newspaper reported with approval the decision of the King to wear no foreign silks, and hoped the nobility and gentry would follow suit and "wear nothing but English manufactures and make it a felony to smuggle any other into the kingdom". It also reported the only two unsavoury incidents in the demonstrations, the breaking of every window at Messrs. Carr & Co. on Ludgate Hill, and "a great part of them (i.e., the demonstrators) assembling in Bloomsbury Square the Horse Guards were sent for, who came galloping into the Square amongst the mob, trampling over and throwing down men, women and children, by which many were greatly hurt".

There are several interesting points about these demonstrations. The scale was very large, even allowing for the figures of 25-30,000 being an exaggeration. Moreover, apart from two sets of windows no damage to property was done. The peaceful nature of the demonstrations may have been due to a deadlock in the Government at the time (1). The King

- (1) The newspaper report on Monday, 20th May, said that the "principal orator was one Mr. Jones who received the message at St. James (promising future relief) and then drew his fellow weavers off to Green Park". He also addressed them in Old Palace Yard, "and seemed to conduct himself with a good deal of modesty and decorum". The Gentleman's Magazine, reporting the events on Friday, 17th May, said that "the principal orator for the weavers is one Jones, a Welshman, who has behaved with so much moderation as to merit the regard of his superiors".

was anxious to be rid of the Grenville-Bedford Ministry and to appoint the Duke of Cumberland to command the troops necessary to suppress the weavers. Fortunately, by the time the dispute within the Government had been resolved, the demonstrations were over. Sir John Fielding handled the affair tactfully, though this was not the opinion of the House of Lords, which convened a special committee on the riots on May 22nd. They resented the "diverse Insolencies and Outrages to the peers who pass'd to and from this House so that some were in imminent danger of their lives". While both the Gentleman's Magazine and the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser commented on the skill and moderation of one Jones, the journeymen's leader, in his speeches (1), the Lords spoke of the "outrageous and treasonable expressions used by persons who harangued the mob....", and considered that the demonstrations were owing to "the remissness of several of the magistrates", who failed to carry out the laws against riots and riotous meetings. In particular, they singled out Sir John Fielding for not thinking the mob sufficiently riotous "to read the proclamation....though he well knew that the Duke of Bedford had been assaulted and wounded".. on his way from the House. They refused to believe the figures he had given them about the numbers unemployed, and they passed a vote of censure on the magistrates "for not doing their duty in suppressing these tumultuous meetings", although the Lords had exhorted them to put the laws into force - a demonstration of independence on the part of the magistrates which is in-

- (1) It is odd that they should have emphasised this point, since it appears in most of the accounts than an assurance of future help was given. In any case, the Lords seem to have abandoned this attitude by the following year when they passed a much stronger Bill without opposition.
- (2) There seems no other reason why families, including women and children, should have demonstrated outside the Duke of Bedford's house.
- (3) On May 21st, 1765.

teresting in itself. Their final resolution was ominous "that the Report that has been industriously spread that the Mob had assurances given them by any peers of this House of Immediate Parliamentary Relief is False, Scandalous (sic) and groundless" (1). It seems very possible that it was the Duke of Bedford's coach whose windows were broken as he left the House of Lords, and he evidently received some cuts, though not quite the "wounds" described by the Committee of the Lords. In the accounts which subsequently appeared, both in the newspapers and the Gentleman's Magazine, it was doubted whether there were any weavers among the "indiscriminate mob" which broke the windows of Messrs. Carr's. Both agreed that there were no weavers in Bloomsbury Square, which seems odd. (2). On the other hand, while the Gentleman's Magazine spoke of "the much mischief" done "by the horses pressing among the mob", the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser published a report from the military that they had only charged after the reading of the Riot Act and considerable provocation (3). The post mortems on these incidents have a strangely modern flavour, for it was generally agreed that the Bloomsbury Square incident was thoroughly regrettable.

The week of demonstrations was not an occasion for an outburst of lawlessness among the poorest of London. It cannot be compared in any way with the character of the Gordon Riots, for instance, and there was much public sympathy for the weavers. The journeymen were exceedingly well-organised;

(1) One of the few cases known with certainty was that of the non-freeman who asked to be made free of the Weavers Company on October 19th, 1761, on payment of half fees (Chapter 2, p.59-60) who had learnt the trade from his mother.

(2) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser, May 20th. It also reported that on the Saturday afternoon soldiers had been sent to Moorfields in case of a riot "it having been rumoured that the tailors, hatters and dyers were to have joined the weavers".

the peaceful processions, the black flags, the lobbying of both Houses, petitions to the King and meetings in Green Park shewed a remarkable degree of political skill and experience. Indeed, considered purely as demonstrations their success points to the fact that the journeymen silk weavers must have been among the most highly skilled and literate of the working population. Theirs' was surely a demonstration organised by a closely-knit community accustomed to a comparatively high standard of life and anxious to maintain it. On the other hand, they did not feel that their interests were at variance with those of their employers (with certain exceptions), and they had a touching belief in the power of Parliament. Their methods were very different from the desperate and starving canuts of Lyon. For very nearly two generations the industry had been expanding, with only an occasional, temporary setback. It is difficult to trace the continuity of occupation among the journeymen that there was among the master weavers, but it can at least be suggested that father was succeeded by son in the same way (1). Nevertheless, some other elements did join in the fray; the journeymen dyers, for instance, were said (2) to have joined the weavers marching by London Bridge. It can be argued that the pleasure of smashing windows might well have attracted some disorderly elements but on the other hand there was no bloodshed and no looting.

The spring of 1765 was not a cheerful one for many others beside the Spitalfields silk weavers. Here the remark made by Dutillieu and quoted in the previous chapter is most

- (1) J. H. Wilson. Industrial Activity in the 18th Century, In *Economica*. New Series VII, No. 26 (May 1940), pp. 150-160.

relevant. He singled out 1765 as one of the worst in the history of the Lyon industry. While the Spitalfields weavers ascribed their distress to the import of French, and thus of Lyon silks, Dutillieu thought that the chief reason for the depression in Lyon was the prevalence of public mournings. It is evident that one must look beyond these causes for a satisfactory explanation. If the export of silks in England was one of the chief branches of the Lyon trade, according to the Lyon Chamber of Commerce, and there seems to be no reason to doubt it, the French should have prospered while the English were in a decline. It has been stated that there is no evidence of a trade cycle between 1717-86, and no simultaneity of booms and slumps until the '60's, when a depression of 1763 rose gradually to a boom in 1765-6 (1). It seems that here the term slump needs some definition. By a "stagnation in trade" the silk industry knew what it meant quite clearly: stocks of unsold goods and workmen on the 18th century equivalent of short time, or altogether unemployed. It is difficult to believe that a sudden drop in the purchasing power of a large community in London did not affect other sections of its population, and indeed elsewhere if the situation continued for any length of time. The journeymen dyers may have joined the weavers processions out of sympathy, but theirs was a trade likely to be immediately affected.

An article which appeared in the February issue of the Gentleman's Magazine outlined "a scheme to relieve the industrious poor" (by settling them on common land), and began

- (1) G.M. Vol. XXXV, pp. 84-85.
- (2) By James Lawrence, 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 209. He said that he could live better in Lyon for 7/- a week than he could in Spitalfields for 12/-.
- (3) G.M. Vol. XXXV, p. 142.
- (4) G.M. Vol. XXXV, p. 567.

by commenting on the large numbers unemployed, without particular reference to the silk industry (1). "The poor are so numerous it will be very difficult to find employment for them, especially in manufactures for foreign exportation, as the prices of almost all sorts of provisions are now greatly increased". It was pointed out to the Select Committee of 1765 on the silk industry that the cost of living was always high in London in any case (2). In March 1765, a report was printed of "mobs and insurrections....frequent in many parts of the country, particularly in the western counties on account of the dearness of provisions" (3). In April 1765, the Gentleman's Magazine carried a long précis, rather than a review, of a pamphlet "Considerations relative to a Bill for taking off the duty on all Raw Silk". In answering objections to the Bill, the author was quoted as saying, "we should still go to market upon equal terms with our neighbours the Dutch and French, and having no other clog at home than what naturally arises from the different price of provisions..... our manufacturers who are now at a stand for want of employment, would be able to furnish the markets upon more equal terms than they can at present....." In December 1765 came reports of distress in the West Riding among the 500,000 in the woollen industry. "Trade in general is now very dull; some branches are almost ruined; many of the manufacturers are out of employment and others have not half work..", and this writer thought that they would emigrate with their skills to America (4).

(1) It is true that the Act passed in 1750 (23 Geo. II. Cap. 20) for encouraging the growth of raw silk in H.M. Colonies or plantations in America, permitted the import of American silk duty free, but too little was imported for this indulgence to affect the industry.

(2) See p. 491 note 1 of this Chapter. No details are given in the Journal of the evidence the Weavers Company produced to support its memorial in the winter of 1764-5, but more information is given when the Company reopened its campaign in the following autumn (p. 224). Their memorial was read on November 21st, 1765 stressing "the disadvantages" the industry "now labours under from the importation and wear of foreign silks and velvets". They were told to present themselves with their evidence on December 3rd, which they did (p. 228), and when they were asked what they thought was the best method to relieve the situation, they again asked for additional duties on foreign silks coming into the country, "the more necessary as the Italians had begun to manufacture flowered and clouded silks". It was then that Hinchcliffe and two other mercers said that they would prefer total prohibition in order to prevent smuggling.

1765, then, was a thoroughly bad year for most of the English textile industries and particularly for the working population. The pamphlet on raw silk, however, begged several important questions. Why should there arise a "natural clog" from the high cost of living in England? Why should it be especially high, and why should it automatically affect the sale of English products abroad? Why were the British manufacturers on unequal terms with the Dutch, for instance? We have the evidence of the Carret papers that the Dutch too paid high wages. Although it seems, in retrospect, an odd thing that a country thoroughly imbued with the ideas of mercantilism should submit for over sixty years to a duty on a raw material which had to be imported (1), at the time, the campaign to reduce or abolish the duties on imported silk was treated by the bulk of the industry as of secondary importance. The petition which the journeymen silk weavers presented to both Houses of Parliament with "some thousands" of them in attendance in January 10th, 1765, described "the badness of trade" which had caused the utmost poverty and want", and stated that "the assistance your humble petitioners pray for is, that you would at this session of Parliament grant a general prohibition of foreign wrought silks".

The demand for prohibition was fully supported by the Assistants of the Weavers Company, both in its own petition to Parliament and before the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations (2), and it was the recurrent theme of the witnesses before the Select Committee. The Bill which was introduced

- (1) 1765 Report, op. cit. p. 210, William Pickart, one of the first mercers to give evidence, said that a high duty would encourage smuggling. Fleetwood agreed with him (but not Germaine Lavie). Ashburner and John Pritchard, also mercers, thought that the proposals would tend to create a monopoly among the weavers.
- (2) John Harris thought that the "figured goods may be easily distinguished"; he was not so sure about the others (1766 Report, op. cit. p. 726). Germaine Lavie could not distinguish Italian plain silks from English, nor could Robert Fleetwood, who went as far as to say that he had "often been deceived in plain mantua silks".

in 1765 only proposed to increase the duties payable. Its opponents in assuming 100 per cent success, were critical because of the monopoly it would tend to create among the weavers, while others pointed out that an increase in duty would only make it more profitable to smuggle (1). Everyone agreed silks of French design could be recognised; it was truthfully admitted in 1766 that no one could recognise a plain silk (2). No one suggested how they could prevent the silks from being imported even if the Acts had a deterrent effect. Plenty of contraband silks came in during the years of prosperity. Just as in 1719 some of the calico-fever rose to a hysterical pitch, so in 1765 foreign silks were a convenient scapegoat. One of the most typical opinions was that of "BxP", who wrote a letter to the Gazette and New Daily Advertiser on May 23rd, 1765. He said that he had made a minute enquiry into the real state of the Spitalfields trade and had talked both to master weavers and journeymen. He put the causes of the depression in this order: the wearing of foreign silks, the journeymen's combinations and cutting of work on the loom which had induced people to buy foreign goods, the dearness of raw silk, the high price of labour which enabled the foreigner to undercut the English manufacturer. He wanted a high duty on French silks, as they were only worn because they were cheaper. The smuggling of goods similar to those which had paid duty could be stopped only by stamping and entering the quantities imported at the Excise or Custom House. Duty should also be paid on "ready made" goods brought into the country, "because many people go abroad

(1) I.e., of simple over-production.

(2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 239-242.

(3) House of Commons Journals, Vol. XXIV, p. 242.

principally to furnish themselves with apparel cheap". He also made the suggestion that the smuggler, retailer, tailor, or mantua-maker, and wearer should all be subject to equal penalties, and if the wearer could not produce the other three, he should be subject to the whole penalty, which he put at £400. He wanted the journeymen to be put to work rather than to receive relief without work, and he wanted to see the duty taken off raw silk or reduced.

Competition from French silks because their designs were preferred by the consumer is understandable, but that any French silk paying all the duties in France and subject either to the risks of the contraband trade or the already high English duties should arrive in this country substantially cheaper than its English competitor, needs some explanation. The bitterness felt towards the importers of French silks suggests, however, that the allegations of cheapness were true, or nearly so. The quality of the English silks which survive is not in question. No detailed comparison can be made of their prices in the absence of a mercer's private account book, but if English silks were more expensive why was this?

Although something like a slump in the modern sense (1) seems to have affected both the Lyon and the Spitalfields industries at this date, the situation was rather complicated. In an appendix to the 1773 Report on the silk industry (2) the imports of raw and thrown silk were tabulated for a series of years (3). These indicate that a crisis took nearly three

- (1) Mr. (i.e. Charles) Triquet, a master weaver, said that "if such importation was prohibited for a reasonable time, which he thinks ought not to be less than seven years, a fair trial might be made....." It would encourage manufacturers to set up silk works in other parts of the country, where labour might be cheaper.
- (2) G.M. Vol. XXXV, p. 187. Review of the Pamphlet on the proposed Silk Bill. The author told the story of "a gentleman who has the most valuable silk mills at Derby...." who could not afford to buy raw silk because of its high price, but "was induced" by his "great tenderness for his distressed labourers, to pay them the usual prices of hire, without having their labour for it...an act of great humanity and goodness which does honour to the gentleman".

years to build up. Although 1765-6 were bad years and there was a recovery in 1767, there is not the spectacular drop in imports that one might expect, nor, it must be insisted, did many of the master weavers go bankrupt. Equally, it is relevant that it was said in 1766 (1) that if a period of total prohibition were to be tried, it would have to be for several years to see if it had any effect. Exports had been steadily declining for some years, especially those to the American Colonies but there was no complete stoppage comparable to that in Lyon in 1707. The decline in 1765 seems rather to indicate that the English industry was working to a very narrow margin of profit.

It needed only a slight recession - let alone a serious one to cause widespread anxiety. Despite the gallant gesture of one mill-owner in Derby (2) who paid wages to his workmen when there was no work for them, most masters sacked their hands to cut their losses. The long credits of six to eighteen months gave them a considerable freedom of movement and time in which to find fresh commissions, if the market recovered. Although it was possible for the individual master to survive, it is also clear that no fresh capital entered the industry in these years.

The conclusions of this study are an attempt to suggest why the English industry failed - why should its products be more expensive than its competitors? Why should the industry have accepted this as a fact? There is no single answer to these questions: the relative importance of several factors must be considered.

(1) 6 Geo. III, Cap. 28.

(2) See Chapter 6, p. 503

SOME CONCLUSIONS

"Whereas great quantities of foreign wrought silks and velvets are daily brought into and sold in Great Britain, to the prejudice of the silk manufactures of these kingdoms; for redress thereof it is expedient that the importation of such goods.....should be prohibited for a limited time...."

This was the preamble to the Act of 1766 (1) which set out the penalties for importing silks and the procedure for disposing of them when they had been seized. It was the remedy long sought by the industry itself. Unfortunately, the report of the next Select Committee on the silk industry in 1773, makes it abundantly clear that the Act of 1766 failed in its intention. It is easy enough to be wise after the event, but among the standard clauses in the Act, one stands out: Clause VIII provided "that nothing in this Act...shall extend....to inflict any penalty on the wearer of such foreign wrought silks or velvet....or the owner of any furniture made thereof...." It would be interesting to know the arguments used to get this clause through the committee stages of the Bill. The wearer and user were specifically penalised by the Calico Act of 1721, and the spokesmen of the industry had always demanded penalties on the consumer, realising no doubt that any attempt at prohibition would otherwise be frustrated.

It will be remembered that a proposal was made in the Spring of 1765 to penalise the wearer first (2) and to dis-

- (1) Thomas and William Heathfield, silk brokers, No. 31, Toni's Coffee House, Cornhill (address in Kent's Directory, 1774).
- (2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. XXXIV, 1st April, 1773, p. 241.
- (3) The reason why the Act failed were given in some detail by Thomas Phillips (p. 239, Journals, op. cit.). "In consequence of Rewards having been repeatedly offered by the Manufacturers to discover where Foreign Silks and Velvets were secreted, some few Informations had been given: but that, when the Goods were found, they were declared to have been made up into Wearing Apparel before they were brought into this Kingdom, and were therefore deemed not seizable. - That no Search is ever attempted without a Custom House Officer; and it has frequently happened, that upon Application to them, they have refused to go without being first indemnified by the Manufacturers; for, by the Law as it now stands, they apprehend they are liable to an Action for entering the Premises of any Person to search for Run Goods, unless upon such Search some prohibited Goods shall actually be found: And the Witness said, they had often been threatened with Actions on that Account; and added, That they could never get one Information sufficient to support a Prosecution for the Penalty inflicted by the said Act of Parliament since the said Rewards have been offered". His evidence was confirmed by other witnesses.
- (4) By Samuel Lawrence, a silk weaver, p. 241, Journals, op. cit.
- (5) "This difference seems to arise partly from the duties laid upon the raw Materials, partly from the higher price of labour in this country and partly from the smallness in demand". Journals, op. cit. p. 241.

tribute the fine among the tailor, mercer and importer if these could be found. The scheme was ingenious and probably impracticable, but Clause VIII was most bitterly attacked in the Report of the Select Committee in 1773. One of the chief witnesses before this Committee, Thomas Heathfield, a silk broker (1), said "that smuggling was got to such a pitch that foreign goods might now be bought to any amount and Delivered under Insurance to Gentlemen's Houses" (2). He considered that the only solution was to penalise the wearer "unless such Wearer will give up the Vendor". The Committee summed up their views by stating that the Act of 1766 had "by no means answered the purpose for which it was intended" (3). Although there was said to be a "Universal Decline" in the industry, (the figure of 10,000 unemployed was quoted in the report (4), this was not because people had stopped wearing silk. On the contrary, they thought that more was being worn than ever before. They agreed with Heathfield that the only effectual remedy was to penalise the wearer with a proviso for the latter to be able to denounce the vendor. As in the earlier reports, the Committee said they had examined examples of English silks and found their quality to be perfectly comparable to those imported, but it was once more admitted with regret that for the same quality material the English product was about 25 per cent dearer than the French (5).

Even if the Act had been strengthened by the omission of its eighth clause it seems doubtful whether it could have

(1) César Moreau, p. 13. In the first paragraphs of the Report of the Select Committee it was stated that the silk industry "was peculiarly deserving of the attention of the legislature".

(2) 1765 Report, op. cit., p. 213.

had more than a limited effect upon the industry.

Smuggling had been rife for many years, including those of the industry's prosperity. All the Parliamentary Committees, including that of 1821 (1), thought that the industry deserved some government protection, but the activities of the smugglers seem to have obscured any consideration of other ways of helping it.

Although the immediate effect of over-production among the gauze weavers was readily understood, it was more difficult for the silk industry to understand that this state could come to affect the industry as a whole and even extend to other textile trades. In 1765, the Spitalfields journeymen had as companions in their distress the Coventry ribbon weavers, and the Yorkshire woollen spinners and weavers. Yet Patterson, the throwster, mentioned in 1765 the building of organzine mills as a speculation (2), an investment which depended for its success on a continually expanding market among the weavers.

In attributing its every distress to the foreigner, the industry overlooked its own shortcomings. It was certainly true that foreign silks were being smuggled into the country and it is possible that they were cheaper. It was this latter point which was by far the most serious, if it was true. It was a rather weak argument to state that the cost of living was higher in this country than elsewhere, that wages were consequently higher, and the finished product inevitably more expensive. In 1765 England was not yet an industrial

(1) L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre, p. 115 .

including that of 1851 (1), though that the industry de-
served some government protection, but the activities of the
manufacturers seem to have obscured any consideration of other
ways of helping it.

Although the immediate effect of over-protection seems
the same measure was really understood, it was more difficult
for the silk industry in particular that this state could come
to affect the industry as a whole and even extend to other
textile trades. In 1765, the Silkworms' Journeymen had
an organization in their district the Coventry Ribbon Weavers, and
the Yorkshire woolen spinners and weavers. For protection,
the throwster, mentioned in 1765 the building of organizations
also as a speculation (2), an investment which depended for
its success on a constantly expanding market among the
nations.

In illustrating the every situation in the industry,
the industry overlooked its own shortcomings. It was certainly
true that foreign silks were being smuggled into the country
and it is possible that they were cheaper. It was this latter
point which was by far the most serious, if it was true.
It was a rather weak argument to state that the cost of living
was higher in this country than elsewhere, that wages were
consequently higher, and the finished product inevitably
more expensive. In 1765 England was not yet an industrial

country dependent upon imported food. Its conditions were probably comparable to those in Holland, if not in France. In any case, the lower standard of life of the French cannot did not prevent a depression in Lyon. Moreover, as we have seen, England enjoyed certain mercantile advantages which were much admired abroad. There were, however, two very important factors which were insufficiently considered.

It was inevitable that raw silk imported from the standard sources, Italy and the Levant, should cost more in this country than in Italy or France. Some lip service was paid to the suggestions for other sources of supply, but not very much was done practically. The Russian source petered out and the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations lost confidence in the American experiment. The worsening relations with the American colonies might have deterred investors, but they could hardly have anticipated the American Revolution, and the commercial links between the American and the London traders usually appear to have been cordial. The Report of 1773 mentioned increases in the import of Bengal silk, but the period, for political reasons, was probably not one which was very favourable to improvements in sericulture in India. However, as Rouquet pointed out in 1755 (1), the raw material was always precious and the manufacturer could not save upon its cost, but must, on the other hand, economise in his methods of production.

The necessity of saving in the cost of production does not seem to have been fully appreciated. Few English

(1) Gazette and New Daily Advertiser. March 20th, 1765,
Letter from "J.J-r.", shag weaver.

(2) House of Commons Journals, Vol. XXI, p. 840, 9th
March 1731/2, Petition from Mayor, Aldermen and
Corporation of Derby.

manufacturers wasted silk on the back of the cloth as Rouquet alleged (at any rate, few surviving English silks shew this fault), but the basic processes of manufacture remained unchanged. There would be no reason to expect the silk weavers of London to be among the pioneers of the Industrial Revolution, but it does seem strange that the intelligent and educated men who controlled production appear to have cared so little for this aspect of their trade. They were not rentiers who might have been out of touch with the methods of production, but they seem to have accepted as inevitable an exceedingly small output per day by their journeymen. Even after the invention of the flying shuttle the output of plain silks was not appreciably more than that of flowered silks. The three yards a day produced by the shag weaver was typical (1). Far from encouraging inventions, in the earlier part of the century there was open opposition to the mills set up at Derby by Sir Thomas Lombe: "Sir Thomas Lombe's Engine or Silk Mills, erected in the said borough is not only detrimental to the woollen manufacture there, but also to the said borough in general, by keeping the Poor thereof at home, and thereby increasing their number; and that though the said engine employs a number of hands, the erection thereof has very much advanced the parochial assessments in the said borough; and...the enlarging (of) the term of the said Sir Thomas Lombe's patent will be a continuance of the grievance...." (2).

- (1) The processes are described by the late P.C. Floud, The English Contribution to the Development of Copper-Plate Printing, in the Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists, Vol. 76, pp. 425-434.

It was probably impossible to simplify the processes of entering the loom, but the failure to produce a single patent or invention of importance for cheapening and speeding up the pattern-making operations is quite remarkable. The calico printers, starting almost from nothing, had developed a range of satisfactory dyes in the same period, and, with the invention of copper-plate printing, were, by 1766, producing textiles which were imitated in France (1). There was very little open contact between Lyon and Spitalfields, and it is thus not surprising that the inventions of Vaucanson and Regnier remained unknown, although both industries were faced with the same problems. Moreover, the London manufacturers were not without industrial experience. There seems no obvious reason why they did not at least attempt to introduce the device thought of by Jacquard so many years later. The consumer in both countries, until the early 1760's, demanded dress silks with large - and constantly changing - woven patterns. The draw-boy and the "new mounting" of the loom were both heavy charges. Jacquard's invention was no more complicated than many of those registered in the middle of the century which concerned the woollen and cotton industries. The particularly hazardous feature in the production of flowered silks was that a single mistake at any stage could ruin the final result and thus waste both precious raw material and fairly expensive labour. Yet nothing was done to make any of the operations at least partly automatic.

The patterns of smaller size, which became fashionable for dress silks in the early 1760's were cheaper to set up. Nearly all the silks produced from about 1770 were plain or with patterns which were small in scale. In accepting this limitation in size, however, the silk manufacturers eliminated themselves from competition with one important type of silk. There were, apparently, no English equivalents to the large decorative furnishing panels designed by Philippe de Lasalle and his imitators. The manufacturers, by their reluctance to compete, left open a growing market for the French exporter.

While the industry did nothing to capture the most aristocratic customer, it does not appear to have produced a cheaper range of goods for a wider market. This was despite the fact that England, unlike France, possessed a potential market in the commercial middle classes. The cotton manufacturers recognised its existence and produced a wide range of goods, from elaborate and nearly perfect copper-plate furnishing chintzes, to light dress muslins, block printed in a limited range of colours. The failure to expand the range of production and therefore its total output probably inhibited the throwsters from making any further improvements upon Sir Thomas Lombe's mills. Indeed, the evidence of Peter Lekeux in 1732 that he and Sir Thomas had corresponded for several years previously, when the latter was perfecting his mills, is one of the strongest arguments for the expansion

- (1) J. N. Brewer, "Beauties of England", Vol.X, Pt. IV, 1816, on Bethnal Green: "A part of this parish is very populous, being inhabited chiefly by journeymen silk weavers who exist in a state of crowded misery, and work at home for the master weavers in Spitalfields".
- (2) 1766 Report, op. cit., p. 725, "while the foreign trade is open, the Mercer, by refusing to deal with any one weaver, may ruin him, though he should have a very good capital".

of the industry at that time. Sir Thomas Lombe was an Alderman of the City of London and a business man, the last person to persist in such experiments unless he had seen a good market for his product.

The reasons for the lack of enterprise in the 1760's and the failure to meet competition from abroad except by an attempted policy of wage reduction, probably lie in the organisation of the industry. The entrenchment of the virtues of the 1740's may have inhibited expansion in the 1760's. Specialisation, and the perfecting of the technique within each branch, may have made each manufacturer less aware of the general possibilities of the industry. As we have seen, there was a tendency towards the bespoke system in the period, but it never became more than that. Some of the weavers controlled up to four hundred men, and yet nothing approaching a factory system developed. On the contrary, even in the early nineteenth century the outdoor system was still very much the rule (1). In 1765-66, as in 1745, there were still a very large number of medium sized firms, all more or less independent of one another. Carr & C. stood conspicuously aloof, giving "no preference to French or English patterns", and their firm seems to have been the largest entrepreneur in the field. Yet, according to (Charles ?) Triquet in 1766 (2), the mercers were powerful enough to ruin a weaver if they wished to do so. The failure of the firms to coalesce, their failure to accumulate large reserves of capital to put back into the industry, prevented any reduction in overhead charges. A

small firm could not support a full-time pattern drawer, but a freelance pattern drawer would not be tempted to produce designs of the scale of Philippe de Lasalle if there was no known market for them. There was a limit to the invention which could be displayed in the designing of small flower sprigs and ribbons - but, as Cheveney pointed out to the 1765 Committee, why should the customer abroad buy from England at second hand what he could buy from the French at first hand? The degenerating status of the designer would be reflected in difficulties in the export trade. In short, the manufacturers could not break into new markets in the eighteenth century, any more easily than in other period without some capital investment, and, as we have seen, their profits were not re-invested in the silk industry.

The exclusive social composition of the master weavers as a class may thus have been at least indirectly responsible for the difficulties with which the industry had to contend in the '60's. Having perfected the techniques of their fathers and grandfathers, the weavers were unwilling to look outside their own industry to appreciate any other economic developments. There was no Wedgwood among the manufacturers, just as there was no Lasalle among the designers. It was not accidental that the Spitalfields manufacturers were the first to present to the Crown in 1745, a list of the numbers they would send to serve against the Young Pretender. The Huguenot community was a strong one, and an exclusive one. It was equally natural for them to attribute all their troubles to their religious as

well as their economic rivals in Lyon. The reaction of the Huguenot master weavers was not to experiment with the technology of their trade, but when subjected to the economic pressure of the '60's and '70's, to withdraw altogether from the industry. Their successors may have been more enterprising in the war upon their own workmen, but they had nothing comparable in skill or experience. Moreover, the community was probably too exclusive for any of the scientifically-minded amateurs of the period even to be aware of the technical problems of the silk industry.

Certainly the Weavers Company cannot be blamed for its part. It acted as a unifying force rather than a restrictive one. It was, indeed, surprisingly effective in the campaigns which it conducted in the earlier part of the century. On several occasions it successfully led its troops against a much more powerful enemy. Its most striking victories were over the East India Company in 1721, and over the mercers in 1753. The former victory was, as we have seen, a little irrelevant to the expansion of the industry, since the calicoes affected only a part of the London industry, but the Act of 1721 gave great confidence to the manufacturers which was strengthened by the more positive measures of the 1722 Act. Printed calicoes were the scapegoat in an economic depression because they were new, they were fashionable, and they were very obvious. The Act of 1753, although it was only partly effective, confirmed the prestige of the Company as a fighting force. The importance of these campaigns was not so much in the

- (1) Hence, in Mr. Jordan's thesis, which emphasises the industrial relations in the second half of the century, there is no mention at all of the Weavers Company of London.

direct results achieved, but in the preservation of the status of the Company itself. The fact that the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, and other government bodies, turned naturally to its representatives, was very useful to the industry. By the early '60's the Company had, however, grown into a voluntary professional association rather than the compulsory guild which it sought to be. The campaign of 1764-6 was its last burst of activity. The attempt to summon into its ranks the non-freemen among the Parliamentary witnesses of 1765 and 1766 was resisted. The issue became a general one, and throughout 1767 and 1768 it is noticeable that a group among the Assistants in the Court was not attending its meetings, until finally there was a suggestion of prosecuting the absentees. The threat did not materialise, but the Court Minutes seem to become a purely formal record in the next few years. The Company could only recommend and not enforce the acceptance of Price Lists, even when it thought them fair. Once the clause imposing the death penalty upon the "cutters" had become law, the Weavers Company became an anachronism, for it was no longer the natural arbitrator in any industrial dispute (1). Moreover, by its terms of reference (and its lack of funds), the Company could do nothing to initiate any technological developments, even if it had felt inclined to do so. Since the members of its Court were the same weavers who were not sufficiently concerned to experiment in their own interests, it was unlikely that they would have a different policy as a corporate body.

- (1) Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the School of Design, 16th May, 1849, pp. 264-265, especially. Questions 3056-3070. Mr. Robert Harrison and Mr. David Lloyd, two silk manufacturers who had supported the Spitalfields School of Design from its foundation, gave evidence. In answer to one question Harrison said "the principal thing which is required in my opinion is that Spitalfields should have a master who understands not only the principles of design, but something of the principles of weaving also". Lloyd said that he had not been able to use many of the designs from the School of Design because they were not "sufficiently advanced in their taste to come into competition with the French, who are our greatest opponents in the fancy branch". Harrison emphasised that the artists in Lyon knew "the principle of weaving, therefore they know how to put a pattern on paper, being quite aware of the effect it will produce when brought into silk". One of the two witnesses elaborated this point: "In producing a leaf, for instance, in describing the fibres of that leaf, an artist acquainted with weaving would know the number of divisions to make, in order that the silk should not float too much upon the surface, and should produce the proper effect of shading and so on". An artist who did not understand the technique would produce a design that when "woven...would be perfectly useless". These were the very same points made by Joubert 85 years before, and well understood by the Spitalfields designers of the first half of the eighteenth century.
- I am much indebted to my colleague, Mrs. Shirley Bury, for drawing my attention to this report.

Although the organisation of the industry in the first half of the century contained the ingredients for the disasters of the second half, its static perfection can be appreciated in its own right. It achieved a classic mastery of technique and design which was never again equalled. How easily this skill was lost can be seen from the Minutes of the evidence given to the Select Committee on the Spitalfields School of Design in 1849. The witnesses contrasted the situation in Spitalfields with that in Lyon, deploring the complete divorce in England between the designers and those who were trying to teach design, and the industry itself; witness after witness emphasised that it was impossible to produce satisfactory silk designs with which to capture the market, unless the unity was once more restored (1). By the middle of the nineteenth century the use of the Jacquard loom had simplified the making of patterned materials, but it was not by itself the complete solution. The contrast between the accomplished silks of the 1740's and the somewhat derivative silks a hundred years later, is only too striking. The silks made in London in the first half of the eighteenth century were excellent in quality, and dyed with good colours. They were produced by master weavers able to afford a pleasant, though not excessively lavish standard of living, and by journeymen whose wages were quite reasonable by the standards of the time. Until the 1760's the labour force seems to have been adequate in numbers and not so large that it was possible to depress wages, as happened later in the century. Within

the limits of the franchise of the Weavers Company, the industry appears to have worked harmoniously, except for certain isolated incidents. This amiable state of tranquillity did not last. John Baker's obituary notice may perhaps stand for the industry he so ably represented, "a gentleman who, having acquired a genteel fortune by his unwearied assiduity and his elegant taste....had for a long series of years enjoyed the reward of his labours in the bosom of his family, retired from business". It was not easy to replace either his taste or his skill, and even less easy to replace the £33,000 which he invested in the Truman brewery.

Corporation of the City of London: Library Museum and Art Gallery.
201/2011.

See in Hand Insurance Company, Policy Registers (annual periods)
1814-1874 (amb. number according to year).
-----oOo-----

See above, St. Botolph without, Year Book 1700-1800. 201/2011-1800.

Weavers Company of London. Charters, By-laws and Regulations 1601 -
1707. 201/2011 and 201/2012. Quarterage Lists 1700-1800, 201/2011.
Court Books of the assistants (1700-1800), 201/2011-1800.

London Society General: Record Book.

See above for Bethnal Green and Spitalfields, especially
1700-1709 (1710), 1710-1719 (1720), 1720-1729 (1730), 1730-1739 (1740).

London Society General: Record Book.

Christ Church Spitalfields Society Minute Books. 3 vols. 1700-1709,
1710-1719, 1720-1729 and later. (The period 1720-1729 is missing)

See above, Spitalfields Old Town 1700-1709.

APPENDIX I

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This is divided into Manuscripts, Printed Sources, and Secondary Works. The Manuscripts are grouped under depositories, the other works alphabetically by author or institution. A library has been given in the case of the rarer printed works. The dates given are those of the edition consulted, which may not be the first, and no dates have been given for works which refer to the entire period. The majority of the sources consulted for a single point have been omitted. Among the printed sources four categories have been grouped together: Anonymous Works, Directories, Newspapers and Periodicals, and Parliament.

A. MANUSCRIPTS

Corporation of the City of London: Library Museum and Art Gallery.
Guildhall.

Hand in Hand Insurance Company, Policy Registers (entire period).
MS.8674 (sub. number according to year).

Rate Books, St. Botolph Without, Poor Rate 1702-20. MS.5419/I-15).

Weavers Company of London. Charters, By-Laws and Ordinances 1708 - 1737. MS.4641 and 4642. Quarterage Lists (1700-1766), MS.4661.
Court Books of the Assistants (1700-1766), M.S.4655/11-17.

London County Council: Record Room.

Rate Books for Bethnal Green and Spitalfields, especially
THCS 109 (1713), THCS 115 (1716), THCS 132 (1724), THCS 151 (1736).

Stepney Public Library.

Christ Church Spitalfields Vestry Minute Books. 3 vols. 1673-1710, 1710-1729, 1743-1766 and later. (The period 1729-1743 is missing).

Rate Book, Spitalfields Old Town (1700).

Museums.British Museum.

John FAULKNER of Warrington. Order Book 1773-7. B.M. Ad.MSS.36.666.

Victoria & Albert Museum.

John KELLY. Counterpart of Patterns sent to Spain and Portugal. 1764. Department of Textiles.

Silk Designs by James Leman (1706-1712). The property of Messrs. Vanners and Fennell Ltd. (Photograph copy of the original).
Department of Textiles.

Silk Designs by James Leman, Anna Maria Garthwaite, Christopher Baudouin and Others. Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design: Series E.4440 - E.4519 of 1909 (1717-22), and Series 5770 - 90 (1724-1756).

The Collinson Accounts 1735-1760. (Originals in New York Public Library). Photocopies in Department of Circulation, Victoria & Albert Museum.

P.A. DE BRISSAC. Account Book (1761-3 approximately). (Original in Library of the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware, U.S.A.). Photocopy in Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Public Record Office.

Chancery Masters Exhibits.

Lord Chamberlain's Accounts: Great Wardrobe Bills (L.C. 285-291):
Special Occasions (L.C.2): Master of the Robes (L.C.93).

Counterpart of Pattern Book of John Hynes, 1764 (C.217.70).

Miscellaneous Correspondence and other Documents submitted to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, especially 1719-22.
C.O. 388 (21-23).

Port Books (Exports of Woven English silks and Imports of raw and thrown silk). (Customs 3 and sub. number by year).

Seizures (of prohibited goods by the Customs). E.165, Vols. 26-30.

London: Other Institutions.

Customs and Excise Library, Kingsbeam House. Opinions of Counsel, 1701-1763 and other MSS.

French Church, Soho Square. List of Bequests.

House of Lords Record Office. House of Lords MSS (uncalendared).

Lambeth Palace Library. Petitions to the 50 Commissioners for New Churches.

Royal Society of Arts. List of Members.

Somerset House. Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Wills.

Documents in Private Ownership.

Glyn Mills Bank. Miscellaneous bills and accounts belonging to various members of the Child family. Late 17th - early 18th centuries.

Glyn Mills Bank. Partnership Agreements of Robert Carr and Co. 1739-64.

Sun Insurance Company, Policy Books (1710-1720).

Messrs. Truman and Hanbury Ltd. Stock Rest Book.

Miscellaneous Sources.

Edwin RAWSTON. Account Book 1720's. Chelmsford: Essex County Record Office (D/DE 2 F 4 Rawston A/C Book).

Samuel WILSON. Treatise on Weaving. 1812-1820. The property of Messrs. Vanners and Fennell Ltd.

Family Manuscripts in the possession of Mr. Cecil Grellier, Mr. R. Ogier-Ward, and Mr. Walter Saunders Taylor.

Letter Book of Samuel Bosanquet 1765 - , Account Books belonging to him and to other members of the family, of different dates. The property of Lady Bosanquet of Dingestow Court, Monmouth.

Foreign Repositories.

Denmark.

Copenhagen.

Peter ANCKER. Report on the London Silk Industry, 1776. (Original in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen).

France.

Lyon.

Lyon. Archives Départementales. Série B. Papiers de Commerçants, especially those of Carret et Cie., Négociant en tissus. Correspondence c. 1760-1780.

Série C.10. 1732-89. Industries et Manufactures.

Lyon. Bibliothèque Municipale. Inventaire Chappe (18th century MS. catalogue of the Archives of the Grande Fabrique: i.e., the silk industry, in Lyon).

The Inventaire Chappe represents an enormous collection of MSS., chiefly referring to the 17th and 18th centuries, a number of which have been used in the course of this study.

Chambre de Commerce: Bibliothèque. Missives. (Letter Books of the Lyon Chamber of Commerce), Vols. 1706-1740 and 1740 + .

Paris.

Archives Nationales. Commerce et Industries (Série F.12).

Bibliothèque Forney. Manifattura di Francia, Inghilterra ed Olanda. c. 1760 (Reserve 677.064 M). (Pattern Book which includes silks and half silks made in Spitalfields).

Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des Estampes. The Richelieu Collection.

Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des Estampes. Série Lh.44. Silk Designs. Mid 1720's - 1760's. (French, Lyon and Tours, some signed or dated).

B. PRINTED SOURCES.

ANDERSON on Commerce. An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce. Volume III. (The eighteenth century). London 1787.

Anonymous Works.

An Account of the Constitution....1759. B.M. (T96.a.9).

Annual Sermons (with printed lists of contributors) 1752 - .
The London Hospital.

A Foreigner's Guide to London. 1st Edition 1719. B.M. (578.B.43).

A General Description of All Trades, 1747.

General State of the London Hospital. 1850 (with lists of legacies).
The London Hospital.

Brief
A History of Trade in England. 1702. B.M. (1138.b.3).

- (1) List of Prices in those branches of Weaving called the Black Branch.
- (2) List of Prices to be paid in the making of Drugget Modes Fringed and Italian Handkerchiefs, Cyprus and Draught Gauzes, and Plain and Laced Nets.
- (3) List of Prices in the Fancy Branch.
- (4) List of Prices...in the Strong Plain Branch.
- (5) List of Prices in the Foot-Figured and Flowered Branches.

All 1769. The Lists for the five branches are in the Patent Office Library and there are photocopies in the Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum. (The copy in the Goldsmith's Library of Senate House is incomplete).

London in Miniature. 1755. I.H.R.

A New Guide to London in French and English. 2nd Edition 1726.
B.M. (577d.3/1).

Sale Catalogue of the house of Captain James Jones in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1759. P.R.O. 30/11. 281 (Cornwallis Papers).

A Short Account of the Application to Parliament made by the Merchants of London on the Neglect of their Trade. 1751. (R. Glover).

Tracts on Trade. B.M. (816.m. 13, I-72).

Universal Library of Trade and Business. 1753. B.M. 1480.bb.27.

The Whole Art of Dyeing. 1705.

Richard BAGNALL Esq. A View of the Silk Teade, quoted in J. PROUT, A Preview of the Silk Trade. Macclesfield. 1829. Patent Office Library.

J. N. BREWER. Beauties of England, Vol. X, Pt. IV. 1816.

Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (edited by A. D. CHANDLER). Vols. 4 - 9.

Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, Journal, especially the two volumes for the years 1718-22 and 1764-66.

'CROSBY'S Merchant's and Tradesman's Pocket Dictionary, by a London Merchant, New Edition 1810.

Daniel DEFOE. The Complete English Tradesman. 1st Edition, 1726 and Vol. II of 2nd Edition of 1732.

Daniel DEFOE. Journal of the Plague Year, 1722 (Dent edition consulted).

Daniel DEFOE. A Plan of English Commerce, 1722.

Daniel DEFOE. A Tour through London, about the year 1725. (Annotated edition published by Batsford) 1929.

The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. DELANY, Edited by Lady Llanover. 3 Vols. 1861.

de LORMOIS. Le Teinturier parfait, 1726. 2 Vols. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

Denis DIDEROT. Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers. Paris 1751-7.

F. Bregnot du Lut (editor). Le Livre de Raison de Jacques Charles DUTILLIEU. Lyon, 1886. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

Directories: The most useful collection is that at the Guildhall. Where no other library is named it is the copy at the Guildhall which has been consulted. The MS catalogue of Directories at the Guildhall gives complete bibliographical details.

The Directory: containing an alphabetical list of the names and places of abode of....merchants and other eminent traders in the City of London.....(Henry Kent) 1736.

London Directory. The Intelligencer or Merchant's Assistant, 1738.

Compleat Guide to all Persons who have any trade or concern within the City of London....1740.

Universal Pocket Companion.....1741.

Compleat Guide.....1744.

Complete Guide.....1749.

Kent's Directory 1753.

Kent's Directory 1755.

Complete Guide 1753.

Complete Guide 1755.

Kent's Directory 1759.

Mr. Mortimer's Directory of Arts and Sciences....1763. I.H.R.

Complete Pocket Book. 1772. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

S. FORTREY. England's Interest and Improvement. 1663 edition.
(B.M. 24. T.1816.I. 1-3) and 1744 edition (B.M. 8245 C.26).

Joshua GEE. The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered.
1731. (B.M. 1029.C.8).

F. GUICHERD. Notes Techniques. Lyon 1957. (Typescript on the
technique of historic woven textiles) in the Library of the
Victoria & Albert Museum.

John GWYN. An Essay on Design. 1749.

J. HELLOT. The Art of Dyeing Wool, Silk and Cotton. Translated from
the French. 1789. (Patent Office).

Huguenot Society Publications.

Volume IX, Témoignages, French Church at Threadneedle Street.

Volume XI. Registers of the Church of La Patente.

Volume XVI, Part III of the Registers of the French Church at Threadneedle Street (1685-1714),;

Volume XXIII, Part IV (1707-1840).

Volume XXVII. Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1701-1800.

Volume XXXIII. Extracts from the Court Books of the Assistants of the Weavers Company.

Volume XLII. Registers of the Church of the Artillery, Spitalfields (1691-1786).

JOUBERT DE L'HIBERDERIE. Le Dessinateur pour les étoffes d'or, d'argent et de soie. 1774 edition. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

Charles KING. The British Merchant or Commerce Preserved. 3 Vols. London 1721.

W. LEWIS. commercium Philosophica Technicum. 1763. (B.M. 432.d.18).

David MACPHERSON. Annals of Commerce. Volume III (the eighteenth century). London, 1805.

P. J. MACQUER. Art de la teinture en Soie (in series Paris, Académie des Sciences, Arts et Métiers, and printed in the same volume as the Neuchâtel edition of Paulet, see below). (Patent Office).

César MOREAU. The Rise and Progress of the Silk Trade in England from the earliest period to the present time, February 1826. (Original in Patent Office, photocopy in the Victoria & Albert Museum).

MURPHY. Art of Weaving. 1827. (Victoria & Albert Museum Library).

Newspapers and Periodicals.

The London Gazette.

Political State of Great Britain.

Gentleman's Magazine, 1731 - 1766.

The London Magazine.

The Weekly Journal or Saturday Post. 1719. (B.M. Burney Collection).

The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer. 1720. " " "

The Daily Gazetteer. 1739. " " "

Penny London Post or Morning Advertiser. 1745. " " "

The General Evening Post. 1745. " " "

The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser. 1763." " "

Gazette and New Daily Advertiser. 1765. " " "

John NOORTHOUCK. A New History of London. 1773.

T. Packer. The Dyers Guide. 1816. (Patent Office).

Pamphlets. Full lists are given in Jordan's thesis (see below) and in Volume III, pp. 554-558 of Lipson's Economic History (see below). The List is therefore not repeated here, in full.

Parliament.

Accounts and Papers, Vol. 59. 1749-1777. University College, London.

Calendar of House of Lords MSS.

House of Commons Journals.

Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on The School of Design, 1849. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

Danby Pickering. The Statutes at Large. London. (Dates according to the volume).

PAULET. Le Fabricant des Etoffes de Soie (7 volumes in series, Paris, Academy of Sciences: Descriptions des Arts et Métiers, Tome IX). Vols. 1 - 6 in Patent Office. Vol. 7, Parts I and II, photocopy in Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum: Vol. 7, Part I in the Library of Lyon, Musée des Tissus: the complete volume in Lyon, Ecole de Tissage.

PORTER. Treatise on the Origin, Progressive Improvement and Present State of the Silk Manufacture. London, 1831.

Elizabeth and Henry PUREFOY. The Purefoy Letters. 2 Vols. 1735-1763. Edited by G. Eland, London, 1931.

Rocque's Map of London. 1746. Facsimile. (London Topographical Society, 1913).

ROUQUET. L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre. 1755.

Royal Commission on Historical MSS, including 63rd Report. Diary of Viscount Percival, Earl of Egmont. (On the growth of raw silk in Georgia).

Royal Society of Arts. Printed Lists of Prize-winners and Prize Designs.

J. SAVARY des Bruslons. Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce. 1723. Volume II. Article on Soie.

Adam SMITH. The Wealth of Nations. 1776. (Everyman Edition).

SMITH. Laboratory of School of Arts. Volume II, 1756 edition. (Contains article on Silk Designing not present in other editions). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photocopy of articles on silk designing and calico printing in Department of Textiles, Victoria & Albert Museum).

Trade Cards. Collections at the Guildhall, the Print Room of the British Museum, the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design of the Victoria & Albert Museum, and the London Museum.

Calendar of Treasury Papers.

Auguste VINCARD. L'Art du Teinturier coloriste...Paris 1820. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

Ed. B. WOODCRAFT. Abridgments Old Classes (Patents). 1859. Weaving 1620-1850, Part I. Spinning. (Patent Office Library).

C. SECONDARY WORKS.

The Journal of Design, Vol. II. 1849. Anonymous article in three parts. The Silk Manufacture in Great Britain. pp. 89-93, 168-170, 195-199. Victoria & Albert Museum Library.

Rev. C. A. AGNEW. Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV. Editions of 1871, 1874, 1886.

François BAUDRY. La Révocation de l'Edict de Nantes et le Protestantisme en Bas Poitou. 1922. Paris.

J. S. BURN. The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch and other Protestant Refugees settled in England. 1846.

G. F. DOW. The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775. 1927.

A Dictionary of English Furniture. Edited by Ralph EDWARDS. 1953 edition. (Also 1924 edition edited by P. MACQUOID and R. EDWARDS).

P. C. FLOUD. The Origins of English Calico Printing, The English Contribution to the Early History of Indigo Printing, The English Contribution to the Development of Copper Plate Printing, in Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists, Vol. 76, 1960, pp. 275-281, 344-349, 425-434.

M. D. GEORGE. London Life in the 18th Century. 1925.

Justin GODART. L'Ouvrier en Soie. Lyon 1899.

Rita Susswein GOTTESMAN. Arts and Crafts in New York, 1927.

F. GUICHERD. Cours de Théorie de Tissage. Lyon. 1946.

G. B. HERTZ. The English Silk Industry in the Eighteenth Century. In the English Historical Review. Vol. XXIV, January-October, 1909, pp. 710-727.

B. HINDLE. The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America. 1956.

Luther HOOPER. Handloom Weaving. London. 1910.

W. M. JORDAN. The Silk Industry in London, 1760-1830, with special reference to the condition of the wage earners and the policy of the Spitalfields Acts. (Thesis), 1930.

E. LIPSON. The Economic History of England. 1956 Edition.

J. LOIR. Théorie du Tissage des Etoffes de Soie. Lyon, 1923-28.

London County Council. Survey of London, Vol. XXVII Spitalfields and Mile End New Town, edited by Walter Ison & P. A. Bezodis. 1957.

London Exhibition. The Catalogue of an Exhibition at 25 Park Lane of English Conversation Pieces, 1930.

W. H. MANCHEE. Some Huguenot Smugglers: the Impeachment of London Silk Merchants in 1698. In Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 406-427.

E. PARISET. Histoire de la Fabrique Lyonnaise. Lyon. 1901.

B. N. PARKER and A. B. WHEELER. John Singleton Copley. 1938.

S. PAVIERE. The Devis Family of Painters. 1950.

C. RODON Y FONT. L'Histoire du Métier pour la Fabrication des Etoffes façonnées. Liège. 1934.

N. RONDOT. Les Protestants à Lyon. 1891.

W. R. SCOTT. Joint Stock Companies. Vol. III, Section III, The Royal Lustring Company, pp. 72-89.

A. SMART. The Life and Times of Alan Ramsay. 1952.

S. SMILES. The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland. 1867.

Herbert STURMER. Some Poitevin Protestants in London. 1896.

G. Scott THOMSON. The Russells in Bloomsbury. 1940.

P. K. THORNTON. The Bizarre Silks, Burlington Magazine, August 1958, pp. 265-270.

P. K. THORNTON. A Silk Designer's Manual. In the Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club, Vol. 42, Nos. 1 & 2, 1958.

P. K. THORNTON and N. K. A. ROTHSTEIN. The Importance of the Huguenots in the London Silk Industry. In Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1960.

C. WEISS. The History of the French Protestant Refugees. 1854.

N. WILLIAMS. Contraband Cargoes. 1959.

J. H. WILSON. Industrial Activity in the 18th Century. In Economics, New Series VII. No. 26, May 1940, pp. 150-160.

APPENDIX 2 (1)BIOGRAPHICAL LISTSNAMES OCCURRING ON DESIGNS FOR SPITALFIELDS SILKS

by James Leman, Christopher Baudouin, and Anna
Maria Garthwaite, drawn between 1706 and 1756.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates of drawings on which name occurs</u>	<u>Profession</u>
<u>F = of foreign origin</u>		
Alexander & Co.	1719-21	Probably mercers.
Capn. Baker	1742-55	Weavers: important in Weavers Company. obit. 1783.
F. Chr. Baud.	1724	Designer: Christopher Baudouin c. 1665-1728-36. Living on Spitalfields from 1700 till death and probably before 1700.
F. Mr. Baudewine	1707	" " " "
Barton	1733 & 47	Weaver.
Mr. Batchelor	1745	Weaver.
F. Mr. Begot & Co.	1745	Weaver: Peter Bigot of firm of Bigot & Delavau.
Mr. Binckes	1718-21	Mercer.
Mr. John Bloodworth	1716	Weaver on Livery of Weavers Company.
Mr. Booth	1732-33	Weaver. ?? Daniel Booth originally from Canterbury: obit. 1764.
Mr. Bostock	1744	Weaver.
Mr. Braithwaite	1753	Weaver.
F(?) Mr. Brent	1748-9	Weaver.
Mr. Browne	1718-21	Weaver.
Buck (see under Swan)		Mercer.
Mr. Care & Comp.	1707 1708-9	Mercer. Mercer.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates of drawings on which name occurs</u>	<u>Profession</u>
Mr. Carr & Comp.	1708-9	Mercer.
Mr. Carr, Lofield & Comp.	1711	Mercer, probably Richard Lowfield.
Mr. Carr	1742-49	Mercer. Robert Carr of firm of Carr, Ibbetson & Biggs, established throughout 18th century, Queen's Head, Ludgate Hill.
Mr. Chaplin.	1748-9	Weaver. John Chaplin ?
Chapman	1721	Weaver-journeyman ?
F. Mrs. Chevet	1751	? Mrs. Mary Chauvet of Gun Street, Spitalfields. Weaver or the widow of Peter Chauvet, Mrs. Magdalen Chauvet.
Mr. Clapham	1753	Weaver.
Mr. Cole	1751	Weaver.
Mr. Cook	1733-47	Weaver.
Mr. Crumpler	1752	Weaver of Gauze. John Crumpler, inventor ?
Mr. Dandridge	1718-19	Pattern Drawer.
Mr. Fox	1708	Weaver-journeyman ?
Mr. Gauff	1708	Weaver-journeyman ?
F. Mr. Gautier	1751	Weaver.
F. Mr. Jeudwine or Geudwine.	1745	Weaver, probably Abraham Jeudwine of Basinghall Street and Palmers Green. obit. 1767.
F. Mr. Gobbie (Gobbie)	1742	Weaver.
Mr. Godin	1745-48	Weaver, probably James Godin the elder.
Anna Maria Garthwaite		Designer, from York, lived in Spitalfields from 1728- 30 till death in 1763.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates of drawings on which name occurs</u>	<u>Profession</u>
F. Grandprée	1721	Weaver-journeyman ?
Greenwood	1719	Weaver-journeyman ?
Mr. Gregory	1741-45	Weaver.
F. Mr. Grinsell	1749	Weaver. William Grinsell, living in Bethnal Green.
F. Mr. Grootert (Grotart)	1742-44	Weaver.
Mr. Halsey	1744-45	Mercer. Miles Halsey in partnership with Philip Palmer, Blackamoor Head, Ludgate Street.
Mr. Harris	1742	? Mercer at Bedford Street, Covent Garden.
Mr. Hebert	1742	Weaver or Mercer.
Mr. Hinchcliff	1712	Mercer.
Mr. Wittington & Hinchcliff	1712	Mercer.
Mr. Hinchclif (and other spellings)	1718-47	Mercer. One of two firms established for greater part of 18th century. i.e., at Great Wheatsheaf, Ludgate Hill. - Thos. Hinchcliff, then to Bedford Street, Covent Garden; or Thos. & William Hinchcliff at Hen & Chickens, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.
Mr. Huddleston	1725-6	Mercer.
Mr. Inslip	c. 1719-21	Weaver or Mercer.
F. Mr. Jamet	1751	Weaver.
F. Mr. Julin	1742-55	Weaver, probably Simon Julins, a substantial weaver; offered 22 men to fight the Pretender.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates of drawings on which name occurs</u>	<u>Profession</u>
Kindle's Boy	1720	Weaver, apprentice or journeyman.
F. Mr. Landon	1748-51	Weaver.
F. Mr. Lardant	1748	Weaver.
F. Mr. Lecount	1733	Weaver.
F. Mr. & Capn. Peter Lekeux	1723-42	Weaver, 1684-1743. Prominent in Weavers Company.
F. Mr. Lekeux	1745-8	Weaver, son of the above, c. 1715-1768.
F. Mr. James Leman	1706-16 & 1717-21	Weaver and Designer, c. 1688-1745. Prominent in Weavers Company. Apprenticed to his father 1702-11.
F. Peter Leman	1706-13	c. 1660's-1713. Father of James Leman. Lived Spitalfields 1675-1712. Had come from Canterbury and previously Amsterdam.
F. Cons. Josh. Leman	1707	Weaver. A relation of the above.
F. Mr. Lemoine	1708	Weaver. Journeyman ?
F. Mr. Le Pine	1728	Weaver.
F. Young Phillip Manckey	1708	Weaver. Apprentice ? Free 1714. Son of Philip Manckey - a prominent 17th century weaver ?
F. Phillip Manckey	1711	" " " "
F. Ben Manckey	1719	Weaver. A relation of the above.
F. Mr. Mase	1747-51	Weaver. Several prominent weavers of this name, all related.
F. Mr. J. Mase	1747-51	Weaver. " " "

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates of drawings on which name occurs</u>	<u>Profession</u>
Mr. Mason	1718	Mercer ?
Mr. Matton ^o	1709	Weaver-journeyman ?
F. Mr. Monceaux	1720	Weaver. Possibly Peter de Monceaux, naturalised in 1709.
Mr. More	1709	
Mr. Muk	1718-20	Weaver.
F. Mr. Ogeir (Princes' Street and in the Square).	1726-1749	Two members of several families of Ogiers, one of whom lived in Princes' Street and at least four in Spital Square.
F. Mr. Ouvry	1749-51	Weaver.
Mr. Palmer	1742-49	Mercer, in partnership with Miles Halsey.
F. Mr. Paris	1750-52	Weaver.
Mr. Parks	1753	Weaver.
F. Mr. Phene	1751-52	Weaver.
F. Mr. Pulley	1742	Weaver.
F. Mr. Rondeau	1742 & 1754	Weaver.
F. Pe. Rozée	1721	Weaver. Journeyman ?
Mr. Raynolds & Partners	1711	Mercers.
F. Mr. Sabatier	1742-56	Weaver, possibly John Sabatier. obit. c. 1783, and his father of same name. obit. 1745.
Mr. Sadler	1706-10	Mercer.
Mr. Sandys	1706-8	Mercer.
F. Shoulder	1710 & 11	Weaver. Journeyman ?
James Shoulder	1721	" "

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates of drawings on which name occurs</u>	<u>Profession</u>
Mr. Smith	1724-26	Mercer or Weaver ?
F. Mr. Surflee	1747-9	Weaver.
Mr. Swan	1745	Mercer. Robert Swan at Wheatsheaf, King Street, Covent Garden.
Mr. Swan & Buck	1742	Mercers. Robert Buck at Wheatsheaf, King Street, Covent Garden.
F. Mr. Tullie & Company	1709-11	Mercers. Isaac Tullie & Comp. ? Bedford Street, Covent Garden.
Mr. Tullie	1717-21	" " " "
Mr. Turner	1750-56	Weaver.
F. Mr. Vautier	1741-51	Weaver.
Mr. Trenchfield	1706-7	Mercer.
F. Mr. Verbeck	1749-54	Weaver.
Mr. Vernon	1707 & 1725-6	Mercer.
Mr. Welch	1752	Probably Mercer.
Wells.	1719-20	Weaver. Journeyman ?
Wells' Boy	1721	Weaver. Apprentice ?
Mr. Wittington & Company	1707-1721	Mercers.

A LIST OF PERSONS

who gave Evidence to Parliament and to other
Official Bodies on various aspects of the
Silk Industry between 1702-1766

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1712- 1720	Col. Peter Lekeux	Weaver	Misc. Silk	Treasury Lords, Commissioners for Trades & Plantations. House of Lords.	Entire career.
1719	Mr. Badcock	Mercer	Silk decline in trade	C's. of T's. and P's.	Firm existing throughout period.
1719	Benjamin Collyer	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	-
1719	Mr. Davenport	Master of Coy. Silk Throwers in London.	" "	" "	-
1719	Thomas Eade(r) i.e. Eades	Weaver (of worsted and woollens in Spitalfields).	Exports- Slump.	" "	Career in W. Coy. etc.
1719	Mr. (Joshua) Feary	Mercer	Silk, decline in trade	" "	Business partners & address, and some customers.
1719	Richard Frome	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	Signature to 1722 Petition.
1719	Thomas Lombe	<u>Italian</u> <u>MERCHANT</u>	" "	" "	Entire career.
1719	Philip Manneke	Canterbury Silk Weaver	" "	" "	Known from son's career in Spital- fields.
1719	David Martin	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	-
1719	Thomas Miller	Silk Thrower (of Coy.)	" "	" "	-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1719	James Molinier	Italian Merchant	Silk, decline in trade	Comm. for Trades & Plantations	Signature with Charles M. to 1722 Petition.
1719	Samuel Short	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	Signature to 1722 Petition.
1719	Mr. Tidmarsh	Weaver (of worsteds and woollens in Spitalfields)	" "	" "	Career in Weavers Company.
1719	Edmund Trott	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	-
1719	Richard Turner Junr.	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	Signature to 1722 Petition.
1719	Mr. Wright	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	Signature to 1722 Petition (Richard W.).
1732	Daniel Booth	Weaver	Sir Thomas Lombe & Organzine	House of Commons Select Cttee.	Entire career.
1732	William Selwyn	Importer of Italian Organzine	" "	" "	Some details of career.
1732	Roger Drake	Italian Merchant	" "	" "	-
1732	Captain Peter Lekeux	Weaver	" "	" "	Entire career.
1741	Joseph Porter	Merc. trading to Spain	Spanish Raw Silk	" "	-
1741	James Mathias	Clerk to Porter	" "	" "	-
1741	Bourdieu & Desmarette	Importers of Raw Silk	" "	" "	-
1741	Daniel Booth	Weaver	" "	" "	-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1743	John Fletcher	Lace Weaver	On using base metal in gold and silver Lace, etc.	House of Commons Select Cttee.	-
1743	Euston Scott	Gold and Silver Wire Drawer	" "	" "	-
1743	Mr. Sharp	Trader in Gold and Silver Lace	" "	" "	Some details.
1743	William Dall	Gold and Silver Lace Weaver	" "	" "	-
1743	James Smith	Gold and Silver Lace Weaver	" "	" "	Possibly some details.
1750	John Batchelor	Weaver	Raw Silk in America	" "	Entire career.
1750	Lewis Chauvet	Weaver "for 17 years"	" "	" "	Entire career.
1750	James Crockatt	Merchant "10 years past"	" "	" "	-
1750	John Delamare	Importer raw silk from Italy	" "	" "	Weaver. His career and family known.
1750	Peter Fremont	Weaver, foreman to Delamare	" "	" "	Career known in outline.
1750	Daniel Gobbe	Weaver "for 45 years"	" "	" "	Entire career.
1750	Philip Lee	Agent ? in Virginia and North Carolina	" "	" "	-
1750	Samuel Lloyd	Merc. who had lived in Italy	" "	" "	-
1750	Twin Lloyd	Merc. who had lived in Italy	" "	" "	-
1750	Thomas Mason	Weaver	" "	" "	Some details known of career.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1750	John Nicholson	Agent ? for South Carolina	Raw Silk in America	House of Commons Select Cttee.	-
1750	Nathaniel Pattison	Merc. in Silk Trade	" "	" "	Gave evidence in 1765 & 1766.
1750	Job Rothmalher	Agent ? for South Carolina	" "	" "	-
1750	John Sabatier	Weaver	" "	" "	Entire career.
1750	Herman Verelst	Agent ? for Georgia	" "	" "	City financier.
1750	Lewis Mendes	Italian Merc.	Importing Italian Raw Silk - special case	" "	City financiers.
1757	George Prescott	Italian Merc.	" "	" "	Evidence in 1766.
1757	Joseph Treves	Italian Merc.	" "	" "	-
1765	George Alcock	?	<u>Decline of Silk Industry</u>	" "	-
1765	John Allen	Master Silk Weaver	" "	" "	Some details of career.
1765	Mr. Ashburner	Mercer	" "	" "	Partners, etc.
1765	John Baker	Silk Weaver	" "	" "	Entire career.
1765	John Banyard	Silk Weaver	" "	" "	-
1765	Greg. Barnston	?	" "	" "	-
1765	Mr. Barton	F.W. Knitter (London)	" "	" "	?
1765	Mr. Blackstone	Throwster	" "	" "	-
1765	Jean Jaques Bougeac	Weaver (previously Nîmes & Lyon)	" "	" "	-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1765	Mr. Car	Mercer	<u>Decline of Silk Industry</u>	House of Commons Select Cttee.	Most of career.
1765	Peter Cheveney	Pattern Drawer	"	"	Very little.
1765	Mr. Fleetwood	Mercer	"	"	Partners, address, etc.
1765	John Grayhorn	Throwster	"	"	-
1765	Mr. Gibson	Gold and Silver Lace Dealer	"	"	Served Crown.
1765	David Hall	Silk Throwster (Macclesfield)	"	"	-
1765	Abraham Jeudwine	Velvet Weaver	"	"	Entire career.
1765	James Johnson	Weaver	"	"	-
1765	James Lawrence	Journeyman Weaver (Paris, Lyon & Spital- fields)	"	"	-
1765	Mr. Lavie	Mercer	"	"	Partners, address, etc.
1765	James LeGrew	Weaver	"	"	Some details of career.
1765	John Lesouef	Weaver	"	"	-
1765	John Lewis	Weaver	"	"	Some details of career.
1765	Thomas More	Hosier	"	"	-
1765	John Morrice	Hosier and F.W.K. (Nottingham)	"	"	-
1765	Lewis Ogier	Weaver	"	"	Entire career.
1765	Peter Ogier	Weaver	"	"	Entire career.
1765	Stephen Paris	Weaver	"	"	Most of career.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1765	Nathaniel Patterson	Throwster	<u>Decline of Silk Industry</u>	House of Commons Select Cttee.	See 1750.
1765	John Peregol	Weaver	" "	" "	Most of career.
1765	Wm. Pickart	Mercer	" "	" "	Partners, etc.
1765	Thomas Price	Journeyman-Weaver	" "	" "	-
1765	John Pritchard	Mercer	" "	" "	-
1765	Philip Riley	Weaver	" "	" "	-
1765	John Sabatier	Weaver	" "	" "	Entire career.
1765	John Sherrard	Throwster	" "	" "	-
1765	P. Trequet	Weaver	" "	" "	Some details of career.
1765	Charles Triquett	Weaver	" "	" "	Some details of career.
1765	Robert Trott	Customs Officer	" "	" "	Much of career.
1765	Charles Tyrele	Hosier and Manufacturer in Fleet Street	" "	" "	-
1765	Obadiah Wright	Hosier	" "	" "	-
1765	John Graham	Throwster (London)	" "	" "	-
			(Appendix on Hands Employed)		
1765	Sam. Nichols	Throwster (London)	" "	" "	-
1765	John Powell	Throwster (London)	" "	" "	-
1765	Spragg, Hopkins & White	Throwsters (London)	" "	" "	-
1765	Triquett & Bunney	Throwsters (London)	" "	" "	-

(non-London firms omitted)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>		<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1765	Mr. Hinchcliff	Mercer	<u>Decline of Silk Industry</u>		Comm. for Trades & Plantations	Much of career known.
1766	Richard Blackburne	Thrower (Stockport)	"	"	House of Commons Select Cttee.	-
1766	Robert Fleetwood	Mercer	"	"	"	" Partners, address, etc. see 1765 also.
1766	John Gibson	Dealer in Gold, and Silver Lace	"	"	"	" Some details.
1766	John Harris	Mercer	"	"	"	" Some details of career known.
1766	Germaine Lavie	Mercer	"	"	"	" Some details of career known. See 1765 also.
1766	Abraham Ogier	Weaver	"	"	"	" Entire career.
1766	Nathaniel Patterson	Owner of Silk Mill in Cheshire	"	"	"	" See previous reports.
1766	John Perrigal	Weaver	"	"	"	" Much of career known. See 1765 also.
1766	George Prescott	M.P.	"	"	"	" See previous reports.
1766	Thomas Price	Journeyman-Weaver	"	"	"	" See previous report.
1766	Matthew Robinson	Stocking Seller (London)	"	"	"	" -
1766	John Sabatier	Weaver	"	"	"	" Entire career. See 1765 also.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>Other Facts known</u>
1766	Mr. Triquet	Weaver	<u>Decline of Silk Industry</u>	House of Commons Select Cttee.	Much of career. <u>See</u> 1765 also.
1766	Robert Trott	Customs Officer	" "	" "	Much of professional career. <u>See</u> 1765 also.
1766	George Vaughan	Gold and Silver Lace Dealer	" "	" "	-
1766	Matthew Whitlock	Stocking Manufacturer (Nottingham)	" "	" "	-
1766	Mr. Prescott	Italian Merc. (London)	" "	Comm. for Trades and Plantations	See above.
1765/6	Mr. Carr Mr. Swan & Buck Mr. Barlow Mr. Ashburner Mr. Ellison	All Mercers who asked to be excused <u>further</u> attendance before Commissioners for Trades & Plantations. (Journal, p. 230).			Some details known in all cases. Much known in some.

APPENDIX 2 (111)SPITALFIELDS MANUFACTURERSoffering Men to fight the Young Pretender in 1745(in alphabetical order).

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
39	Saml. Alavoine		Weaver	No	Will.
16	James Auber		Weaver	No	Insurance Policy.
14	Peter Auder			No	
<u>52</u>	Peter Auber & Son		Weaver	No	Directory. Q.Lists L.
6		Saml. August	Ribbon Weaver	No	Directory. Q.Lists L.
<u>75</u>		John Baker	Weaver	Yes	pp 91-2, 104-6. 158, 159 etc. 207-8
14		Ann Barbutt	Weaver	No	De Brissac.
19		John Batchelor	? Weaver	?	pp 160 note 2 etc. 268.
10		Thomas Beck		No	
9		John Frederick Bernard		No	
5	James Beuzeville			No	Will.
10	Peter Beuzeville		Weaver	No	1772 Directory.
8	Stephen Beuzeville			No	
30	Bigot & Delavau		Weavers	Yes	pp. 54-6.
	Bourdillon: <u>see</u> Sequerett		Weaver	No	Directory.
26	Peter Bourdon		Weaver	No	Insurance Policy, etc. Q.Lists L.
17	Thomas Brant		Weaver	Possibly	Notes. Q.Lists L.
	Bray: <u>see</u> Reynolds		Weavers ?	No	Insurance Pol. Q. Lists.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
4		Guy Brian	Scarlet Dyer	No	Directories.
30	Daniel Cabinell		Shag Weaver	No	Directory. Q.Lists L.
4	Peter Callot			No	
74	Peter Campart		Weaver	No (friend)	Directory. A.M.G. Will. Q.Lists L.
2		John Campion	Vintner	No	Spitalfields Survey p.222.
50		Benjamin Champion	Weaver	No	W.C. Asst., Directory, etc.
35		Chantry & Co.	Weavers (Thomas Chantry)	No	Insurance Pol. etc. Q.Lists L.
6	Francis Chausat			No	Q.Lists C.
65	Lewis Chauvett		Weaver	No	pp. 45, 183, 194 note 1.
38	Lewis Chevallier		Weaver ?	No	Q.Lists.
3		William Chisim		No	
3		Henry Cline		No	
10	 Cooks		No	
80	Capt. James Dalbiac		Weaver	No	Directory and pp. 54, 57-8, 408, Q.Lists L. 439 etc.
25	Simon Dalbiac Junr.		Weaver	No	Directory.
8		Abraham David		No	
8	John Defoule			No	
47	Abraham Deheulle		Weaver	No	Directory and pp. 196, 210, 212 (4) 214 note 4.
22	Peter Delamare & Co.		Throwsters	No	Directory.

Delavau: see Bigot.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
10	John Desclaux			No	Q. Lists L. Directory. No profession.
19	Lewis Desormeaux		Dyer ?	No	Correspondence with family & pp. 42, 95 ^{n.1} , 204 ^{n.8} Q. Lists L. ^{215^{n.2}}
3	Abraham Dupree			No	Q. Lists C.
12	Isaac Dupree		Weaver	No	p. 203-4.
7	James Duthoit		Weaver	No	p. 52.
12	Peter Duthoit Senr.		Weaver	No	p. Will
11		George Farmer		No	
3	Peter Farques			No	
2	Peter Ferée		Weaver ?	No	Q. Lists L.
2	Ephraim Flammaire		Weaver ?	No	Q. Lists L. in 1763-4.
28		Reuben Foxwell	Weaver	No	Weavers Coy.
20	John Fremont		Weaver	No	Notes. Q. Lists C.
4	Cope Gallatly			No	
20		George Garrett	Weaver	No	pp. 22 ^{n.6} , 23, 213, 331. Directory, Insurance Policy.
20	James Gautier		Weaver "Merchant" ?	Possibly	Notes. Directory.
10		John Gibson	Weaver ?	No	Q. Lists L.
40		Daniel Giles	Weaver	No	Directory, Notes. Q. Lists C.
9		John Gilmore (? -ore)		No	
70	Daniel Gobbee		Weaver	Probably	pp. 29, 52, 199, etc.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
60	Godin & Ogier		Weavers	Possibly	pp. 55-6 etc.
6		Edward Grange	Builder	No	Spitalfields Survey, pp. 89, 184, 214, 279.
32		Elizabeth & Joseph Green	Weavers	No	Directory.
12	Gabriel Grillier		Weaver	No	p.28-9, 195 ^{note 2}
5	John Halbout			No	Q. Lists C.
14		John Harley		No	Q. Lists L.
2	John Hauchecorne			No	
25	Nicholas Hebert		Weaver	Probably	Q. Lists L. Will.
		Hinde: <u>see</u> Locke			
17		John Hunt Senr.		No	Q. Lists C.
8		John Hunt Junr.		No	
20	Jacob Jamet		Weaver	Probably	p. 49.
4		Thomas Jervis	Throwster	No	Directory.
<u>60</u>	Abraham Jeudwine		Weaver	Yes	pp. 32, 106, 175, 192 202, 297 ^{note 2}
<u>70</u>		James Johnson	Weaver	No	Q. Lists L.
6		Thomas Jones	Shag Weaver	No	Q. Lists C. Directory.
22	Simon Julian		Weaver	Yes	pp. 174-175.
21		Joseph King		No	Q. Lists C.
4	John Lamaitre		Weaver	No	Directory.
12	John Lamy		Probably Weaver	No	Q. Lists L. Directory.
<u>48</u>	John Luke Landon		Weaver	Yes	pp. 54-55
27	James Lardant		Weaver	Probably	Q. Lists L. Directory.
9		Robert Lee	Weaver	No	Directory. Q. Lists L.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
18	Peter Lekeux		Weaver	Yes	p. 40n.2, 48, 118n.2 226.
30		Locke & Hinde	Weavers	No	Directory. Q. Lists L, C.
21	Peter Maillard			No	Q. Lists C.
9		James Martell	Weavers	No	Directory. Q. Lists L.
18		Jeremiah Mather		No	Q. Lists L.
25	James Maze		Weaver	Possibly	p. 196.note 1
24	James Maze		Weaver	Possibly	potus. "
17	John Maze		Weaver	Possibly	p. 41.
16		John May Senr.	Weaver	No	Directory.
1		John May Junr.	Weaver	No	Directory.
<u>48</u>	Daniel Messman		Weaver	No	p. 54, 56, 170, 198 Q. Lists L. etc.
10		Henry Napton		No	Q. Lists L. p. 150n.8
18		Abraham Newhouse		No	
3	Peter Nouailles		Throwster	No	Directory, p. 30, 133. Q. Lists L.
Ogier: <u>see also</u> Godin Riviete					
4	John Ogier		Weaver	Possibly	pp. 199
16	John Ogier		Weaver	Possibly	pp. 198-9
28	Peter Abraham Ogier & Sons		Weavers	Yes	pp. 52, 198.
6		Joseph Oram		No	<u>James</u> in Q. Lists L.
<u>50</u>	Peter Ogier		Weaver	Probably	pp. 199-200
19	James Ouvry		Weaver	Possibly	pp. 57, 65n.1

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
35	John Ouvry		Weaver	Possibly	p. 51
<u>47</u>		John Payton		No	Q. Lists C.
20		John Peck	Dyer (and Landlord)	No	pp. 47, 145-8 etc.
17	James Pigne		Weaver ?	No	Q. Lists C.
<u>49</u>	Daniel Pilon		Weaver ?	No	Q. Lists L. Directory.
29	Daniel Pinau		Weaver ?	No	Q. Lists L. Directory.
8	Gabriel Pommier		Weaver	No	Directories.
9	Peter Pontie			No	Q. Lists C.
1		John Powel		No	
33		John Powell	Throwster <u>see (ii)&(v)</u>	No	
14	Abraham Ravenell		Weaver	No	Q. Lists L. Insurance Policy.
<u>107</u>		Reynolds & Bray	Weavers	No	pp. 24, 105 etc. Q. List Assistants.
4	Mathurin Rivalin			No	
16	Riviete & Ogier (Mistake for Riviere ?)		Weavers	Possibly	pp. 28-9, 55 Q. Lists C. (Francis Rivier).
17	James Roberdeau		Weaver ?	No	Directory.
12		Thomas Rogers		No	
<u>57</u>	John Rondeau		Weaver	Possibly	p. 51, 211
10		Nathaniel Rothery		No	Directory.
10		John Roy	Weaver	No	L.o.P. Q. Lists C.
4		John Russell & Son	Throwsters	No	Directory. Insurance Pol. Q. Lists C.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Garthwaite Customer</u>	<u>Source</u>
34	John Sabatier		Weaver	Probably	pp. 52-170-4 etc.
12		William Salter	Weaver	No	Directory. Q. Lists C.
10		Thomas Sandall & Son		No	
36		Samuel Savage	Weaver	No	Directory.
5		John Shields		No	Q. Lists L.
8		William Smith	Dyer	No	Spitalfields Survey p. 248.
14	Judith Sequerett & Bourdillon			No	Q. Lists (Widows).
9		John Tall		No	Asst. Weavers Coy. Q. List.
4	Lewis Triquet			No	
7	Thomas Triquet		Dyer	No	p. 52-3, 145.
<u>102</u>		John & Robert Turner	Weavers	Yes	pp. 63, 97 (i), Pl. 49
13		Thomas Turner	Dyer	No	Directory
4	René Turquand		Weaver	No	p. 195n. 2 Q. Lists L.
<u>47</u>	Daniel le Vautier		Weaver	Probably	pp. 158, 160n. 7
4		John Ward		No	Q. Lists C. (several).
7		Samuel Worrall	Builder (and Landlord)	No	Spitalfields Survey.

The list of names and the numbers of men was printed in the London Gazette, October 5th-8th, 1745, but not in alphabetical order.

APPENDIX 2 (IV)WEAVERS listed in Mr. Mortimer's Directory of Arts
and Sciences

(Masters and Professors in, together with Mechanical Arts, Manufactures and Trade) 1763. No artists who claim to work for the Silk Industry or Pattern Drawers.

A List of Calico-Printers.

"Of all the Mechanic Arts that of Weaving in its different branches is the most extensive, and the manufactures of silk stuff and etc. carried on by the following weavers in or near Spitalfields are the largest of any in the kingdom & of the greatest importance to the trade in general. I have therefore been as exact as possible in distinguishing the different articles manufactured by each weaver;" Hopes that the list will be servicable to merchants.... (exporting articles) and to "wholesale traders in general".

Black silk and gauze.	Zachary and Jacob AGACE, White Lion Street, Spit.
Silk mixed with worsted.	Obadiah AGACE, Church Street, Spit.
Striped & plain lustring, mantua, tabby.	Peter ALAVOINE, Stuart Street, Spit.
Brocade and flowered silk.	Jno. ALLEN & Co. Princes Street.
Silk mixed with worsted and thread.	Peter AUBER & Sons, Spital Square.
Silk mixed with worsted and thread.	James AUBER, No. 3 Spitalfields.
Gold and Silver brocade and flowered silk.	<u>John BAKER & Co.</u> Princes Street, Spital.
Gold and Silver brocade and flowered silk.	<u>BATCHELOR</u> , HAM; PERIGAL, White Lion Street, Norton Falgate.
Velvet.	Francis BOWLAND, Elder Street, Norton Falgate.
Gauze.	BOWLAND & Co. Corner of Austin Friars, Old Broad Street.
?	Robt. BRADSHAW, Stuart Street, Spit.

Worsted Stuff.

Miles BURKITT, Elder Street, Norton
Falgate.

Striped and plain lustring,
mantua and tabby weaver.

Peter CAMPART, Church Street, Spitalfields.

Silk mixed with worsted and
thread.

CHAMPION & MERICK, Widegate Alley,
Bishopsgate st.

Gauze.

Gervaise CHAUVET & Co., Gun Street.

Silk Handkerchiefs.

Lewis CHAUVET & Co. Gun Street.

Silk mixed with Worsted.

Benjamin Coles, Steuart Street, Spt.

Silk mixed with worsted.

Abraham Coles, Red Lion Street, Spit.

Handkerchiefs.

Peter COLLET, Princes Street, Upper
Moorfields.

Gauze.

Thos. COOKE. Pancras Lane, Queen Street,
Cheapside.

Ribbon.

Charles COVERLY. Aldermanbury.

Ferret.

Roger de COVERLY, King Street, Moorfields.

Silk and velvet.

James and Charles DALBIAC Spital Square.

Striped and plain lustring
Mantua, Tabby.

Abraham DEHEULLE Jun. Church Street.

Shag.

John DEHEULLE, Church Street.

Gauze and black silk.

James DELESPINE, Gun Street.

Gauze and Mode.

DICKINSON & WARMER, Spital Square.

Gauze.

DUNN, Moorfields.

Black silk.

Peter DUTHOIT Junr. Wood Street, Spit.

Striped and plain lustrings
mantua and tabby.

John FERARD, Church Street.

Striped and plain lustrings
mantua and tabby.

William FORREST, Gun Street.

Worsted Stuff.

Jos. FOSKETT, Spital Square.

Black silk & etc.

John FREMONT & Son. Wood Street, Spit.

Ribbon.

John GARSED & MEYRICK, Wood Street,
Cheapside.

Silk Handkerchiefs.

Lewis Gilbert, Princes Street, Spit.

Shag.

Joshua GREEN, Crispin Street, Spit.

Ribbon.

Walter GRIFFIN & Co. Friday Street,
Cheapside.

Plain mantua and tabby.

GUILLEMARD & Sons, Stewart Street, Spit.

Ribbon.

George GWILT, Wood Street, Cheapside.

Handkerchiefs and gauze.

John HAINWORTH Widegate Alley, B'sgate St.

Silk mixed with worsted.

HALL & HUDSON, Widegate Alley, B'sgate St.

Gauze and Mode.

HALLET, Bow Lane Cheapside.

Worsted and Stuff.

Charles Hartley & Co. Booth Street, Spit.

Striped and plain lustrings
mantua and tabby.

Peter HEBERT, Princes Street.

Shag.

HODGSON & Co. Great St. Helens.

Gauze.

HOOK, Moorfields.

Silk mixed with worsted.

John HUNT, Artillery Lane, B'sgate St.

Satin.

Jacob JAMET, White Lion Street.

Silk Mixed with thread and
cotton.

B'sgate St.

Silk damasks.

Simon JULION, Booth St. Spit.

?

KERON & COPE, Skinner St. B'sgate St.

Handkerchiefs.

LAMY & SALMON, Gun Street.

Gold and silver brocade,
flowered silk etc.

John and James LANDON & Stephen PARIS.
Primrose Street, B'sgate St.

Silk mantua and tabby.

LARDANT & Sons, Church Street, Spit.

Worsted Stuff.

James LEEDS Windsor Street, Widegate Alley,
B'sgate St.

?

James L'HEUREUX, Gun Street.

?

Daniel and James LEMAITRE, Gun Street.

Satin.	John and Viard LEMAITRE, Wood St. Spit.
Worsted Stuff.	LOCKE & HINDE, Paternoster Row, Spitalfields.
Silk mixed with worsted.	John LOUIS, Stewart St.
Satin and Tabby.	LOY AND LONDON, Spital Square.
?	James MARTELL, Elder Street, Spit.
Flowered Silk.	MASON & JORDAIN, Steuart St.
?	MAUROT & DIX, Windsor Street, B'sgate St.
Black silk and velvet.	Daniel MESSMAN & Sons, Spit. Sq.
Ribbon.	MILLER & KNIGHT, Gould St. Wood St. Cheapside.
Ribbon.	MITCHELL & POPE, Southwark.
Bunting and crape.	Joseph NEWSOM, Holywell Mount, Shoreditch.
Gold and silver brocade and flowered silk.	<u>OGIER</u> , VANSOMER & TRIQUET, Spit. Sq.
Mantua and watered tabby.	Thomas Abraham <u>OGIER</u> , Spit. Sq. (suggests perhaps not A.M.G. customer ?).
Flowered Silk.	Lewis <u>OGIER</u> & DUTHOIT, Spit. Sq.
Striped and plain lustring and mantua.	John <u>OUVRY</u> Church Street.
Mantua and black silk.	James <u>OUVRY</u> , Brown's Lane.
Ribbon.	Edward PARKER, Aldersgate.
Shag.	James PAYTON, Elder Street, Spit.
Gauze.	PELTRAU & Co., Upper Moorfields.
Silk mixed with worsted.	Nicholas Peter PILON, Princes Street.
Worsted Stuff.	Richard PLEES, Red Lion Street.
Flowered silk.	William PLEES, Artillery Lane, B'sgate St.
Satin and Gauze.	PRITCHARD & BLOGG, Wood St.
Striped and plain lustring and mantua.	RAVENHILL & AUBER, Paternoster Row.

Black silk.	Isaac ROBERDEAU, Wood Street.
Satin.	John ROY, Princes Street.
Flowered silk.	John <u>SABATIER</u> , Red Lion Street.
Worsted Stuff.	Sam SAVAGE, Gun Street.
Gauze and Mode.	Humphry SLIM, Friday Street, Cheapside.
Garter Ribbon Weaver to H.M.	James SMITH, Bridewell.
Silk mixed with worsted.	THOMPSON & COLLIER, New St. B'sgate St.
Worsted Stuff.	James and Joseph TURNER, Crispin St.
Silk mixed with worsted.	WALKER & ATKINSON, Duke Street.
Horsehair for chairbottoms.	Caleb WELCH, Corner of Round Court in St. Martins le Grand, Newgate St.
Satin.	WEST & WREN, Church St.
Ribbon.	Thomas WILSON & Co. Wood St. Cheapside.
Silk and stuff.	Edw. WILSON & Co. Widegate Alley, B'sgate St.
Handkerchief weaver.	Edward Jno. WOLLSTONECRAFT, B'sgate St. Primrose St.

APPENDIX 2 (V)A LIST OF BANKRUPTSprinted each month in theGENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE

d = dyer
 m = mercer
 w = weaver
 t = throwster
 sm = silkman
 sw = silk weaver
 merc = merchant

1731 - 1766 & 1769 (omitting 1767 - 1768)
 (omitting 1738 - 1741, not listed).

- 1731 Wm. Lowfield (m): Thos. Immins (w): Sus. Tidmarsh (w):
 John Walker.
- 1732 Wm. Appleby (m): John Cazalet (m)^{merc.}: John Havy (w):
 Peter Lortie alias Nettle junr. (w):
 Thos. Sanders (m).
- 1733 Alex Bancroft (w): John Beavis (m): John Carberry (w).
 John Lekeux (m)^{merc.}: Jacob Mendes (w): John Triquet (w).
- 1734 Wm. Archer (w): John Chapman (m): Thos. Eades (w):
 Thos. Howe (w): John King (d).
- 1735 Edw. Barker (m): Edw. Jones (m): John Knowles (m):
 Wm. Payne (m).
- 1736 E. Chase (m): G. Exton (m): P. Farretts (w):
 E. Lee (w): Peter Nettle (w): R. Price (w):
 J. Parkes (m): Thos. Roe (m): S. Shepherd (w):
 J. Simpson (w):
- 1737 S. Bull (m): T. Rosbotham (w).
-
- 1742 E. Austin (m): J. Porter (m): E. Tilbury (d).
- 1743 M. Hewet (m): E. Knowles (m).

- 1744 J. Belson (m): L. Hurne (w): A. Thompson (w):
J. Wood (w).
- 1745 R. Grottert (w): T. Jenney (m): W. Porter (m):
J. A. Rocher & P. Lapierre (merchants): J. Wright (m).
- 1746 J. Aberdair (m): R. Francis (sm).
- 1747 H. Bostock (m): J. Edmonds (sm): F. Weston (m).
- 1748
- 1749 J. May (sc.d): J. Riviere (w).
- 1750 E. Argles (m): W. Grinsell (w).
- 51 F. Bakewell (sm): T. Yeldall (m).
- 1752 A. Roquet (w).
- 1753 T. Welch (w): J. Willett (m).
- 1754 J. Lamy (w).
- 1755 I. Dupree (w): J. Robinson (w).
- 1756 H. Alldwin Jr. & J. Ouvry Jr. (w): T. Pearson (t).
- 1757
- 1758 S. Ware (t).
- 1759 H. Cooper (m): J. Redhead (m): T. Smith (m):
J. Wilson & R. Day (m): W. Wilson (sm).
- 1760 Heathfield & Cort (sm).
- 1761
- 1762 G. Bowser (sm): J. Desdale (w): J. Sottnee (w).
- 1763 R. Leather (t): B. de Solas (m):
- 1764 R. Holmes (m): J. Meecham (w): J. F. Sherwood (w).
- 1765 T. Huckell (w): J. Watford (d).
- 1766 S. Blackwell (w): T. Bryer (w): N. Duckett (sm):
D. Franckling (d): F. Gough (w): J. Powell (t):
J. Roisson (w): A. Rooke (m): Schuldam & Beihenheat (w):
W. Smith (d): Geo. Whiffin & R. Cromwell (w):
R. & W. Wilson (sw).

APPENDIX 3THE MATERIALS ON SALE 1702 - 1766

This appendix is only intended as a guide to the production of some 60-odd years. It is not intended as a complete dictionary, and thus no attempt has been made to give the derivation of the word unless it throws some light upon the nature of the material. A type of material may have been woven both before and after the dates mentioned, and may or may not have been the same. Many of the cloths advertised by the mercers were called by the names of the weaves used to make them, for example, 'satin' and 'damask'. When there is no evidence that these terms have changed in meaning in the last 200 years only a brief definition has been attempted. Differences in weight and quality would distinguish one satin from another. The list is compiled almost entirely from the collections of trade cards. The samples quoted in explanation are of materials made in London. Spelling is arbitrary. Prices are quoted from private bills or the Royal Accounts and are typical. Other things being equal, materials increased in price as the number of warp threads and wefts increased. The greater the number of threads, the greater the weight and the fewer the number of yards to the 1 lb. The witnesses before the Select Committees of 1765 and '6 distinguished between the prices of silks and the number of yards to 1 lb. By this they could determine the quality. Technical details have therefore been given of the samples examined.

Note: On October 14th, 1719 The Commissioners for Trades and Plantations received "Patterns of silks and stuffs mixed with silks delivered by the Weavers Company" (CO 388.21 item 209 in the PRO). These were all materials said to be affected by competition from printed calicoes. Three pages are illustrated, pls. 67, 68 (81). The all-worsted cloths have been omitted, together with the unnamed varieties of half silk.

(a) SILKS.

ALLAMODE Late 17th century - third quarter 18th century. Used for hoods, linings etc. A lightweight material, almost invariably black. First made by the Royal Lustring Company, therefore probably glazed. It was classified by the journeymen in 1769 in the Black Branch as a "soft" silk, lighter than a lustring. If there were to be more than 75 shoots to an inch, the rates of pay were to be as for a lustring. Its weave may have been tabby. In a bill of 1726 it cost 4/- per yard, and the price decreased slightly in the period.

ARMOZEEN

2nd half 17th century (PRO. C.M.E. C 113, 31 Bill dated 1669) - 3rd quarter 18th century. A dress material for women but also used by men. Made in all colours, several qualities. Weave tabby. Sample of 1756-9 in PRO (see page 298, note 4). In 1758 rich black armozeen cost 10/- per yard.

BROCADES

17th century - late 18th century. Used for dress materials for women and men's waistcoats. The wefts making the design do not go from selvage to selvage but are only brocaded for the width of the motif, thus technically distinguishable from tissues. They were sold by nearly all the mercers, and appear near the beginning of their lists as "rich brocades", "all sorts of brocades" or "rich brocaded silks". According to the number of coloured silks and metal threads used to make them, so their prices varied from about 5/- to £9 per yard. The richest brocades gradually dropped out of fashion. A witness to the Committee of 1765 quoted three qualities:

9/- per yard (no gold or silver) 7 yards to lb.
18/- per yard (no gold or silver) 5 yards to lb.
2 gns. per yard, 3 yards to a lb.

English "brocades upon a white ground" were claimed to be particularly good. ^{Many of} Garthwaite's designs were for brocades (see pp. 302, 312, 316-317: pls. 40, 44, 47, 54, etc.).

CLOUDED
SILKS

18th century. These are dyed in the warp before weaving with a design which has a soft cloudy effect in the finished silk. In France the technique of chiné. It was an expensive technique and clouded silks are very frequently met in seizures of smuggled goods. They were used for ladies' dresses (see pp. 270, 323). Although they were fashionable no bill for any has so far been found.

DAMASKS

Throughout period. Used extensively for furnishings and for costume. Silk furnishing damasks would be heavier in weight, and were often crimson, dark green or yellow. Many were imported from Genoa. Those for costume were lighter in weight and more varied in colour. Technically, a damask has a design made by the contrast between warp-faced weave and a weft-faced weave made on the same number of shafts. (The term has not changed in

meaning). Many of the damasks of this period were based on an 8 shaft satin. Just as "brocades" could be upon a variety of different grounds, damasks were often the ground for other effects (see pls. 6 & 8, designs by Leman). They were sold by nearly all mercers and listed near the top of their cards. Prices ranged from 10/- upwards (a bill of 1739 12/-, 1749 15/- per yard). The Great Wardrobe paid 16/- upwards for furnishing damasks. To the Committee of 1765 they were described as "common things", their price given as 14/- per yard, 5 yards to 1b. (see pp. 270, 270, note 2, 288-289: pls. 36, 65, 51 (61), 63).

Dimotys See SATIN.

DUNJARS Early to mid 18th century. Use unknown. Sample in PRO (CO. 383.21 item 209) of 1719. Described in document as "half yard broad at 2s. per yard". Seven samples shewn. The first five striped, with a horizontal rib produced by a thick weft and a high warp count by comparison with the weft. The weft is of very low grade silk. Approximately 52 warp threads to cm. The samples are all slightly watered. The last two samples are unwatered, have a less pronounced rib and slightly fewer warp threads to cm. They may have been a lining material since calicoes were alleged to interfere with their sale. They are among the cheapest all silk material so far encountered in this period. They are listed among a series of half silks on a trade card for Edward Nourse, mercer (Victoria & Albert Museum) undated. (See pp. 456, 459 and pl. 68 (81)).

DUCAPES 17th century (PRO. C.M.E. C 113.31 Bill 1670) to third quarter 18th century. A standard men's suiting but sometimes used in women's costume. Woven in gros de tours, (or extended tabby). (See p. 298, note 5). Another sample exists in the Berch Collection. In the mid-18th century the price varied from 6/- to 25/- per yard. The 6/- version was probably plain. Its weight was quoted to the 1765 Committee as 9 yards to 1 lb. (see pp. 298-299).

DUFINÉE

(Dauphine ?). Mentioned in a bill of 1756 at the London Museum (Swan & Buck...) 22 yards rich d.... 14/- per yard. Probably an ephemeral name, but the price and the quantity suggest a dress silk.

FLOWERED
SILKS

18th century term generally used for silks with a free design which must be made on a drawloom (see p. 10, note 2). In 1750, Daniel Gobee told the Select Committee of the House of Commons that he exported "great quantities....flowered silks to Germany". Their manufacture constituted one of the five main branches of the 1769 List of Prices. They were not necessarily floral in design, although they very often were. The Leman and Garthwaite designs were for various specific kinds of flowered silk. Their cost was quoted as from 7/- to £3 per yard to the Select Committee of 1765. They had cost up to three times as much earlier in the century - chiefly owing to the use of more expensive materials in their manufacture (see pp. 276 et seq.).

GAUZE &
MODE

18th century. A very light dress material similar in character and use to the material of the same name today. Gauze became especially fashionable in the early '60's, but the boom collapsed in 1764. It was one of the materials in the Fancy Branch of the 1769 List of Prices. Certain of the warp threads in a gauze are twisted around their neighbours in the course of manufacture to produce an open mesh. The term was used also quite loosely for any open mesh material (as it is today). Samples of gauze ribbons dated 1735 (PRO BT 1/312), about which a dispute over the payment of import duty had arisen, are technically only an open mesh tabby. A design by Garthwaite for a gauze lappet pattern is illustrated on pl. 48 (57). Very few gauzes earlier than the first years of the 19th century have survived and even these are very fragile.

GROTETORE

1738-56, frequently occurs in the accounts of the Master of the Robes, but not so far met in a single private bill or mercer's trade card. Presumably a corruption of the French gros de tours, a tabby which is extended either by doubling the weft, or, frequently in the 18th century, by using a much thicker weft than the warp and so making a material with a pronounced horizontal rib. It cost from 12/- to 17/- though

the usual price paid by the Master of the Robes was about 14/- . It was a self-coloured material. There is no indication of its use in the accounts.

LUSTERING

From late 17th century until first years of 19th century. A light glazed dress material. Lustrings mentioned in a bill of 1677 (PRO C.M.E. C 113.31) were almost certainly imported. Those made by the Royal Lustering Company from 1688 were black. The lustre was imparted by a special technique which, in the 18th century, was applied to dress silks of many colours. Many flowered versions were designed by Leman and Garthwaite (see, for example, pls. 44 and 45), these have lustrous grounds woven in tabby brocaded with light open patterns. In the 17th century the price per yard was about 5/- to 7/- if plain. In the 18th century the price varied from 5/- to 9/- for a plain lustering and cost upwards of 15/- if brocaded. It was one of the most popular ladies' dress materials in the period (see pp. 299-301).

MANTUA

17th century (PRO C.M.E. C 113.31 bill of 1670) to third quarter 18th century. It was used both for dress materials and linings, and lost in status slightly in the course of the 18th century. There is a sample of plain mantua in the Berch Collection (see p. 298, note 1). Plain mantua used at the Coronation of Queen Anna and cost 12/6 per yard. Bills of 1726-1727 give prices from 5/- to 8/-. In 1765 its price was quoted as 8/- per yard, 8 yards to lb. Mantuas were a variety of tabby of which plain and flowered versions were made. They occur very frequently in surviving bills. (See pp. 274, note 2, 298).

Mode

See GAUZE (The difference between them is unknown).

ORRIS

17th - 18th century. The word changed in meaning in the course of the century. "Orrace" tissues were made by Leman (see pl. 9) and were presumably a variety of tissue with the design in metal thread. Croft, the mercer, was still selling "silver orris Tishua" at 82/6 per yard to the Master of the Robes in 1740. "Orrace" in this context may have been a general term for a heavy, possibly base, metal

thread often made into braids (of which numbers survive). By the middle of the 18th century numbers of "orris weavers" occur in the Weavers Company records and these were, no doubt, making such braids. By then, however, they were not exclusively made in metal thread. Samples survive (PRO L.C. 9. 267) of the mid-1750's which are reversible thick silk braids with geometric designs. They are woven in tabby with a design of floating wefts and are coarse, probably very serviceable, and intended as trimmings for furniture.

PADUASOY

Second half 17th century (PRO C.M.E. C 113.31. 1668 bill) - mid 18th century. In the 18th century probably a fairly heavy, "rich", self-coloured material used extensively for women's dresses. It is omitted from the lists of mercers having a bias towards half silks and worsteds, and occurs high up on the lists of the others. The precise nature of its weave is unknown (see p. 277, note 1) but it was used by Leman in apposition to, or synonymous with, a tabby tissue. Its price c. 1739-49 was about 9/6 per yard; in a bill of 1758 it cost 10/6. It must have been easily definable since a Dr. Madden offered premiums in 1748 for the best flowered silk "damask, paduasoy and velvet" (G.M. XVIII, p. 356). It gives way to Royal Tissues in the trade cards of the 1760's.

PELONG

18th century. Originally an Indian material but imitated by English weavers and "English pelong" (various spellings) was advertised fairly widely. It may have been a dress material but its use, price and special properties are unknown (see pp. 274, note 1, 284, 285).

PERSIAN

Late 17th century - third quarter 18th century. A lining material widely used both for furnishing and costume, and thus a very light silk. It was also one of the cheapest silks on the market. Its precise weave is unknown but, since it is listed in the Fancy Branch of the 1769 List of Prices, immediately before Sarcenets, it may also be a variety of twill. It could be "foot-figured" with spots, etc. Its price decreased from about 6/- in 1716 to 1/6 - 2/- in the 1740's and 1750's (see p. 308).

PERUVIAN

Mid 18th century dress silk. By analogy with the French *Péruvienne* it should be a silk with a flush pattern. It is however listed in trade cards and advertisements in apposition to Royal Tissues, the most expensive material to weave, according to the 1769 List of Prices. No named sample has been traced. Grey and white Peruvian was sold by Carr & Co. in 1761 for 13/- per yard (see p. 283, note 2).

RASTIGAN

Early 18th century to third quarter. Probably a very light black silk used for linings. It was said by King, in 1721, to have superseded the use of lustrings (together with mantuas). It is still listed in the Black Branch of the 1769 List of Prices, after the "douce....alamodes" and before the "slight strong" silks (see p. 300).

RASDEMORE

Mid 18th century. Probably a men's suiting - it was supplied to the Master of the Robes for this purpose and does not seem to occur on the bills for ladies' dress materials. By analogy with the French "Ras de St. Maur" it may have had a twill weave but, so far, no named sample has been traced. In 1742, the Master of the Robes paid 12/- per yard for black rasdemore, but the material only occurs rarely (see p. 281, note 4).

SARCENET

17th - 18th century. A lining material both for furnishing and costume. A light-weight silk listed in the Fancy Branch of the List of Prices after Persians. It appears on most trade cards. It was only comparatively cheap at the beginning of this period but declines in price. In 1718 the Great Wardrobe paid 6/6 per yard. In 1738 4/6 was paid by the Vestry of St. Martins-in-the-Fields and alleged to be an outrageous price, 2/6 per yard being the average price. Two samples of 1820 (PRO. BT I/149) are of a small patterned twill which there may have been in the 18th century (see p. 275 & 323). "Wove sarcenet twilled" was mentioned in a dye recipe of 1816 (see p. 242, note 4).

SATIN

17th - 18th century. One of the most common materials for costume, both for men and women. Its price varied according to quality from about 2/- to 16/-; a flowered satin might, of course, be more expensive. (Flowered garment satins are

one of the categories in the Flowered Branch of the List of Prices). The word has not changed in meaning and denotes a weave particularly suited to the naturally lustrous quality of silk. A number of materials were based upon the weave. Thread satins were woven with a linen weft and seem to cost about one-third to half the price of a plain satin. "Satton dimotys" were among the samples submitted by the Weavers Company in 1719 (PRO C.O. 388.21 209, fol. 152). These are a very light-weight material, striped with satin stripes in colours and white tabby grounds between. The weft is a coarse low-grade silk. The samples have been glazed and calendered and thus it is difficult to give a warp count. They were stated to be half a yard wide and to cost 18d. per yard. A sample of figured satin (satini figurati) in the Forney Collection, of 1760, is much the same kind of silk, of low quality with satin and tabby stripes. The latter, however, are decorated with a chevron pattern. The price of the Forney sample was stated to be 2/- per yard (see p. 229 and pls. 40, 46 (54), 51 (61), 60 (71),).

SERGEDUSOY Mid 18th century, men's suiting, frequently supplied to the Master of the Robes (1738-57), but not always listed on the trade cards. By 1774 one trade card lists 'rich sergedusoys for linings' (James Hebert, at Guildhall). There is a sample in the Berch Collection, a twill with 83 warp threads and 40 double wefts per cm. The Master of the Robes paid from 5/6 - 6/6 per yard throughout the 19 years of the accounts (see p. 281).

SLIGHT SILKS 18th century term for light-weight silks, often linings. They had fewer warp threads and wefts to the inch than "strong" silks, and were correspondingly cheaper. They were mentioned in the List of Prices of 1769, and occur on many trade cards. Most were plain or foot-figured with small patterns, but the designer de Brissac also sold a "slight bro(ca)^{de}". (see p. 274).

TABBY 17th - 18th century. A plain silk (unless qualified in some way), its name derived from the weave. This has not changed in meaning. Use and price according to quality. It was probably heavier in weight than the lustring. Often advertised as "tabbies watered and unwatered", i.e:

with or without a *moiré* effect. An average bill of 1749 for a figured tabby gives the price as 8/- per yard. A tabby striped with satin cost 9/- per yard in the same year and a "rich black unwatered tabby" cost 9/6 per yard in a bill of 1753. On an average, a tabby was cheaper than a satin and more expensive than a lustring. Two samples in the Berch Collection are 1) "richest sort", with 132 warp threads to cm. and 21 wefts with 6 threads in each weft, 2) "cheap sort" with 97 warp threads and 17 wefts to cm., 5 threads in each weft.

The material was also the basis of many figured and flowered silks. Yellow "flowered tabby" cost 10/6 per yard in a bill of 1753. Garthwaite designed a number (see pl. 24 (25) for example), a volume of her designs, of which the cover is now missing, were all "double tabbies". (These could be double-cloths but since no silks with such patterns survive which are technically double-cloths, they are more probably tabbies with two pattern wefts to form the design, of which some do exist) (see pp. 274-5, 279, 298).

TAFFETA

17th - 18th century, a high quality dress and furnishing material. Technically the same as tabby, it is usually more expensive, 8/6 or 8/8 per yard in a year when tabby seems to cost about 8/-. There are samples of very good quality taffeta in the PRO (L.C.9 267) c. 1756-9, priced at 8/8 to 11/2 per yard. ~~There are — warp threads to the cm. in the cheapest and — to cm. in the most expensive, — and — wefts respectively~~ (see pp. 287, note 2, 291, 297 and 297, note 4).

TISSUE

17th - 18th century. One of the standard varieties of heavier flowered silks, used (except at Coronations) almost exclusively as a dress material for women or for men's waistcoats. Technically, it had to have a binding warp (though not necessarily wound on a separate roller) and one or more pattern wefts (going from selvage to selvage). It might have many other refinements, it did not have to be woven in metal thread. A diagram shewing a typical tissue appears on plate 72 (87). It is and was distinguishable from the brocade whose design was made by wefts which were only inserted by the weaver for the distance of the motif. Gold tissue for a herald's coat cost the Great Wardrobe

£9 per yard, the Master of the Robes paid 65/- per yard in a bill of 1744 for silver tissue, which may be compared with the cost of other silks in the same bill: 12/- for crimson satin, 28/- for blue genoa velvet, and 5/6 for sergedusoy. Ten years later he paid 36/- per yard for "buff tissue, silver and colours". Significantly, although it is advertised on all the trade cards and is among the materials described by Mrs. Delany as worn at the most important functions, very few private bills for tissue have survived. It was an important section of the Flowered Branch of the 1769 List of Prices, which dealt with single tissues, tabby tissues and royal tissues. Presumably, a single tissue which had one silk pattern weft was quite moderate in price. Leman designed orrace tissues (pl. 9, for example), satin tissues (pl. 7, for example), etc. A brocaded tissue designed by Garthwaite is illustrated Pl. 35 (41) - the brocading was one of the many additions possible. De Brissac's Accounts mention designs for Persian tissues (perhaps similar to the French persienne), Prussian tissues, a "single coloured tissue", "silver tissue orice ground", "Royall tishue with a piller", "a tissue not quite all double", etc. Prussian tissues are occasionally mentioned on the trade cards. Their special feature remains to be discovered. Royal tissues (unlike the Journeymen's other categories) are often mentioned on the trade cards and are clearly one of the most elaborate materials on sale. Both Royal and Peruvian tissues appear after the middle of the 18th century. (See pp. 254, note 2, 260, note 2, 262, note 3, 274, note 1, 276-7 and 276, note 2, 279, and 279, notes 1 & 3, 283, note 2, 304, 323).

TOBINE

2nd - 3rd quarter 18th century. The name of the material is derived from the weave and this is technically the same as the French cannellé. The tobine would be a foot-figured or flowered material with the design made by an additional flushing warp instead of by the wefts. Such a technique could be used both in half silks and worsted materials. When tobines are mentioned on trade cards together with other materials which are certainly all silk, then it can be assumed that the mercer was advertising silk tobines. Silk tobines were used for dress materials and increasingly so after the middle of the century. They were fairly expensive to make (see p. 281) and their price varied according to quality. Anna Maria Garthwaite designed a number (see for example pls. 34, 35 (40), and 41), and de

Brissac also sold designs for them. The rates for weaving them were included in the foot-figured and Flowered Branch of the 1769 List of Prices. In the latter the cost of weaving an all-over single tobine was set at 1/5 per yard (with none of the extras mentioned later); a single tissue, however, cost 2/6 per yard (without extras). A striped tobine in a bill of 1739 cost 7/- per yard: a tobine lustring in 1750 cost between 7/- and 7/6. (See pp. 262, note 2, 274, note 1, 276, 277, 280-281).

VELLURES

Mid-18th century suiting for men. They seem to have been self-coloured with a weft-effect pattern in uncut pile. The designs were limited in size (see plate 59). There is a sample in the Berch Collection. Its price is given as 9/- per yard. There are 87 warp threads to cm., 18 wefts. In each weft there are 8 threads, 6 of untwisted silk and 2 of linen. The linen thread would ensure its hard wearing qualities. If all vellures had a proportion of linen then the material is technically a half silk. It is difficult to be precise on the evidence of only one sample (see pp. 281, 381, and 381, note 2).

VELLURETS

Mid-18th century men's suiting very similar to Vellures above. The sample in the Berch Collection has 90 warp threads to cm. and 23 wefts, 4 threads in each weft, three thin and one coarse. It is priced at 9/6 per yard. In 1750 Thomas Mason shewed a Select Committee of the Commons a piece of "light brown velluret" made entirely of Georgia silk. If the material was all silk at this date and still all silk ten to fifteen years later, it may have been this which distinguished it from the vellure. The pattern of the sample in the Berch Collection is slightly smaller in scale (see pp. 281, 318).

VELVIDORE

Mid-18th century. A silk of unknown use or properties, the name appears to be an ephemeral one (see p. 283).

VELVET

17th - 18th century. The word has not changed in meaning and is taken from the weave. The material has a pile made by a pile warp (see pl.77). It was intrinsically one of the most expensive materials, both because of the amount of silk used (there were only 3 yards to 1 lb. according to Lewis Ogier, giving evidence in 1765) and because of the trouble in making it. It is usually the first material mentioned on the mercer's cards. Despite its high price, (the Great Wardrobe paid up to 36/- per yard for good quality furnishing velvets, probably plain; Lewis Ogier's standard flowered velvet cost 23/-) velvet was a popular dress material for women in winter and for men's suits, whether plain or figured (see pp. 274, note 1, 276, 278, 287 and 287, note 3, 290, 290, note 1, 304-5, 317-8, 323, 326-7, and plates 34, 50, 52, etc.).

VELVET
SHAPES

Mid-18th century, were woven especially for waist-coats (see pp. 318-9). The customer would have them made up by his own tailor. "Shapes" were also woven in other materials and several designed by Garthwaite. Velvet shapes seem to occur very frequently, however.

(b) Half Silks. (See pp. 330-334).

ALAPEEN

1st - 3rd quarter 18th century. Advertised for ladies' riding dresses etc., but also used by the King's tailor for suit (in 1740 at 4/- per yard, 1754 "alopeen coat and breeches...." at 4/6 per yard). There are samples of single and double alapeens in the Forney Collection; both have a silk warp and a woollen weft. The single alapeen has 20 warp threads to cm. and 20 wefts, the double alapeen 17 warp threads but 40 wefts and is a much heavier and more closely packed material. Both types are woven in tabby. The silk warp only appears as a slight glitter in the material, which is weft-faced.

ANTHERINES & BOMBAZINES

Mentioned together in the list printed in the Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer January 9th, 1720 of "silk and worsted stuffs that the calicoes interfere with". (A second list contained worsted materials). Their price was given as 14d. to 2/- per yard but their use was not stated. Antherines must have been similar to bombazines, see below. (The list is referred to in other entries as "1720, see Antherines").

"BOMBES"

Samples in the Forney Collection c. 1760. Use unknown. Silk warp, 52 threads to cm., cotton weft 40 threads to cm., woven in tabby. Nearly all the samples are striped in the warp. The price is given as 2/4 - 3/8 per yard.

BOMBAZINE

Late 17th century 3rd quarter 18th century. Chiefly a furnishing material (bought by the Great Wardrobe). There are two samples in the Forney Collection: silk warp 40 threads to cm., woollen weft 30 threads to cm., woven in twill. The samples have a similar handle to Alapeens above.

BRILLIANTS & PULEROYS

1720, see Antherines. Their price is given as 14d - 18d per yard. Their use is unknown.

BROGLIOS

18th century. Probably a suiting (see Silveret), but on a trade card of 1751 they are listed with persians, suggesting a lining material. There are two samples in the Forney Collection: a version in one colour is priced at 5/6 per yard, and one in two colours at 5/9. They have a silk warp, 65 threads to cm., woollen weft, about 18 - 20 threads to cm., and are woven in tabby with a small figured design. They are thick, good quality materials.

Silk CAMBLET

Probably throughout the period. Normally camblets were a woollen material, used both in costume and furnishing, especially the latter. "Silk camblets" were advertised on a trade card dated 1756 (Samuel Jones at the London Museum). They were exported to America as early as 1737 (see p. 283) and frequently advertised there (see p. 284). There are samples attached to the Collinson Accounts of the year 1742, but these have not been examined. Whereas woollen camblets were often furnishings the silk versions were probably dress materials.

CHIVERETS

See Sattinets (one of the materials on the newspaper list of 1720). Mentioned on a trade card of 1736-45 (Miles Halsey, British Museum) and are also among Norwich materials in the Forney Collection.

CORDESOY

2nd and 3rd quarter 18th century. Probably a suiting for men. In a bill of 1758 (Carr & Co., London Museum) grey striped cordesoy is priced at 5/6 per yard. There are two samples in the Forney Collection, priced at 7/6 per yard. (They are, however, 21" wide and some of the other materials are only 18" wide). They have a silk warp, about 76-80 threads to cm., and a wool or cotton weft about 17 to cm. The samples are woven in tabby and have a very pronounced transverse rib formed by two thin wefts followed by one thick one.

CRAPE

Throughout period. Black crape for mourning was a Norwich speciality. Usually crape had a silk warp and a worsted weft. "Fine coloured crapes 16d. - 3/- per yard" were mentioned in the 1720 List (see Antherines). The Great Wardrobe paid 6/6 per yard for "fine broad black crape" in 1757 for the Ladies of the Bedchamber (at the funeral of Princess Caroline) (L.C.2.27).

DRESDEN

Mid-18th century. Use unknown. There are two samples in the Forney Collection. They are priced at $3/2$, their width given as 20". They have a silk ground warp 32-34 threads to cm., and a woollen weft, about 36 threads to cm. and are woven with a tabby ground. Alternating with the ground warp is a silk flushing warp which is used for a small scale figured pattern on the surface of the material. Approximately 24 shafts would be necessary to weave the design of one sample, and 8 to weave the other.

Silk DAMASK

18th century. A misleading term for the silk and worsted damasks made throughout the period. Only the context shews whether an all silk or a half silk damask is being used. The price, when it is given, is helpful. Samples were submitted to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations in 1719 (see pl. 67 (80)). These are woven with a silk warp and a worsted weft, about 40 threads of each to cm. The damask is based on a satin of 5, interruption of 2, with large scale designs in reverse satin (i.e., formed by the worsted weft). The samples appear to have been calendared and glazed. They are stated to be half a yard wide and their price given as 18d - 20d per yard. They are loosely woven with reed marks clearly visible. In the newspaper list (see Antherines, above) "flowered silk and worsted tammy draughts and damasks" were priced at 1/10 - 2/6d. Their manufacture was said then to be "entirely lost". The Great Wardrobe, however, bought 64 yards of silk and worsted damask for two draw-up window curtains for Lord Carteret's office in Whitehall in 1742 at 8/- per yard (L.C. 9.290 bill 73 of that year). In a bill at the London Museum (Webb & Sampson) of 1759, blue silk and worsted damask is priced at 6/-. It was a standard furnishing and is mentioned in a number of advertisements for house sales (see p. 333). "Furniture damasks" are often all worsted, such as the samples in the Forney Collection.

ELATEK

1719. Among the materials submitted by the Weavers Company. Their use is unknown. They are woven in tabby with a silk warp about 42 threads to cm. They are striped with alternating broad dark and narrow pale stripes in the warp, and have a coarse dark weft, possibly silk mixed with some other fibre. They are priced at 19d per yard and said to be half a yard broad (C.O. 388.21 209, fol. 152).

EVEROY

Mid-18th century. Their use is unknown. There are samples in the Forney Collection. Their warp and weft are woven in contrasting coloured wools and there are also silk stripes. Both samples are woven with small squared patterns. They appear to have been calendared and glazed.

GRAZETTS

1720. Their use is unknown. Flowered grazetts from 2/- to 3/- were on the newspaper list quoted above (see Antherines). "Greezets" were also mentioned among the half silks on a trade card of 1774 (James Hebert, British Museum).

GROGRAM

Throughout period. They were used especially for suitings. They are listed as "silk grograms" on one of the earliest dated trade cards, of 1723 (Patience Routh, at the British Museum). Grogram yarns were imported at the beginning of the period (see p. 237). The Master of the Robes paid the Royal tailor 9/6 per yard for 12 yards of "silk grogram" in 1744, which is more than double the price of the samples in the Berch Collection. The latter are "figured grograms", half ell wide, priced at 4/6 per yard, and they have small geometric patterns made with a flushing warp on a tabby ground. There are also samples in the Forney Collection: plain, figured and flowered, costing 6/- per yard, 3/9 and 4/9 respectively. All have a silk warp and a fairly thick and coarse woollen weft, forming a pronounced weft rib. The plain grogram has about 80 double warp threads to cm., and about 17 wefts. The figured samples have about 36 double warp threads and 20 wefts to cm., the flowered about 28 warp threads and 18 wefts. They were stated to be 21", 18" and 20" wide. The figured grogram has a self-coloured, small design formed by an interruption of the ground weave. The flowered grogram has a small sprigged design made by a flushing warp which does not cover the ground very well and has a rather untidy effect. The scale of the design is much smaller than that drawn by Garthwaite in 1741 (see plate 34). Since they were thought to be worth smuggling into the country in 1764 (see p. 323) grograms of better quality were perhaps also made.

HALF SILKS

18th century. Generic term for materials mixed with silk and other fibres. A trade card dated 1751 (Cary Boucher, Guildhall) advertised among other materials "variety of half silks". The most common had a silk warp and a worsted weft, but wool, cotton and linen were also used. The proportion of silk to the other fibres may be much less than and sometimes more than half. The more silk was used the higher the quality and the price of the material. The half silks submitted by the Weavers Company in 1719 to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations (see pl. 67 (80)) were priced at 14d. per yard, and their width given as 17". Samples 1 & 3 appear to have a silk warp, about 24 threads to cm., and 2 & 4 a worsted warp, about 26 threads to cm. The wefts of 1 & 3 are worsted about 28 to cm., those of 2 & 4 silk, about 23 to cm. (It is possible that two of the four samples are incorrectly mounted - but the Weavers Company presumably knew which way up to mount them). There is always more worsted than silk in these samples. The small chevron patterns are made by an additional warp or weft of silk. This does not form a solid mass but a series of lines on a very even ground, giving a speckled effect, which is probably deliberate in this instance.

MISSINET

2nd - 3rd quarter 18th century. Use unknown. A material listed on many trade cards and there are two samples in the Forney Collection. These have a silk warp, about 24 threads to cm., and a worsted weft, about 32 threads to cm. They are woven in tabby. The width of the material is given as 16", the price 17d. per yard. (They are very similar in handle to Silverets, see below, and coupled with them on some trade cards (for instance, Dare & Stillings, undated, but mid-18th century, at the British Museum), but the weave differs).

ORAGUELLAS

1720 (see Antherines, above). Their use is unknown and they are priced from 16d - 19d per yard.

POPLIN

Throughout period. A standard costume material for men and women, woven in tabby with a silk warp and a worsted weft. Details of samples in the Forney Collection are given on p. 330, note 2. There is also a sample of corded poplin which has

a pronounced horizontal rib. It differs, too, in that alternate warp threads are pink silk and black wool. There are about 16 warp threads and about 16 wefts to cm. Its price is given as 1/6, its width (if this is not a mistake) as 6".

PRUNELLA

2nd - 3rd quarter 18th century. Probably a winter material both for men and women. There are two samples in the Forney Collection. These have a silk warp, about 28 threads to cm., and a woollen weft, about 30 to cm., and are finely and regularly woven in tabby to form a thickish substantial cloth. Their width is given as 20", their price given as 5/- to 5/6 per yard (see p. 331).

N.B. "Prunellos" are listed among the woollen and worsted stuffs "entirely lost" in the newspaper list of 1720 (see Antherines).

Puleroy

See Brilliant.

SAGATHYS

Mid-18th century. Listed on many trade cards, use unknown. There are two samples in the Forney Collection. These have a woollen warp, about 30 threads to cm., and a mixed silk and woollen weft about 20 to cm. They are woven in plain 2/1 twill. Their width is given as 21", their price 2/3 per yard.

SATTINETS

1720 (see Antherines). Their use is unknown. They are listed with Chiverets and their price given as 18d - 2/6d per yard.

SHAG

Throughout the period. Used for men's clothing especially waistcoats. In September 1705, the London Gazette gave the description of a runaway apprentice "wearing a light drugget coat, a damask waistcoat and green shag breeches". "Shag velvet" and "velvet shag" bought by the Master of the Robes in the 1740's at 18/- per yard and 12/-, may well have been all silk from its price, and in 1752 the accounts specifically mention "crimson silk shag". Normally, however, "shag" refers to "hair shag and plushes" which are listed among the "great variety of silk and worsted and other mixed stuffs" (James Hebert, trade card,

dated 1774 at the British Museum). From the sale catalogue of Mr. Mires, the bankrupt shag-weaver (see pp. 176-7) it is evident that shags could be foot-figured and flowered since he owned "flowered shag mountures". It is also significant that he had nothing but mohair and worsted in stock. There are samples of worsted shag and hair shag, dated 1773, in a document in the British Museum (Ad. MSS 36.666) priced at 2/2, and 4/- to 4/2, respectively. The worsted samples have a long loosepile made by the weft; the hair shags appear to be made like a true velvet with a pile warp, the foundation warp is silk.

SILVERETS

2nd - 3rd quarter 18th century. Among the "variety of....things for Ladies Cheap gowns, as Broglies, Silverets, Poplins, Irish stuffs & etc. of y^e newest fashion...." (Thomas Robinson, mid-18th century trade card, undated, at the British Museum). There are two samples in the Forney Collection. These have a silk warp, approximately 40 threads to cm., and a woollen weft, 42 to cm., in one sample, 46 in the other. They are woven in 2/1 twill with a warp and weft of different colours, thus producing a shot effect. They are priced at 2/- per yard and are stated to be 16" wide.

TAMMY

Throughout the period. In the newspaper list of 1720 (see Antherines) tammies are listed together with silk and worsted damasks. All later samples, and several exist, are woollen materials, those in the Forney Collection being twills. In a bill of 1749 (Stamford and Troy, at the London Museum) white tammy was priced at 11d. per yard, which suggests that it was indeed always a woollen material.

TOBINE

Throughout period. If it occurs in the lists together with materials known to be pure silks, then the mercers were probably advertising silk tobines. Half-silk tobines were also made, and a few survive. Among the samples submitted by the Weavers Company in 1719 to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations (C.O. 388. 21.209. fol. 152) were "tobines half yard broad at 14d. per yard". These have an almost invisible white silk foundation warp, 19 threads to cm., a fine silk flushing warp about 18 threads to cm., and a woollen weft, about 28 to cm. They have small chevron patterns and the

samples appear to have been glazed and calendared. There are samples in the Forney Collection at 4/- per yard, but it is not clear that they are London made materials.

N.B. Some other materials advertised as "half silks" are listed below. Most other materials listed on the trade cards of the mercers are worsteds or woollens and outside the scope of this study.

BURDETS
(English &
Turkey)

Edward Nourse, undated, mid-18th century trade card in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

CHERRYDERRYS

Edward Nourse (as above). Cherryderrys are usually on the lists of imported East Indian goods.

GRAZELLES

Supplied by Collinsons' to Menander in New York. If these are the same as the Grazetts of 1720, then they are a half silk. Samples have been preserved with the accounts, but have not been examined.

HAIRBINES

Supplied by Collinsons' to Menander as early as 1738. There are samples of camblets or "arbins superfine" in the Forney Collection among the Norwich samples. They are plain tabbies woven in mixed silk and wool, the warp and weft of different colours, thus giving a shot effect. They are listed among the half silks on a trade card of 1774 (James Hebert, British Museum).

INDIANS &
INDIANETS

These may be a half silk since they occur on trade cards together with other half silks, but they are not in any of the lists headed 'Silk and Worsted Stuffs' etc.

PRINCES STUFFS Listed with Prunellas on the trade card put out by James Hebert, quoted above.

ROSETAS

Miles Halsey, undated trade card in British Museum, probably before 1745 when he is listed in the Directories in partnership with Philip Palmer.

VENETIAN
POPLINS

Supplied by the Collinsons' in the 1740's. One trade card refers to "corded Venetians" suggesting a very heavily ribbed poplin. Venetian Poplins are listed among the half silks on James Hebert's card, quoted above.

Appendix 4 No.I .

Raw silk imported from the East Indies into the Port of London from 1700-1706. After this date Bengal silk is usually distinguished from Chinese or " East Indies ". From 1707-1766 the figures are thus of Bengal silk imported.

1700	£46,883.2	1741	£84,871.12
1701	£76,633.14	1742	£56,694.14.8
1702	-	1743	£42,035
1703	£181,915.10.6	1744	£65,132.2
1704	£168,787.17	1745	£64,873.19.4
1705	£ 37,162.0.8	1746	£18,211.12
1706	missing	1747	£55,629.18.8
1707	£10,863.1.0	1748	£38,903.6.8
1708	£46,706.11.0	1749	£12,924.19.4
1709	£31,772.8	1750	£24,131.16
1710	£19,432.19.4	1751	£19,538.4
1711	£25,669.12.	1752	£48,058.12.8
1712	missing	1753	£38,611.16.8
1713	£ 7,374.8	1754	£16,035.16
1714	£17,180.18	1755	£32,376.6
1715	£22,169.	1756	£ 4,571.12
1716	£30,862.14	1757	£ 9,171.1.4
1717	£53,553.17.4	1758	-
1718	£87,610.19.4	1759	£16,294.13.4
1719	£28,716.15.8	1760	£56,091.11.4
1720	£31,269.14	1761	£47,225.11.4
		1762	£37,868.19.4
		1763	£29,163.18.8
		1764	£30,692.4
		1765	£38,811.6
		1766	£70,339.17.4

Appendix 4.No.2.

Raw and thrown silk imported to the Port of London from China. This is entered in the Port Books under the general heading of the " East Indies ". In some years, early in the century, no silk was apparently imported from China but increased amounts appear in the general heading, suggesting that the Chinese silk has not been entered separately.

I700	-		I741	-
I701		£220.10	I742	£ 1,298.14.8
I702	-		I743	-
I703	-		I744	£ 1,949.11.4
I704	-		I745	£ 2,621.13.4
I705	-		I746	£ 1,163.16
I706	missing		I747	£ 1,046.16.8
I707	-		I748	£ 6,824.8
I708		£466.15.4	I749	£ 2,915.14.8
I709	-		I750	-
I710	-		I751	£33,572.7.4
I711		£5.14.6	I752	£65,755.8.8
I712	missing		I753	£45,718.4
I713		£2,014.9	I754	£68,407.18
I714		£5,222.2.3	I755	£68,334.15
I715		£8,214.16	I756	£45,260.4.8
I716		£3,853.6	I757	£82,105.13
I717	-		I758	£ 9,956.5.4
I718	£	13,035.17.4	I759	£16,294.13.4
I719	-		I760	£56,091.11.4
I720		£281.12	I761	£ 2,022.10.8
			I762	-
			I763	£ 9,772.15.4
			I764	£ 3,707.14.8
			I765	£ 450.5.4
			I766	£38,605.12.

Appendix 4. No.3. Raw and thrown silk imported into the Port of London from Italy, together with the figures for the amounts of Italian silk imported from other sources. Negligeable amounts, of £50 or less, have been ignored.

	Raw	Thrown	Organzine	Orsoy
I700	I.£17,493.I7 S.	£98,502	£13,915.4	£98,502
I701	I.£8792.2 S.	£16,471.7	£20,378.9	£1,302.8
I702	I.£15,531.4 S.	£78,141.10.6	£13,739.17	£594
I703	I.£12,129.15.8 S.	£34,555.4	£ 4,268.II	
I704	I.£ 9,013.8 S.	£76,712.8	£12,798.I.10	
I705	I.£ 5,281.I S.	£52,542,5.10 £ 4,740	£ 3,941.II	
I706	missing			
I707	I.£ 4,377.10 S.£ 1,840.18	£34,111 £6,400.16	£3,638.I £ 782.16	
I708	I.£ 7,051.12 S.£ 131.18	£34,922.6 £ 3,794.8	£5,523.6	
I709	I.£ 345.8.9 S.	£11,538	£1,575.12	
I710	I.£ 1,568.5 S.	£31,610.10.3 £ 263.7.6	£2,012.2	
I711	I.£ 4,662.5 S.£ 54.8	£25,221.12 £ 562.5.6	£256.10	
I712	missing			
I713	I.£14,977 S.£ 2,571.5	£125,840.8 £ 17,855.12	£4,143.18 £ 843.12	
I714	I.£18,901.14.8 S.£ 1,276.14	£207,393 £ 7,334.16	£1,140 £ 513	
I715	I.£56,838.7.4 S. 530.2	£185,893.16 £ 16,516.13.6	£ 161.10	
I716	I.£83,794.2.4 S.£4,601 .18	£317,622.8 £ 11,417	£6,540.15 £1,406	
I717	I.£68,254.3 S.£ 3,965.5	£290,922 £9,550	£2,755 £ 102.6	
I718	I.£23,771.0.8 S.£ 4,170.2	£210,606 £ 15,905.8	£ 456	
I719	I.£14,133.5 S.£ 2,862.16	£211,552.16 £ 7,583.19.6		
I720	I.£20,162.17 S.£ 4,521.3	£321,473.8 £ 20,771.2	£604.4 £731.10	

I - Italy
S - Streights

Appendix 4 No 3 continued.

Between 1700 and 1713 Italian silk was also imported from other sources in Europe:

Year	Raw	Thrown	Organzine
I701	H.& 260.2		
I702	H.& I732.10	£I652.8	
	G.& I064.14	£ I29.17	£201.8
I703	H.& 388.11	£I5,966	£2,225.17
	G.& 786.9	£ 6,915.2.6	£ 418.19
I704	H.&2,081.4.6	£82,335.8	£3,032.8
	G. -	£ 6,704.8.6	£ 613.4
I705	H.& 375.5	£I01,104.4	£225.3
	G.& 242.11	£ I,937.19	
I706	missing		
I707	H.& 5,215.14.1	£114,686.8	£2,254.7
	G. -	£ 9,181.7.6	£ 449.7
I708	H.& 6,083.3.4	£I97,907.12	£2,481.8
	G. -	£ 6,382.17.3	£3,328.16
I709	H.& 737.13.9	£ 61,035.12	
	G. -	£ 8,253	
I710	H.& 2,899.7	£I42,724.15	
	G -	£ 9,853.15	£906.6
I711	H.&11,358.16.8	£I72,995.14.6	
	G.	£ I3,590.3	
I712	missing		
I713	H.&3,402.5.4	£ 34,831.13	
	G.	£ 3,486.7	

H - Holland
G - Germany

Appendix 4 No.3 continued. Raw and thrown silk imported from Italy into the Port of London from 1741-1766

	Raw	Thrown	
1741	I. £54,056.	£252,968.8	
	S. £ 1,774.16	£ 13,010.17.6	
	V. -	£ 26,534	
1742	I. £37,737.13.3	£247,144.4	
	S. £ 146.4	£ 5,932.13.6	
	V. -	£ 2,449.4.8	
1743	I. £81,390.1	£311,322.12	
	S. £ 1,278.19.4	£ 7,032.14.6	
	V. -	£ 2,334	
1744	I. £37,689.17	£223,746	
	S. £ 73.19	£ 4,073.2.6	
	V. -	£ 1,425.12	
1745	I. £42,615.12	£225,988.16	
	S. 161.10	£ 1,815.9	
	V. -	£ 1,820.8	
1746	I. £40,864.12	£175,877.12	
	S. £ 350.4	£ 3,705.12.6	
	V. -	£ 1,561.4	
1747	I. £75,159.19.6	£376,971.12	
	S. £ 3,008.3	£ 10,505.12	
	V. -	£ 2,479.4	
1748	I. £104,926.11	£270,931.4	
	S. £ 12,172	£ 18,807.8.6	
	V. -	-	
1749	I. £73,015.17	£290,376	I = Italy
	S. £22,815.14	£ 44,853.12	S = Streights
	V. -	£ 269.10	V = Venice
1750	I. £30,855.17	£ 43,803.12	
	S. £12,662.9	£ 47,285	
	V. -	-	

Appendix 4 (iii) continued.

1751	I	£28,031.17.4	£259,568.8
	S	£20,143.6	£ 47,781.12
	V	-	-
1752	I	£57,314.13	£351,618
	S	£17,937.11	£50,574.2.6
	V	-	£ 240
1753	I	£127,337.18.8	£299,453.8
	S	£ 21,711.11	£ 46,048.19.6
	V	-	£ 566.8
I754	I	£62,044.18	£297,733.4
	S	£15,049.18.8	£56,367.11.2
	V	-	£ 273.1.6
I755	I	£153,613.19.8	£344,302.16
	S	£ 17,545.8.4	£ 68,057.6.6
	V	-	-
I756	I	£64,507.7	£158,237.2
	S	£ 9,218.16.4	£ 44,044.17.6
	V	-	-
I757	I	£64,498.11.4	£248,999.4
	S	£15,313.6.4	£ 32,715.9.3
	V	£ 1,310.8.4	£ 1,843.4
I758	I	£81,552.19.4	£444,044.8
	S	£16,882.2.8	£ 39,207.19.3
	V	£ 374	£ 5,898.5
I759	I	£45,883.11.4	£306,970.16
	S	£10,090.18.4	£ 30,765.17.6
	V	-	-
I760	I	£60,795.19.4	£330,729.12
	S	£11,121.13.8	£ 33,227.10.3
I761	I	£75,339.3.8	£554,136.18
	S	£ 6,699.19.8	£ 63,610.3.4
I762	I	£55,573.8.6	£258,364.16
	S	£ 189.5.4	£ 1,772.11.6
I763	I	£135,335.6	£610,896
	S	£ 1,953.6	£ 3,911.8.6
I764	I	£120,175.16.8	£507,526
	S	£ 2,500.2.8	£ 20,137.15.6
I765	I	£167,012.5	£413,976.6
	S	£ 10,846	£ 9,736.6
I766	I	£94,531.1	£484,648.16
	S	527.17	£ 11,835.19

NB. No raw or thrown silk was imported from Venice from I759-I766 inclusive.

Appendix 4 No 3 continued. Other sources of Italian raw and thrown silk imported in the years 1741-1766.

	Raw	Thrown
1741-1744	- none	
1745	H. £ 2,165.16	
1746	H. £ 3,750.4	
1747	H. £ 2,058.14	
1748	H. £ 693.17.6	£ 1347.10
1749	H. £ 137,140	
1750	none	
1751	S £ 6,233.18	
1752-56	none	
1757	G £ 46,107.2.4	£ 82,997.8
	H £ 9,084.7.6	£ 50,291.15.3
1758	G £ 99,178.2	£ 5,467.3.6
	H £ 18,077.16	£ 629.13
1759	G £ 26,592.10.8	
	H £ 2,514.11.8	
1760	G £ 46,730.14.8	
	H £ 13,670.16.8	
1761	G £ 85,626.3.4	
	H £ 19,618.11.4	
	P	£ 1,130.13.6
1762	G £ 74,583.16.4	
	H £ 11,733.19.4	
1763	G £ 25,711.1.8	
	H £ 23,918.3	£ 242.11
1764	G £ 3,294.6.4	
	H £ 177.7.4	
1765	G £ 11,875	
	H £ 465.7.6	
1766	G £ 2,151.7	

G - Germany, H - Holland, P - Portugal

NB From 1747 until the end of the period £ 2-3,000 worth of Spanish raw silk was imported from Spain every year, together with Spanish raw silk from Holland and Germany which varied in quantity from a few hundred to some £20,000 worth.

In the years from 1760-1766 imports of raw silk from Spain grew rapidly in importance, ie:

1761	£28,386.12	1762	none	1763	£8891 (thrown silk)	1764	£29,668
1765	£79,214.18	1766	£132,280.8				

Spanish silk was said to be the equivalent of Italian in quality. The figures of imports from Spain thus offset those of imports from Italy

Raw and Thrown silk imported to the Port of London from the Levant(" Turkey")

	Raw silk	Thrown silk	Husks & Nubs	Ardass
I700	£209,055.15	£1271.5	£52	
I701	£261,884.8.8	£1049.16.6		
I702	£203,191.4.8	£269.10		£2960.8.
I703	£ 54,853.12.4			
I704	£319,533			
I705	£214,213.12			
I706	missing			
I707	£ 7,872.2.8			
I708	£225,903.1.8			
I709	£377,204.19.2½			Turkish raw silk
I710	£ 313.13	£269.10		imported from Italy
I711	£383,435.5.8			
I712	missing			
I713	£402,182.12	£490 (Italian)		£ 1,018.10.3
I714	£148,636.4.10	£3824 "	£84.8	£ 2,089.17.4
I715	£233,096.18.4	£879.11 "	£105.5	£ 7,356.9.4
I716	£ 88,992.9			£ 3,668
I717	£291,401.19.2	£126.3.6 "	£94.10	£68
I718	£283,887.16.4	£1470 "	£361.2	
I719	£ 93,449.19.10	£165.17 "	£186.2	
I720	£339,764.16		£115.4	
I741	£275,548.15	£2653.4	£ 16.9	
I742	£ I.10.8	£2449.4		
I743	£117,562.1.8			
I744	£ 23,722.13			
I745	£199,522.4			
I746	£ 54,659.10.8			
I747	£153,684.5			
I748	£ 93,436.5			
I749	£161,452.8		£9.14	
I750	£112,959.18		£276	
I751	£159,906.5		£162.3	
I752	£ 77,016.16		£485.14.9	
I753	£145,920.7		£187.7	
I754	£ 89,042.12		£116.13	
I755	£ 3,291.9.8			
I756	£111,330.9		£927.7.6	
I757	£181,606.15(raw long)			
	£ 4,531.15.4(short or capiton)		£408.6	
I758				
I759	£240,152.4		£22.1	
I760	£ 17,226.7.8.			
	£ 3,400 (from Streights)			
	£ 135.5 (from Spain)			
I761	£129,669.4			
	£ 12,681.8.8(from Streights)			
	£ 542.6 (from Italy)			
I762	£ 50,505.6.			
	£ 306 (from Holland)			
I763	£ 73,790.4			
I764	£135,814.2.8			
I765	£ 86,822.13.8			
I766	£ 64,715.12			

Year	From London	From Outports
1700	£.176.15	£8121.15
1701	£. 98	£8047.7.6
1702	£ 33.5	£6764.12.6
1703	£640.10	£4762.12.6
1704	£162.15	£2966.13.9
1705	-	£7311.10
1706	- missing	
1707	-	£7948.10
1708	-	£10,046.6.3.
1709	-	£ 7,993.2.6.
1710	-	£ 9,973.5
1711	-	£ 5,049.12.6.
1712	missing	
1713	£294	£ 5,945.15
1714	£556.10	£ 3,665.7.6.
1715	£423.10	£ 4,192.2.6.
1716	£1,009.15	£ 6,360.7.6.
1717	£ 669.7.6	£ 6,930.
1718	£1,883.17.6	£ 6,396.5.
1719	£ 899.10	£ 4361.17.6
1720	£1,100.15	£ 6368.5.
<hr/>		
1721	£4298.17.6	£ 3837.15
1722	£5159.8.9.	£ 4968.5
1723	£10,185.17.6.	£ 8538.5 .
1724	£7750.15	£ 5288.10
1725	£9345	£ 8363.5
1726	£15,542.12.6.	£13,165.5
1727	£11,467.8.5.	Missing *
1728	£8736.6.7.	£ 6467.15.7
1729	£8606.10	£ 6954.5.7
1730	£9402.4.1.	£ 7849.10.4
1731	£12,579.2.2.	£10,477.18.1
1732	£12,280.5.11	£ 9371.18.1
1733	£15,891.19.4.	£13,806.16.10
1734	£7619.10	£ 6018.7.2
1735	£12,554.5.7	£11,405.12.6
1736	£9522.19.1	£ 7892.18.9
1737	£12,049.17	£ 9075.5.7
1738	£6407.1.7.	£ 4057.5.4
1739	£170.19.1.	£ 8909.0.7
1740	£1314.7.2.	£ 5981.18.9

* The Port Book for 1727 is missing. The figures of exports from London have been taken from the MS digest in the House of Lords MSS.

Exports of woven silks to Ireland (continued). Appendix 4 No.5 continued

I741	£ 835.19	£19,848.10.
I742	£ 776.2.6.	£12,503.15
I743	£ 902.2.6	£24,635.5.11
I744	-	£15,406.11.3
I745	£ 197.15	£12,866
I746	-	£7609.13.1.
I747	£ 175	£18,522.
I748	£ 196	£15,100.15
I749	£577.11.10	£ 236.13.9.
I750	£ 506.3.9	£ 518.0.
I751	£ 618.3.9	£20,581.1.10
I752	£ 794.5.7	£19,489.15
I753	£1,537.14	£ 1,037.1.10
I754	£2,059.15	£ 563.14.4
I755	£1,391.15.11	£21,645.4
I756	£ 22.1.10	£16,848.4.8
I757	£ 14.	£25,338.7.2.
I758	£ 121.19.1	£27,537.13.5.
I759	£ 38.18.1	£34,601.10.11
I760	£ 43.15	£26,270.2.6
I761	£ 154	£33,522.2.6.
I762	£ 8.15	£26,254.7.6.
I763	£ 430.12.2	£13,173.15.7.
I764	£ 764.4	£ 9,778.5.5
I765	£ 228.14	£30,924.11.6
I766	£ 539.13.1	£14,966.15.3.

Exports of Woven silks to Holland 1700-1766 Appendix 4. No 6.

Year	From London	Year	From London
1700	£4888.12.6	1734	£ 5823.13.5
1701	£4936.15	1735	£ 5586.2.2
1702	£5307.15	1736	£ 5289.11.10
1703	£7386.15	1737	£ 5329.16.10
1704	£6482	1738	£ 5713.19.4
1705	£78.6	1739	£ 7504.8.9
1706	Missing	1740	£ 5609.19.1
1707	£8474.7.6	1741	£ 5150.15.11
1708	£13,242.5	1742	£ 6979.19.8
1709	£10,435.5	1743	£ 8664.5
1710	£13,169.3.9.	1744	£12,053.2.6
1711	£12,461.15	1745	£12,146.15
1712	Missing	1746	£15,258.5
1713	£10,142.2.6	1747	£14,703.1.7
1714	£14,496.2.6	1748	£11,431.10.11
1715	£ 9189.5.	1749	£10,778.15.11
1716	£8212.15.	1750	£ 7983.18.9
1717	£10,826.7.6.	1751	£ 9364.18
1718	£ 6705.2.6.	1752	£ 8097.9.4
1719	£ 6974.12.6.	1753	£11,294.10
1720	£ 5949.2.6.	1754	£ 8456
1721	£ 6849.10	1755	£11,665.5.7
1722	£ 5082.17.6.	1756	£ 8199.10.4
1723	£ 4668.2.6	1757	£ 8673.6.6
1724	£ 5054.17.6	1758	£11,873.4
1725	£ 780.18.9	1759	£14,758.3.9
1726	£ 4098.1.3	1760	£10,393.11.6
1727	£ 4141.7.6.	1761	£12,503.6.3
1728	£ 4467.6.3	1762	£13,636.13.1
1729	£ 5357.3.9	1763	£11,227.13.5
1730	£ 6033.2.6	1764	£ 9016.19.8
1731	£ 5272.10.7	1765	£ 7999.11.6
1732	£ 5940.16.3	1766	£ 7858.9.8
1733	£ 5405.10.7		

Year	From London		
1700	£6031.12.6	1734	£3882.11.10
1701	£6461.	1735	£5773.0.7
1702	£4844.	1736	£6612.16.3
1703	£4434.18.9	1737	£7165.5.4
1704	£5781.2.6.	1738	£6407.10.4.
1705	£8168.2.6.	1739	£7538.4.8.
1706	Missing	1740	£6702.16.7.
1707	£8622.5	1741	£7730.8.1
1708	£10,828.2.6.	1742	£7125.4.8.
1709	£9,311.15	1743	£9072.17.6
1710	£11,543.	1744	£9088.1.7
1711	£9714.5	1745	£8170.15
1712.	Missing	1746	£8690.3.5.
1713	£5714.12.6.	1747	£10,113.18.1
1714	£10,997.17.6.	1748	£12,029.14.4.
1715	£8939	1749	£16,098.9.4.
1716	£10,055.10	1750	£14,778.6.3.
1717	£7,719.5.	1751	£18,164.11.3
1718	£7,765.12.6.	1752	£28,466.9.8.
1719	£4866.15	1753	£24,253.5.
1720	£5295.10	1754	£28,586.5.
1721	£7493.10	1755	£24,006.3.5.
1722	£7551.5	1756	£19,316.14.4.
1723	£6728.6.3.	1757	£10,336.16.3
1724	£6231.15	1758	£11,858.4.4.
1725	£5215.17.6	1759	£10,477.5.
1726	£5928.11.3	1760	£ 8559.11.6
1727	£4080.11.3	1761	£9305.1.6.
1728	£4256.17.6	1762	£8309.17.6.
1729	£3550.15	1763	£5780.15.11
1730	£5034.12.9.	1764	£6743.5.11
1731	£4357.5.7	1765	£42,757.19.4
1732	£5341	1766	£30,946.13.5.
1733	£3826.16.4.		

Exports of Woven silks to Portugal 1700-1766 Appendix 4, No.8.

From London

1700	£ 4858.17.6	1734	£11,345.9.4
1701	£ 9271.10	1735	£11,379.5.3
1702	£ 5514.5	1736	£15,741.0.7
1703	£ 8365	1737	£10,406.9.8
1704	£ 8008	1738	£12,290.17.2
1705	£ 9869.2.6	1739	£17,864.2.3..
1706	Missing	1740	£ 9826.0.8d
1707	£ 7465 .18.9	1741	£14,233.8.1
1708	£ 3972.10	1742	£10,713.12.2
1709	£ 7488.5	1743	£14,432.5
1710	£ 7233.12.6	1744	£ 7856.12.6
1711	£ 2324	1745	£14,297.10
1712	Missing	1746	£14,005.15.11
1713	£ 9623.5	1747	£12,562.3.1
1714	£18,881.12.6	1748	£ 8077.2.6
1715	£14,458.10	1749	£ 8726.16.3
1716	£14,965.2.6	1750	£24,270.6.3
1717	£11,561.0.11	1751	£18,721.16.6
1718	£ 7395.10	1752	£16,120.6.10
1719	£11,990.2.6	1753	£15.627.10
1720	£14,728.	1754	£22,357.2.6
1721	£13,122.10	1755	£20,851.0.7
1722	£17,086.2.6	1756	£16,923.16.3
1723	£16,055.7.6	1757	£11,105.3.5
1724	£10,132.1.3	1758	£ 8216.5
1725	£20,102.5	1759	£12,470.1.3
1726	£16,822.15	1760	£12,495.19.8
1727	£12,141.14.4	1761	£ 8071.6.6
1728	£18,050.7.6	1762	£ 5234.13.9
1729	£11,292.6.3	1763	£ 6074.13.9
1730	£17,200.6.3	1764	£ 9173.14.4
1731	£16,388.4.2	1765	£ 3744.7.4
1732	£19,059.7.2	1766	£ 5179.2.6
1733	£14,569.5.11		

Exports of Woven silks to the West Indies, 1700-1766 Appendix 4 No: 9.

* = including outports. ** = a greater amount exported from the outports than from London.

Year	Barbados	Jamaica		TOTAL	
1700	*£6079.18.9	*£5325.5		£11,405.3.9	
1701	*£9281.2.6	*£6862.12.6		£16,143.15	
1702	*£4543.17.6	*£7106.15		£11,650.12.6	
1703	*£3597.2.6	*£7820.19.4½	West Indies	£11,418.12.10	
1704	*£8245.2.6	*£1631	£703.10	£10,579.12.6	
1705	*£4732	*£16,841.2.6	£1029	£22,602.12.6	
1706	-	-	-		
1707	*£4261.1.3	£10,998.6.3	£1957.7.6	£17,216.15	
1708	*£9705.10	*£15,302.17.6	£4803.15	£29,812.2.6	
1709	*£9617.8.9	*£24,192.17.6	£3258.10	£37,068.16.3	
1710	*£4794.11.3	*£8254.15	£2506	£15,555.6.3	
1711	*£8056.2.6	*£6090.17.6	£3108	£17,255	
1712	-	-	-		
1713	*£5080.5	*£6132	£3265.10	£14,477.15	Spanish West
1714	*£5097.6.3	*£7395.10	*£3441.16.3	£15,934.12.6	Indies
1715	*£6402.7.6	*£3320.12.6	*£3164.17.6	£12,887.17.6	£27,480.5
1716	*£7797.2.6	*£7890.15	£2105.5	£17,793.2	
1717	*£7721.7.6	*£8646.15	£2924.5	£19,292.7.6	£19,320
1718	*£8896.2.6	*£12,313.17.6	£38,167.10	£59,377.10	
1719	*£4786.5	*£7056	*£3631.5	£15,473.10	
1720	*£3082.12.6	*£6528.16.3	£3381.17.6	£12,993.6.3	

Part II 1721-40 (no figures for the outports are included in these years)

				TOTAL	
1721	£1659	£3465	£6084.15	£11,208.15	£339.10
1722	£1876	£6173.2.6	£2884	£10,933.2.6	£3923.10
1723	£1655.10	£2068.10	£5659.18.9	£ 9,383.18.9	£1613.10
1724	£4356.16	£7347.7.6	£5828.16.3	£17,532.19.9	£5281.10
1725	£3660.2.6	£7326.14	£16,271.1.3	£27,257.17.9	£17,048.1.3
1726	£3169.13.9	£5197.5.7	£5310.3.1	£13,677.2.5	£824.5
1727	£2698.1.3	£19,151.16.3	£3155.5	£25,005.2.6	
1728	£1913.16.11	£5078.16.6	£4552.12.6	£19,131.11.1	£1.15
1729	£2374.15	£7518.8.9	£4773.4.8	£11,545.5.11	
1730	£2124.1.3	£5083.6.3	£5778.1.3	£14,666.8.5	£17,843.17.6
1731	£1810.9.8	£4055.5.11	£3059.6.7	£12,985.8.9	
1732	£2324.19.9	£3248.19.9	£3037.17.9	£ 8,925.2.2	£670.5
1733	£1261.6.3	£5141.5.7	£2639	£ 8,611.17.3	
1734	£632.19.2	£3357.11.10	£3522.10.7	£7,513.1.7	£59.12.2
1735	£877.3.9	£5081.9.3	£7142.19.3	£13,101.12.3	
1736	£567.4.5	£3417.6.3	£6541.3.5	£10,525.14.1	
1737	£628.4.8	£3561.9.5	£6628.6.10	£10,818. 0.11	
1738	£1745.10.4	£5041.6.3	£5551	£12,337.16.3	
1739	£981.1.10	£3136.13.1	£4917.10	£ 9,035.4.11	£141.15
1740	£1206.1.7	£4276.17.10	£7619.1.3	£13,102.0.8	

Appendix 4. No: 9 continued,

Exports of Woven Silks to the West Indies 1700- 1766. Part III 1741-66

(* = including outports, ** = a greater amount exported from the outports than from London)

Year	Barbados	Jamaica	West Indies in general	TOTAL
1741	*£1163.15	*£6737.7.9	*£12,782.8.9	£20,683.11.6
1742	*£4690.4.4	*£12,667.9.8	*£21,178.14.4	£38,536.8.4
1743	*£1547.13.1	*£12,113.10	*£12,558	£26,219.3.1
1744	*£285.5	*£605.17.2	*£3669.15	£ 4,560.17.2
1745	£950.5	*£1886.10	£2667	£ 5,503.15
1746	*£2016.2.2	*£5604.5.3	*£7422.16.10	£15,043. 4.3
1747	*£1429.15	£5578.11.3	*£7146.9	£14,154.15.3
1748	*£1712.16.3	*£3640.8.9.	£6506.16.6	£11,860.1 .6
1749	*£2655.10.3	*£4770.5.11	*£3577.10.11	£11,003.7.1
1750	*£2954.13.1	*£3230.18.9	-	£ 6,185.11.10
1751	*£3858.19.4	*£4559.1.6	-	£ 8,418.0. 10
1752	*£527.1.6	*£4755.16.10	-	£ 5,282.18.4
1753	*£3850.10.11	*£6691.0.6	-	£10,541.11.5
1754	*£2838.10	*£6600.2.6	-	£ 9,438.12.6
1755	*£4736.11.10	*£6467.0.3	-	£11,203.12.1
1756	*£5254.11.10	*£5332.7.2	-	£10,586.19
1757	*£6901.15.7	*£3268.13.5	-	£10,170.9
1758	*£6863.18.8	*£8469.15.7	-	£15,433.14.3
1759	*£4829.13.5	*£18,052.2.5	-	£22,881.15.10
1760	*£7189.19.7	*£13,099.5.10	-	£20,289.5.5
1761	*£9183.2.5	*£9365.9	-	£18,548.11.5
1762	*£12,809.11.3	*£13,187.19.11	-	£15,997.11.2
1763	*£3896.5.3	*£7741.13.5	£1864.3.9	£13,502.2.5
1764	*£5614.14.4	£10,487.17.2	-	£16,102.11.6
1765	*£2550.5.11	*£1310.1.10	£91	£ 3,860.7.9
1766	*£2433.5.7	*£1828.14.11	£59.14.4	£ 4,321.14.10

Exports of Woven Silks to the American Colonies 1700-1766 (not including
the West Indies) Appendix 4, No: 10.

* - including outports

Year	New England	New York	Pennsylvania	Virginia & Maryland	Carolina	TOTAL
1700	£4345.5	£1113.17.6	£564.16.3	£2185.15	£ 168	£ 8,377.13.9
1701	£4573.12.6	£1555.15	£585.7.6	£3049.16.3	£ 562	£ 10,326.11.3
1702	£3077.16.3	£ 847	£204.15	* £ 394.10	*£ 391.2.6	£ 4,915.3.9
1703	£3099.5	£ 402.12	£204.15	£2262.15	*£ 314.2.6	£ 6,283.9.6
1704	£5992	£ 616.17.6	£500.10	* £510	*£ 195.15	£ 13,183.18.11
1705	£2609.5	£ 574	£575.15	* £493.18.9	£ 204.15	£ 4,457.13.9
1706	-	-	-	-	-	-
1707	*£8460.15	* £853.2.6	£428.15	* £4473.17.6	*£ 184.11	£ 14,401.1.
1708	*£11,055.12.6	* £2028.5	*£241.10	*£ 1254.15	£ 436.12.6	£ 15,016.15
1709	*£13,048	* £1529.10	£194.5	* £1414.8.9.	*£ 2257.10	£ 18,443.13.9
1710	*£17,974.5	* £2175.5	*£386.15	* £3416	£ 1316	£ 25,268.5
1711	*£17,650.10	* £2696.15	*£1235.10	* £2096.10	*£ 1589	£ 25,268.5
1712	-	-	-	-	-	-
1713	*£ 8974.17.6	£1401.15	*£1155	* £1627.10	*£ 1256.10	£ 14,415.12.6
1714	*£ 891.4	* £7120.5	*£1643.5	£339.10	*£ 1123.10	£ 11,117.14
1715	£ 5708.10	* £1466.10	*£524.2.6	* £4726.6.3	£ 250.5	£ 12,450.9.2
1716	£ 5227.5	£1342.5	*£1309.17.6	* £5413.5	*£ 761.5	£ 14,053.17.6
1717	*£ 8412.5	* £3237.10	*£1202.5	* £6675.7.6	*£ 1153.5	£ 20,680.12.6
1718	*£13,465.7.6	* £4142.5	*£2215.10	* £6025.5	£ 936.5	£ 26,784.12.6
1719	*£ 6912.10	* £3146.1.3	*£1269.12.6	* £5323.10	£ 647.10	£ 17,299.3.9
1720	*£ 4326	* £1394.15	*£1223.5	** £3954.11.3	£ 985.5.	£ 11,883.16.3

Part II 1721- 1740. In these years the outports have

not been taken into account.

	New England	New York	Pennsylvania	Virginia & Maryland	Carolina	TOTAL
1721	£3639.2.6	£1596	£ 922.5	£3080	£ 633.10	£ 9,870.17.6
1722	£7529.16.3	£1306.7.6	£ 970.7.6	£3435.13.9	£ 478.12.6	£ 13,720.17.6
1723	£9044	£2208.10	£ 904.15	£2571.3.9	£1944.5	£ 16,672.13.9
1724	£13,955.7.6	£2316.9	£3009.11.3	£918.9	£ 903	£ 21,102.16.9
1725	£17,503.10	£4200	£3627.15	£5832.15	£2360.6.3	£ 33,524.6.3
1726	£10,379.7.3	£4356.3.9	£1868.2.6	£3262	£1247.15	£ 21,113.8.6
1727	£ 9221.12.6	£1657.13.9	£1339.13.9	£2773.15	£ 705.5	£ 15,698
1728	£11,321	£2435.9.1	£2117.1.3	£2807.17.6	£ 540.15	£ 19,222.2.10
1729	£ 7863.1.7	£2698.12.3	£1549.3.9	£1891.15	£1354.18.9	£ 15,357.11.4
1730	£ 9206.15	£2518.18.2	£ 3447.3.5	£2796.1.3	£1441.2.6	£ 19,410.0.4
1731	£ 6902	£2230.7.6	£2262.12.9	£2443.2.2	£1699.2.9	£ 15,537.5.2
1732	£ 8437.10.4	£2454.7.6	£1830.14.4	£1798.4.8	£1355.7.6	£ 15,876.4.4
1733	£ 9266.7.2	£2152.16.7	£1348.3.2	£2337.4.9	£1777.4.8	£ 16,881.16.4
1734	£ 6179.7.2	£4098.16.6	£2144.1.6	£2112	£1650.15.11	£ 16,185.1.1
1735	£ 7122.16.6	£2105.18.3	£3168.11.10	£2666.15.7	£2603.15.7	£ 17,667.17.9
1736	£ 6887.4.8	£3152.16.10	£3951.3.5	£2866.5.8	£2141.17.10	£ 18,999.8.5
1737	£ 7357.6.7	£2885.17.2	£1563.14.8	£3137.10.8	£1209.7.2	£ 16,153.16.3
1738	£ 7839.4.8	£4005.8.5	£3315.3.2	£4019.17.2	£1944.11.7	£ 21,124.5
1739	£ 7228	£3214.15	£3594.14.4	£2477.4.8	£2228.1.7	£ 18,742.15.7
1740	£ 4352.9.4	£2054.5.7	£1626.1.7	£2744.15.4	£2505.4.8	£ 11,656.14.11

	New England	New York	Pennsylvania	Virginia & Maryland	Carolina	TOTAL
I74I	*£ 4648.2	*£2954	*£3068.19	*£4476.7.9	£4884.18	£ 20,032.6.9
I742	*£ 5392.16.10	*£5615.1.10	*£3023.4.8	*£4681.18.1	£2497.5	£ 21,210.6.5
I743	*£ 5405.15	£4921	*£2250.10	*£9585.1.6	£ 952	£ 23,114.6.6
I744	*£ 5748	£3451.17.6	*£2413.15.11	*£4961.13.8	£1811.5	£ 18,386.12.1
I745	£ 4361	£1146.5	£1711.10	*£3036.9.4	£ 952	£ 11,207.4.4
I746	*£ 6493.11.10	£4373.18.1	£2486.15	*£4121.11.6	£1625.19.4	£ 19,101.15.9
I747	*£ 7426.17.9	£7074.5.3	£3155.5	*£1498	£2297.15	£ 21,452.3
I748	*£ 7242.16.3	*£7242.7.6	£2151.3.9	*£2517.7.5	*£3101.8.9	£ 22,255.3.8
I749	*£10,039.19.4	£8419.5	£8987.2.6	*£4141.9.7	£3101.8.9 (?)	£ 34,689.5.2
I750	£10,664.18.9	*£4599.6.3	*£7129.1.3	*£6794.9.8	*£2658.11.6	£ 31,846.7.5
I751	£11,586.6.3	*£5839.6.3	*£4262.16.7	*£7010.7.9	*£4208.6.3	£ 32,907.3.1
I752	*£ 9784.11.6	*£12,559.4	£8392.11.3	*£9258.3.1	£5889.1.6	£ 45,883.11.4
I753	*£14,424.16.3	*£17,696	*£11,284	*£5796.17.6	£5298.11.3	£ 54,500.5
I754	£13,288.3.9	£7373.19	*£12,554.18.9	*£5991.0.3	£4694.11.10	£ 43,902.13.7
I755	£14,069.2.6	*£9670.18.9	*£ 9064.13.5	*£3926.2.6	£5979.6.3	£ 42,710.3.5
I756	*£25,578.17.6	*£10,895.12.1	£10,679.5.3	*£5022.5.7	£6275.5.8	£ 58,451.6.1
I757	*£19,638.16.6	*£25,278.14.11	*£15,418.11.10	*£4720.8.1	£8061.5.3	£ 73,117.16.7
I758	*£37,615.0.11	*£30,396.3.9	£20,872.15.11	*£7593.9.4	*£9357.9.4	£105,834.19.3
I759	*£44,651.13.11	*£65,107	*£46,233.11.6	*£11,528.13.5	*£10,770	£178,290.18.10
I760	*£58,082.14.4	*£47,935.13.5	*£86,172.14.8	*£26,660.9.7	*£14,306.4.11	£233,157.16.11
I761	*£28,851.0.11	*£31,111.16.3	*£24,458.8.9	*£17,422.6.10	£14,473.5.3	£116,316.18
I762	*£15,910.0.3	*£35,433.13.4	*£22,226.10.7	*£12,355.8.8	£15,312.14.4	£101,238.7.2
I763	*£14,838.7.6	*£16,960.0.3	£14,902.13.5	*£9121.19.8	£8978.9.8	£ 64,801.10.6
I764	*£22,087.5.11	*£47,470.10	£35,437.5.8	*£12,536.19.11	£17,244.7.9	£134,776.5.3
I765	*£11,814.2.9	*£9301.15.10	*£13,318.16.2	*£2316.9	*£6118.18.8	£ 42,870.2.5
I766	£11,714.14.4	*£10,947.13.5	£ 9554.11.3	*£2589.19.9	£4282.13.9	£ 39,089.12.6

Appendix 4.II

Raw silk imported to the Port of London from Persia via Russia.

I742-I766

I742	£ 3917.18.8	I754	£ 5,347.7
I743	£17,026.18.4	I755	£ 101.8.8
I744	£17,376.11	I756	£ 154
I745	£25,921.12	I757	-
I746	£25,742.5	I758	£ 4976.8
I747	£19,097.4.8	I759	£ 623.1
I748	£ 8,916.10	I760	-
I749	£10,412.12	I761	-
I750	-	I762	-
I751	£ 4,083.8	I763	£ 3,995
I752	£ 7,978.19	I764	-
I753	£ 1,190	I765	-
		I766	-

APPENDIX 5.

It was decided to petition Parliament or some other official body on at least 14 occasions in the period. (A few years are missing, and once or twice it is not clear, either because of the handwriting or for some other reason, what did happen).

<u>Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Text in Court Books</u>	<u>Text elsewhere</u>
May 20, 1713	Trade with France.	No	House of Lords MSS. (Calendar, Vol. 10, 1712-14, p. 105 No. 44).
July 8, 1715	East India Silks.	Yes (29th August)	
Oct. 29, 1717	Weavers Company to appoint people to seize foreign woven silks.	No	Report among Customs' Papers of this incident.
Feb. 3, 1718	To make the Port of London a Free Port for the importing of Irish wool and yarn.	No	
March 7, 1718	To Commons against Smugglers.	No	
March 13, 1718	To Lords against Smugglers.	No	House of Lords MSS.
Jan. 19, 1719	To take Duty off English wrought silk and introduce a draw-back instead.	No	House of Commons Journals, Vol. 19, p.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Text in Court Books</u>	<u>Text elsewhere</u>
Sep. 14, 1719	To Lords Justices on printed calicoes, referred to Commissioners for Trades and Plantations.	No	Referred to House of Commons with a group of other papers (see pp. 133-4 of Journals of Commissioners for Trades and Plantations) and printed in House of Commons Journals, Vol. 19, p.
Aug. 7, 1720	To House of Lords to be heard for the Calico Bill against the East India Company (since the Bill had passed the Commons).	Yes	(Dec. 19, 1720 version to Commons). (Feb. 22, 1721 version to Lords).
April 17, 1720	For the Calico Bill which had passed the Commons and had gone to the Lords.	No	House of Lords MSS.
Dec. 19, 1720	Against printed Calicoes to Commons.	Yes	
Feb. 22, 1721	Against printed Calicoes to Lords.	Yes	Also in House of Lords MSS.
1721	To make Act against East India Goods more effectual.	No	House of Commons Journals, Vol. 19, p. 679.
Jan. 23, 1722	For passing of Bill to encourage English Manufactures.	No	House of Lords MSS.
March 16, 1726	Against Throwsters Bill on imported thrown Silk.	Yes	
Nov. 8 & 11, 1728	On Public Mournings to the King.	No	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Text in Court Books</u>	<u>Text elsewhere</u>
Jan. 29, 1743	Against Bill seeking to prohibit use and wear of gold and silver thread, etc.	Yes	
April 29, 1757	To bring in raw Silk overland or in neutral ships.	No	House of Commons Journals, Vol. 27, p.
Dec. 19, 1764	Memorial to Treasury on Decline of Silk Trade.	No	Journal of Commissioners for Trades and Plantations, p. 123.
Jan. 29, 1766	To Parliament on Foreign Wrought Silk.	Yes	
March 11, 1766	As above: altered text.	Yes.	

It is curious that a few of the petitions presented by the Company are not recorded in the Court Books, and that one or two Bills passing through Parliament which would seem to have concerned the Company are also allowed to pass without comment: (for instance, a Gold and Silver Lace Bill of 17).

APPENDIX 6.

CUSTOMERS IN THE BOEANQUET ACCOUNT BOOK 1758-64
(Bills and Promissory Notes). For Bales of Silk.

	<u>1758</u>	<u>1759</u>	<u>1760</u>	<u>1761</u>	<u>1762</u>	<u>1763</u>	<u>1764</u>	<u>After</u> <u>1764</u>
<u>SILKMEN</u>								
James Brant		£164.10. £167.10.	£506.	£198.11.6. £197.12.0.				Also occurs in later A/C book.
Peter Cazalet & Wm. Cooke					Yes		Yes	
Cockayne & Upfold		£350.15.						
John Cranke	£142.5.	£414.8.	£346.10.					
Gurnell & Hoars		£149.7.						
Edward Ingram	£377. 4. £200.13. £193.14.						Yes	
Selwyn & Sharrer		£168.6.		£593.9. £584.7.				
John Sharrer							Yes	
Upfold & Frith	£376. 4.	£171.14.						
James Vere	£300.		£182.					Also in later A/C book.

THROWSTERS

Geo. Burdett	£187.11.
Adam Denn	£425. 2. £399.15. £200.17.

John Graham

£233.8.8.

	<u>1758</u>	<u>1759</u>	<u>1760</u>	<u>1761</u>	<u>1762</u>	<u>1763</u>	<u>1764</u>	<u>After</u> <u>1764</u>
--	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-----------------------------

THROWSTERS (cont'd):

Sam. Hawkins					£472.7			
John Phillimore						Yes	Yes	
Tim. Ravenhill	£200.3.							
-. Russell	£386.15.							
R. Russell	£242.9. £130.4.			£193.1.9.		Yes	Yes	
W. Russell	£386.15.							
Spragg & Hopkins					£233.16. £100.14.		Yes	

WEAVERS

A. Barbutt & Son	£204.6.					Yes		
Lewis Chauvet	£200.13. £565. £247. 1. £198.17.							
S. Dalbiac	£218.12.6.							
(A) Jeudwine	£240. 8.							
Thomas Abraham Ogier	£35.							
Lewis Ogier	£320.13.							

MERCER

Carr, Ibbetson & Co.	£300.
----------------------	-------

MISCELLANEOUS.

1758 Harrison	£188.10. 0.
Lejay & Chaumier	£1,800.

MISCELLANEOUS (cont'd):

1759 Barwick & Co. £153.10.6.

S. Touchett £200.

J. & H. Guinand £ 64.7.

Desmaretz & Co. £265.13.

1759 & S. & W. Smith
1760

1761 John More £363.4.

1764 N. Frith: S. Horner: N. Farr.

Thomas Hicklin (? silkman, Partner Hicklin & Miller).

1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	605.
UB. Wm.Reynolds James Godin Daniel BoothJohn Cooper					Wm.Marsh Henry Baker Sam.Nicholson	Jas.Johnson Sam.Jordain John Gibson	Abe.Deheulle O.Agace D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	
RB. Daniel Booth John CooperJohn Turner Wm.Marsh					Jas.Johnson Sam.Jordain John Gibson	Abe.Deheulle O.Agace D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	Jas.Gibson A.Jeudwine D.Carbonnel	
UW. Joh.Forward Bart.Hart Thos.Immins And.Adlam					J.Humphreys John Barton John Haines	C.Robinson B.Thorpe Sim.Julins J.Jennings	T.Belch W.Turner Geo.Cutler	Jabez Willet Wm.Cheslyn	Newman Hooker													
RW. Thos.Immins And.Adlam Ph.Humphreys Josh, Humphreys					(baker)																	
Obadiah Agace					Obadiah Agace																	
Zachariah Agace																						
Henry Baker																						
John Baker																						
William Baker																						
John Barnes					(John Barnes+)																	
Daniel Booth																						
Thomas Bray																						
Peter Campart																						
Daniel Carbonnel																						
Benjamin Champion																						
John Cooper																						
George Cutler																						
Abraham Deheulle																						
William Dolman																						
John Garsed																						
James Gibson																						
John Gibson																						
Daniel Gobbé																						
James Godin																						
Daniel Gwilt																						
Daniel Gwilt Junior.																						
John Hinde																						
Joseph Humble																						
John Jennings																						
Abraham Jeudwine																						
James Johnson																						
John Johnson																						
Samuel Jordan																						
John Luke Landon																						
Peter Lekeux																						
(James Leman)																						
William Marsh																						
Daniel Messman																						
Thomas Mist																						
Samuel Nicholson																						
Thomas Abraham Ogier																						
Peter Ogier																						
Allen Page																						
William Phillips																						
Joshua Pickersgill																						
William Reynolds																						
Henry Soames																						
John Tall																						
Henry Thompson																						
Charles Triquet																						
John Turner																						
James Walker																						
Joshua Warne																						
Edward Whitehouse																						
John Willett																						
Walter Looke																						

OFFICERS AND ASSISTANTS OF THE WEAVERS COMPANY OF LONDON 1745-1766. † = died R = retired.

e = elected 1766

© = Went on Livery in 1740/41

O = Huguenot adopted Livery after 1741

APPENDIX 8ILLUSTRATIONS.

Photographs of silks or designs which belong to the Victoria & Albert Museum are Crown Copyright.

	<u>Page</u>
Pl. 1 (1). James Leman. Inscription on the back of a design E.4460-1909. The minimum necessary information for the draughtsman is given, 400 cords etc., the type of silk, a flowered lustring brocaded with colours, the name of the mercer, Whittington, and that of the journeyman who is to carry out the design (see pp. 26, 154-5 & 177).	156
Pl. 2 (2). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Index to one of her volumes of designs. The index is in her own handwriting. The names of those of the weavers to whom the designs were sold and under each are listed the types of design and occasionally the name of a mercer for whom the design was bespoke. The page numbers correspond to numbers on the designs themselves.	158
Pl. 3 (3). Woven Silk. Probably French: 1700-1720. 22½" wide. Crimson damask ground with two kinds of metal thread. The design is typical of the formal patterns inherited from the 17th century which developed into the "lace" patterns of the mid-20's. Victoria & Albert Museum T.128-1938 (see pp. 305-306).	335
Pl. 4 (4). Woven Silk. Part of a toilet set at Ham House. The ground light blue, the design entirely carried out in metal thread. French c. 1705-15. The silk cannot be later because of the design of the mirror in the set. The set may have been made for Lionel, Lord Huntingtower, eldest son of the 3rd Earl of Dysart who married in 1706 and died in 1711 (see p. 262, note 2: 306).	336

- Pl. 5 (5). Isaac de Peyster. By an unknown artist of the New York School. Illustrated plate LVI in Waldron Phoenix Belknap. American Colonial Painting. Cambridge, Mass. 1959. ed. by C.C. Sellers. The Silk can be dated c. 1709 on the grounds of its style and could be English since the combined operation of the Navigation Acts and the War would have made it very much more difficult to smuggle a French silk into New York (see p. 306). facing 337
- Pl. 6 (6). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1709. It can be compared with the silk worn by de Peyster. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, Dec. 23rd 1709. A figure for a damask brocaded with silk and silver - ye green, ye silver - For Mr. Wittington & Comp. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 150 dezines. For my father Peter Leman by me James Leman."
The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. No. 93 (see p. 306). 337 337
- Pl. 7 (7). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1706. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, Sep. 8th 1706 Sattin tishue for Mr. Sadler and Comp. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 168 dezines. James Leman.
33 56 in one simple
10
560 lashes in one simple
3
1680 lashes in all. "
It is yellow ochre in colour, and thus has only one pattern weft. The design would be broken down in the draught to 450 units horizontally and 1680 vertically.
The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. No. 94 (see p. 255 and 255, note 2: 306). 337A
- Pl. 8 (8). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1708. The design is inscribed on the back: "August 6th 1708. For Mr. Wittington. For a damask brocaded 400 cords No. 8 & 12. 138 dezines. James Leman."
The ground pattern is yellow ochre and is presumably the damask; there are four other colours used. The design is typical of a number which incorporate chinoiserie elements. Leman used fences, small pagodas and two-handled vases on a number of designs. The asymmetrical arrangement is typical of bizarre silks of the period.
The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. No. 58 (see p. 255 and 255, note 2: 306). 338

- Pl. 9 (9). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1711. The design is inscribed on the back: "This pattern for an orrace tissue brocaded with gold and silk. For Mr. Wittington and Comp. 400 cords 8 & 12 106 dezines in 6 simples. For my father Peter Leman by me James Leman. To be made by young Phillip Manckey." The ground pattern is yellow, the flowers buff and purple. The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. No. 39 (see pp. 26-7, 177, 262 note 3: 307). 339
- Pl.10 (10). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1711. The design is inscribed on the back: "London, March 26th 1711. This pattern was taken from a Dutch stuff. It was an Italian or 10 lam damask with two backshoots or flushes & gold & silver & silk brocade. To be made for Mr. Wittington & Comp. 450 cords No. 8 & 10 6 simples. For my father Peter Leman by me James Leman. The yallow was damask The purple and ye scarlet both shoot under one lam on the side, the ornage gold, the green silver, the pail red silk." The ground pattern is yellow, the borders leaf green, the scrolls and some flowers orange and vermilion, the leaves are mauve with a yellow shadow pattern, the flowers vermilion, cream and orange. The property of Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. No. 32 (see pp. 287, and 287 note 4: 307). 340
- Pl.11 (11). Woven Silk c. 1711. French, Dutch or English. Brocaded damask with a green satin damask ground. Victoria & Albert Museum, 618-1896 (see p. 307). 341
- Pl.12 (12). Portrait of William Leathes, c. 1710. Illustrated p. 56. No. 180 in W.C. and P. Cunnington: A Picture History of Costume, London, 1960. The silk cuffs and waistcoat are a typical bizarre silk of the period (see p. 307). 342
- Pl.13 (13). Chasuble. In the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne. The chasuble is datable by the arms to 1713, the date of the wedding of Johann Jacob von Codone & Maria Anne von Grote. Photo. from Rein. Bildarch. Neg. No. 3869. It was customary to present wedding dresses to the Church for use as vestments. The silk is probably French, 1712-3, but could be English since Northern Germany was a market for English silks. It is a typical rich silk of its period. (see pp. 307 & 433). 343

- Pl.14 (14). Silk Coat c. 1715. From the effigy in Westminster Abbey of Robert, Earl of Sheffield, Marquess Normanby, who died aged , son of the Duke of Buckingham.
The silk is French or English of the same date and typical of its period (see p. 307). 344
- Pl.15 (15). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1718. E.4457-1909. The design has a series of typical instructions on it for the making of the draft on ruled paper (see p. 262-3). 345
- Pl.16 (16). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1720. Victoria & Albert Museum E.4507-1909 (see p. 307). 346
- Pl.17 (17). Thomas Coke 1st Earl of Leicester. Painted in Rome in 1717 by Francesco Trevisani. The portrait is at Holkham. Exhibited in 18th century Italy and the Grand Tour, an exhibition held May - July 1958. Norwich Castle Museum. No. 53 in the catalogue. The portrait is illustrated in C.W.James, Chief Justice Coke, his family and descendants at Holkham . 1929. Plate facing p. 208.
- (18). Detail of the sleeve of his coat. The silk, which has a woven pattern, is probably French or Italian (see p. 307). 347
- Pl.18 (19). James Leman. Silk Design dated 1718. E.4451-1909. (see p. 273). 348
- Pl.19 (20). Torah Mantle. No. 177 in Anglo-Jewish Exhibition held at the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1956. From the Spanish & Portuguese Synagogue of Bevis Marks. Abraham Mendes da Costa had the scroll made in 1720. Red satin ground, with the design in blue grey, dark green, pink and yellow silk and filé and frisé silver and silver-gilt thread. This would have been one of the richest silks of its period (see p. 273). 349
- Pl.20 (21). Michael Dahl. Nicholas Leake, 4th Earl of Scarsdale (in the Nationamuseum, Stockholm). Plate xxxviii in Michael Dahl by W. Nisser. 1927. The silk of his waistcoat is comparable both with the Torah Mantle on Plate 19 and the design by Leman on Plate 18. (see p. 273). 350

- Pl.21 (22). Silk Design probably by Christopher Baudouin. Dated 1725. It is a design among the "Patterns by Different Hands", collected by Anna Maria Garthwaite. No. 5973.11. The design is inscribed on the back: "Mr. Smith. For Mr. Peter Lekeux. March the 11, 1725. 400 cords No. 8 & 10, 102 Dezines Long. (in another hand) Mr. Huddleston" (see p. 308). 351
- Pl.22 (23). Thomas Gray by J. Richardson. Probably painted when he went to Eton in 1727. Plate XI (115), in J.W. Goddison: Cambridge Portraits, 1955, Vol. I. The University Collection. The silk of the boy's coat, a light blue in colour, shows a typical lace pattern of the period (see p. 308). 352
- Pl.23 (24). Part of a Silk Design. French dated 1728, by an unknown designer. For a "Persienne" (a silk very different from the English "persian"). Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet d'Estampes, Vol. LL. 44A. The inscription at the side of the design reads: "Persienne argen nué a argen glacé e argen frisé de 1728", i.e: it is intended for a silk with three kinds of metal thread (see p. 308). 353
- Pl.24 (25). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1730. From a Series described on the original cover as "Double Tabbys". 5975.4. The design is a typical "lace pattern" of the period and can be dated by reference to other designs dated 1729 and 1731 (see pp. 308-9).
- (26). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1731. 5975.2. The colour scheme although much reduced in tone is typical of the series.
- (27). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1731. 5975.2. 354
(Detail)
- Pl.25 (28). Samuel Egerton by Bartolomeo Nazari. Painted in Venice in 1732. No. 207 in the Catalogue of Italian Art and Britain, Royal Academy of Arts, London 1960. The silk of his waistcoat is probably French of precisely this date (see pp. 308-9). 355

- Pl.26 (29). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1733. From a Series described on the original cover as "Double Tabbys". No. 5975.II. The design may be compared with the previous one and shews how the flowers have broken away from the lace framework of which there is still a suggestion in the formation of the plain ground areas. The design is dated by reference to other dated silks (see p. 309). 356
- Pl.27 (30). Worsted with a blue ground and the pattern in several colours. The property of the Henry Francis Dupont Museum, Winterthur, U.S.A. 59.7.9. Probably English (Norwich or Spitalfields), almost certainly acquired in Spain. cf. fig. 29, 1733. 357
- Pl.28 (31). Silk Design by an unknown French designer. The design belonged to James Leman and is No. 76 in the Book of Designs belonging to Messrs. Vanners & Fennell Ltd. The design is c. 1732 and is similar in style with a series in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale. These could all have been by the designer Courtois (see p. 310) but none are signed. Several fragments of silk woven from this design exist in the Richelieu Collection. 358
- Pl.29 (32). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 1734. The original cover for this series is missing and the type of silk for which this is intended is unknown. 5971. 31. The design is typical of its period with trees and flowers heavily modelled but rendered in disproportionate scales (see p. 310). 359
- Pl.30 (33). Dress. c. 1733-1734. The silk could be English and may be compared in style with Garthwaite's design in the previous plate. T.719-1913. Tissue, with a tabby ground and green and white pattern wefts, the other colours brocaded (see p. 310). 360
- Pl.31 (34). Silk Design probably by Jean Revel c. 1732-3 (see p. 311). The design is among the "French Patterns" which belonged to Anna Maria Garthwaite. 5974.7.
- (35). Woven Silk. French c. 1732-3. Woven from the design shewn in the previous illustration. This example is in the Musée des Tissus at Lyon and there is another in the Gewebesammlung of the Textilengineeringsschule at Krefeld. 361

Pl.32 (36). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1735. From a series described on the original cover as "Brocades from 1735-40". 5977.8. The design shews Garthwaite using "points rentrées" to achieve a three-dimensional effect (see pp. 311-313).

(37). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design c. 17 , 5977. The brownish colour scheme with black shading is typical. The design has "points rentrées" as in the previous illustration. The three-dimensional effect which they impart can be appreciated although they are invisible in this poor reproduction.

362

Pl.33 (38). Antonio David. George Lewis Coke. Painted in Rome in 1735. No. 123 in the Catalogue, Italian Art and Britain, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1960.

The waistcoat and cuffs are silver with roses in silk, the silk is probably French of precisely this date (see pp. 311-313).

363

Pl.34 (39). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Designs dated 1741. The lower left hand design is for a "grogram", a half silk (see pp. 330-334; p.). The tobine on the lower right hand side is drawn on "rule paper", 5978.13 (see pp. 163, 261).

364

Pl.35 (40). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Design for a tobine dated 1741. The shading of colours in the warp is managed with great subtlety and the central mass broken by the small blue flowers which project. These would have been brocaded for there is a horizontal variation in colour (see pp.280-281 & 281, note 3: 317).

(41). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. To be woven by Captain John Baker (see pp. 159-162). 5981.23. The design is for a brocaded tissue. The blue and pink flowers would have been brocaded. The yellow may indicate metal thread as it does in the design for the Lekeux silk in the same series.

(42). Brocaded woven silk of the 1740's. Probably made in Spitalfields. The ground is a light coffee colour (see p. 315).

365

Pl.36 (43). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design for a damask. 1742. 5980 (see pp. 278, 314).

366

- Pl.37 (44). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. The design is carried out in shades of yellow. 5981.20 (see pp. 271-272). 367
- Pl.38 (45). Silk, woven by Captain Peter Lekeux from the design on the previous plate, in three kinds of silver thread on a blue taffeta ground. Victoria & Albert Museum T.81-1938 (see pp.271-272). 368
- Pl.39 (46). Silk woven by Captain Peter Lekeux from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite. The colouring is much more vivid than this illustration would suggest but the different reflections of light from the three different kinds of silver thread can be seen (see pp. 271-272). 369
- Pl.40 (47). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1745. 5984.5. In the index to this series the design is described by Garthwaite as a "Bro.(caded) Satten" (see p. 315). 370
- Pl.41 (48). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1747. 5985.2. In the index to this series the design is described as a "bro. tobine" (see p. 316). 371
- Pl.42 (49). Dress, the silk woven by Daniel (?) Vautier from the design shewn on the previous plate. Victoria & Albert Museum T.706-1913 (see p. 316). 372
- Pl.43 (50). Detail of the silk shewn on Plate 42. The self-colour pattern in the ground is a warp effect - the tobine of the design, the small flowers are brocaded. The rather coarse découpures are noticeable in the jagged line of the stalks of the flowers (see p. 280, note 2: 316). 373
- Pl.44 (51). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1747. 5985.9. In the index to the series the design is described as "A Bro/caded/ Lut./estring/." (see pp. 301, 316). 374
- Pl.45 (52). Silk woven by Daniel (?) Vautier from the design by Garthwaite shewn in the previous plate. Victoria & Albert Museum. T.720-1913 (see p. 316). 375

- Pl.46 (53). Alured Clarke of Godmanchester (1658-1744) with his wife Anne Trimnel (1671-1755) by an anonymous painter c. 1740. Plate 37c in J. Steegman: A Survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses, Vol. I, 1957, North Wales. The lady's dress is a grey damask shewing the large-scale designs of this date (see p. 314).
- (54). Arthur Devis. Two portraits of members of the Warden family. Plate 12 in the Catalogue of an Exhibition at 25 Park Lane of English Conversation Pieces, 1930. The lady on the left is wearing a quilted silk petticoat (see p. 177, note 1). The lady on the right plain satin (see p. 299). The bare boards and windows without curtains contrast with the dress worn by the sitter (see p. 296). 376
- Pl.47 (55). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1748. 5986.2. In the index to this series the design is inscribed as a "bro. lut. estring". (see p. 316). 377
- Pl.48 (56). Brocaded woven silk of the early 1750's. Probably made in Spitalfields. The rosebuds are practically life size. The silk of the ground has buckled when removed from the tension of the loom (see pp. 256, note 1: 317).
- (57). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Design for a gauze lappet pattern dated 1752. Mr. Crumpler must be John Crumpler, the gauze weaver. (See pp. 43-44). 5989.6. 378
- Pl.49 (58). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Design for a waistcoat shape, dated 1750. 5988.31. If Mr. Turner was one of the partners in John and Robert Turner the design may not be for a silk waistcoat (see pp. 63, 97, note 1), but for a worsted one. Garthwaite designed several other waistcoats in the course of her career. 379
- Pl.50 (59). Suit of figured cut and uncut velvet woven to shape. English or French, 1745-55. Victoria & Albert Museum. T. (see pp. 317-318). 380

- Pl.51 (60). Alan Ramsay. George Bristow, plate ixa in A. Smart; The Life and Times of Alan Ramsay. 1952. Facing page 80. The waistcoat has a brocaded silk border and decoration on the pocket (see p. 318).
- (61). Robert Feke. James Bowdoin II, plate 17 in Catalogue of Detroit Institute of Arts: Painting in America, 1957. The waistcoat is satin with a damask design on the pocket and borders. Early 1740's (see p. 318). 381
- Pl.52 (62). T. Hudson. Portrait of Sir Henry Oxendon, 1756. Sold at Christies, 20th November 1931, Lot. 42. National Portrait Gallery Neg. 845. The cut velvet suit may be compared with the suit on plate 50 (see pp. 317-318). 382
- Pl.53 (63). Woven silk. Probably English (Spitalfields) 1750's. In the Los Angeles County Museum (see p. 319). 383
- Pl.54 (64). Brocaded woven silk with a "flush" pattern in the ground. Probably made in Spitalfields in the mid-1750's. The colouring and the style of the flowers are both typical of English silks, the diapered patterns both in the ground and in the leaves are typical of the period. Victoria & Albert Museum. (see pp.280, 319). 384
- Pl.55 (65). Portrait of Elinor Frances Dixie, illus. 211 in C. W. & P. Cunningham English Costume in the Picture Histories series. The picture is also reproduced in the Connoisseur Period Guide, Early Georgian Period. The brocaded silk with a "flush" pattern in the ground must surely be English of the late 40's or early 1750's (see p. 319). 385
- Pl.56 (66). Panel of woven silk from a firescreen. The property of Mr. Thomas Aubertin. According to the label sewn to it the silk is said to have been designed by John Vansommer, an ancestor of Mr. Aubertin; as Vansommer was active in the middle and second half of the 18th century this would seem quite possible. The silk dates from about 1755-60 (see p. 320). 386

- Pl.57 (67). Four fragments of silk said to have been made by a member of the Desormeaux family. The silk probably dates from the mid-60's to mid-70's (see p.320). 387
- Pl.58 (68). Sample from the end of a piece of silk, said to have been woven by a member of the Duthoit family. The property of Mrs. Turner. The silk probably dates from the mid-1760's - 70's (see p. 320). 388
- Pl.59 (69). Anna Maria Garthwaite. Silk Design dated 1742. This is one of Garthwaite's designs presumably intended for men's suiting. 5981.9 (see pp. 281, 318).
- (70). Two pages from an English exporter's pattern book of silks. In the Berch Collection of the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm (see pp. 281, 318, 433). 389
- Pl.60 (71). Arthur Devis. A Member of the Sergison family. Plate 13 in the Catalogue of an Exhibition at 25 Park Lane of English Conversation Pieces. 1930. The sitter's gown is plain satin, he had a picture above his fireplace and a Chinese vase beneath it. There are no other soft furnishings (see pp. 296 & 299).
- (72). Nicholas Fazackerley by Arthur Devis, dated 1763. Plate 8 in S.H. Pavière, The Devis Family of Painters (Catalogue No. 40) (see pp. 317-319). 390
- Pl.61 (73). John Bours by John Singleton Copley, dated 1763. Plate 26 in Boston Museum of Fine Arts, B.N. Parker & A.B.Wheeler, John Singleton Copley 1938 (see pp. 317-319). 391
- Pl.62 (74). John Singleton Copley. Mrs. John Barrett. Plate 12, in Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Loan Exhibition 100 Colonial Portraits. 1930. The dress shows a damask probably of the mid-1760's (see p. 314). 392
- Pl.63 (75). John Singleton Copley. Nicholas Boylston, dated 1767. Plate 78 in Boston Museum of Fine Arts, B.N. Parker & A.B.Wheeler, John Singleton Copley 1938. The damask banyan was evidently a prop in Copley's studio as it appears in several paintings. It probably dates from the early 60's. 393

- Pl.64 (76). Silk Design French mid-1760's. The property of Messrs. Warners Ltd. The design is probably from Lyon since the paper on which it is drawn comes from there. The design is typical of its period. (see p. 320). 394
- Pl.65 (77). Design for a damask by Anna Maria Garthwaite, one of a pair of nearly identical designs in a series c. 1742. 597 . . 425
- Pl.66 (78). Chasuble in the Royal Danish Collections at Rosenborg Castle. The chasuble is made from a silk dress which belonged to Princess Louise, daughter of George II, who married of Denmark in 1743. She died in 1751. The similarity of style to the Garthwaite design suggests that this silk was made in England and part of the trousseau which she took out to Denmark for her marriage. I am most grateful to my colleague Mr. Peter Thornton for drawing my attention to this silk (see pp. 423-424). 426
- Pl.67 (79). Two pages of a book of patterns of materials
& submitted by the London Weavers Company in 1719
(80). to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations as examples of the goods most affected by competition from printed calicoes. The first four samples of (79) are woven in silk and worsted. The first four samples of (80) are worsted, the silk damasks silk and worsted; the two lower series of striped materials are all silk but with a low quality weft. PRO. C.O. 388.21 No. 209 fols. 151 & 146. (see pp. 456, 459 and Appendix 3). 457
- Pl.68 (81). A page from the pattern book illustrated in the previous plate. The samples are all silk but with a low grade weft. PRO. C.O. 388.21 No. 209 fol. 153 (see pp. 456, 459 and Appendix 3).
- (94). Printed and resist-dyed cotton, Southern India, first half 18th century. Victoria & Albert Museum I.S. 103-1950. The design of this cotton may be compared with the silk on Plate 3 (see p. 465). 458

- Pl.69 (83). Detail of a printed linen lining to a leather-covered wooden trunk. It has a white ground block printed in red, pale red and green (blue and yellow, one superimposed upon the other). The property of the Essex Museum and Art Gallery, Chelmsford, English: c. 1705-20 (see p. 465). 461
- Pl.70 (84). Organzining Mill, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia (see pp. 246-247). 395
- Pl.71 (85). Warping Mill, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia (see p. 246).
- (86). One of the operations in transferring the design drafted upon "ruled" or graph paper on to the loom, from Paulet: *L'Art du Fabricant des Étoffes de Soie*, Vol. 7, Pt. II (see p. 263). 396
- Pl.72 (87). Diagram to shew the weave of a typical tissue (see p. 254, note 2: 279, and 279, note 1). 397
- Pl.73 (88). The tying of the lashes upon the simple, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia (see pp. 263-264). 398
- Pl.74 (89). The Draw Loom, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia (see pp. 264-266). 399
- Pl.75 (90). The Comber Board. Two diagrams to shew alternate methods of entering the cords through the board (see pp. 255, 260 and 262). 400
- (91). Diagram taken from Murphy's *Art of Weaving*, to shew the position of the comber board. facing 400
- Pl.76 (92). Diagram to shew the dual control of the warp threads on a drawloom: by the shafts to make the ground weave and by the figure harness to make the pattern (see p. 264). 401
- Pl.77 (93). A Velvet loom, from Diderot's Encyclopaedia (see p. 278). 402
- (82). Rocque's Map of London. 1746. Detail assembled from two sheets to shew the Spitalfields District. 619.

